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ECCLESIASTICAL BIOGRAPHY;

OR,

LIVES OF EMINENT MEN,

CONNECTED WITH THE

HISTORY OF RELIGION IN ENGLAND;

FROM THE

COMMENCEMENT OF THE REFORMATION TO THE REVOLUTION;

SELECTED AND ILLUSTRATED WITH

NOTES,

BY

CHRISTOPHER WORDSWORTH, D.D.

MASTER OF TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE,

AND RECTOR OF BUXTED, WITH UCKFIELD, SUSSEX.

THIRD EDITION,

WITH A LARGE INTRODUCTION, SOME NEW LIVES, AND MANY ADDITIONAL NOTES.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR J. G. & F. RIVINGTON,

ST. PAUL'S CHURCH YARD,

AND WATERLOO PLACE, PALL MALL.

1839.

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LONDON:
PRINTED BY GILBERT AND RIVINGTON,
ST. JOHN'S SQUARE.

ADVERTISEMENT.

This Third Edition differs from the two preceding, in the way both of *addition*, and of *omission*.

The *omissions* of any considerable moment, are limited to one only. The *Life of Philip Henry*, which constituted a large portion of the sixth volume of the former editions, has been withdrawn.

The length of this Life had been occasionally complained of, as hardly compensated by a proportionate degree of value and interest; and sometimes it was alleged, that some degree of incongruity and unsuitableness to the leading, general design of the Collection, was introduced by the circumstance of the longest piece in the whole work being an encomiastic account of a nonconformist minister. After all, however, the consideration which weighed most on the Editor's own mind, was, that since his former publication, a new edition of the life in question has appeared, revised, &c. from the original Diary, under the following title, viz. *The Life of the Rev. Philip Henry, A.M., &c. corrected and enlarged, by J. B. Williams, F.S.A.* London, 1825. 8vo.

After the appearance of the narrative in this revised and augmented form, it seemed that it would be neither respectful to the public, nor justice to any of the other parties concerned, to republish merely the old edition, which wanted the accessions and improvements introduced by the new Editor: it was thought best,

therefore, to abandon this portion of the series entirely; it being left to any of my readers, who may think the deficiency serious, to make it good, by the separate purchase of Mr. Williams's new and extended edition.

The *additions*, introduced in this Third Edition, consist partly of additions to the *text*, and partly to the *notes*.

The new Lives adopted are only two. The first a short account of Dean Colet, founder of St. Paul's School, consisting of extracts, brought together from sundry Letters of Colet's friend, Erasmus: and the other is an interesting narrative by himself, of the troubles of Thomas Mountain, a London clergyman, published by Strype from Fox's Papers. It is introduced as forming a suitable connecting link between the persecutions of the reign of Mary, and the re-establishment of the Reformed Catholic Church of England under Elizabeth.

But much the most important addition to the body of the *text*, is a two-fold *Introduction* of considerable extent, at the opening of the first volume. It is divided into two main portions; the former of which may be characterized generally as an historical narrative of the origin and progress of the Papal usurpations and corruptions in England both in Church and State, and is derived from Dr. John Inett's Church History. The latter, borrowed from Dr. Richard Bentley's famous Fifth of November sermon, I have entitled, "Doctrinal Corruptions of Popery."

The two former editions wanting any such Introduction as is now referred to, and opening abruptly with the Life of Wickliffe; I have long felt that my Reader, without any fault of his own, was thus placed in a somewhat fallacious and injurious position, in finding his sympathies enlisted in behalf of a party, strenuously

opposed to the governors of the established Church of that age (and oftentimes in opposition also to those of the State), without being put in possession of any sufficient account how this condition of things had arisen, and without receiving any adequate exposition of the motives and principles by which either those governors of the Church, or the mal-content party (Wickliffe and his followers) themselves, were actuated. By leading my Reader back to the ancient and primitive condition of the Church of England, and thence guiding him along in rapid progress down to the age of Wickliffe, through a short, but sufficiently copious, and at the same time a not uninteresting recital of the lamentable degeneracy, gradually introduced by the usurpation and tyranny of the Church of Rome, it seemed that my Reader would be led naturally and easily to comprehend the true nature of the principles (in many important respects grossly delusive and erroneous) upon which the rulers of the Church sought to maintain themselves against the arguments and efforts of the mal-contents: and that he would be better qualified to discern and distinguish between what was right and what was wrong in the principles and conduct of the Reformers; and so learn also occasionally to look with a degree of pardonable indulgence upon the incidental aberrations of those eminent persons, the early champions of respiring freedom and truth, who though baffled and discomfited for several successive generations, were in truth, in many main respects, no other than the fore-runners and fore-fathers in Christ, of Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer, and the rest, the great successful champions, under Providence, of the English Reformation; were, in truth, no other than that which the Reformed Catholic Church of England herself, through much conflict, at length gradually became under Henry VIII., Edward VI., and finally under Q. Elizabeth: *then*, I say,

became, through God's mercy, and *still* subsists by the same mercy; and still, we trust, will continue to subsist, the noblest branch of the true Catholic Church of Christ; the guardian, keeper, and nurse of all genuine intellectual, moral, civil, and spiritual truth and freedom, in equal opposition to the modern corruptions, whether of the tyranny and despotism of the Church of Rome, or of the insubordination and anarchy of Puritans, Rationalists, and Sectarians.

The additions to the *notes*, throughout the whole work, are numerous; and the Editor hopes that the length of many of those which are new, will be compensated by the value, which they will be thought to give to his Collection. The Index, also, has been largely augmented.

With respect to the size and dimensions of the Work, it is not necessary to say more, than that the six volumes of the preceding editions are compressed into four in the present; and that the Work, in its external appearance and qualities, is conformed closely to the Editor's *Christian Institutes;* in the hope, also, that in many higher respects they may be found suitable companions and associates; and may mutually conspire and co-operate in carrying into effect the Editor's main design in the compilation of them both, the advancement of the religious portion of a liberal education of the middle and upper classes of society, according to the principles of the Church of England.

For numerous and valuable suggestions, in the way both of correction and addition to the Notes, while the edition was passing through the press, I am bound to acknowledge myself very greatly indebted to John Holmes, Esq., of the British Museum.

Trinity College, Cambridge,
June 1, 1839.

TO THE MOST REVEREND

CHARLES,

BY DIVINE PROVIDENCE,

LORD ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY,

PRIMATE OF ALL ENGLAND AND METROPOLITAN.

My Lord,

If I were disposed to consider the value of that portion of these volumes, which is the result of my own labour, I could not but feel that the laying them at your Grace's feet would constitute a most inadequate acknowledgment of the gratitude which I owe to your Grace for many very great favours and benefits conferred upon me. In this view, there could be only one consolatory circumstance to sustain me; the knowledge that to you the homage of all my efforts is due, be they great or little: and he therefore who is already engaged for *all*, may seem to be released from the necessity of satisfying himself of the worthiness of any particular offering.

But, my Lord, there are considerations of a different nature, from which I may be permitted to tender these volumes to your Grace's favourable regard, without the hazard of being thought

so ill to understand the nature and extent of my own obligations, and the dignity of your GRACE's name.

Many of the Lives, of which this Collection is composed, have already often obtained the praise of the wise and good, as calculated to promote, in a more than ordinary degree, the cause of pure taste, good morals, and true religion; objects of infinite importance, for the prosperity of which, they who well know your GRACE's unceasing cares and labours, may be excused if they bear testimony, that every endeavour to extend those great blessings, has a peculiar title to come forth under your GRACE's protection.

The tendency which has been thus attributed to many of these Lives individually, it was my hope would not be impaired, but augmented, by combining them into one series, and by the addition of the few illustrations with which they are here accompanied. If therefore I have not been deceived in this expectation, I cannot deny to myself the pleasing assurance, that the present Publication will be received by your GRACE as an effort not uncongenial to your wishes, and, in however low a degree, subordinate to your own cares; and, as having afforded therefore a not unsuitable engagement of a portion of such intervals of leisure, as I may have been able to obtain consistently with the demands of your GRACE's more immediate service, and of pastoral labours.

Again: This likewise is to be acknowledged, that it is owing to your GRACE not only that these Volumes exist at all, but also that they exist such as they are. All that is *new* in them comes by your GRACE's liberality and public spirit. Whatever pleasure then or profit any of my readers may receive, especially

from this part of my materials, it is fit that they should know that from the Archbishop of Canterbury the benefit is derived. And, at the same time, let it be further declared, that this is but a very humble instance of that love of good letters, and that public spirit, which have prompted your GRACE to the exertion of many acts of munificence, for the increase of the literary treasures of your country, which exalt your GRACE's name to the same level with those of the most illustrious of your predecessors, Cranmer, and Parker, and Laud.

That your GRACE's labours for the welfare of the Church of God may long be blessed with abundant fruits of righteousness and peace, is the earnest prayer of

My LORD,

your GRACE's most devoted,

faithful and humble Servant,

CHRISTOPHER WORDSWORTH.

Lambeth,
Nov. 22, 1809.

PREFACE.

The first wishes for the existence of a collection, similar in design to that which now appears, were excited in my mind not less than ten years ago, and often recurred to it, during a residence in the University of Cambridge; though I do not remember to have entertained, then, any very confident expectations, that the work would ever be undertaken by myself.

But when, after the expiration of something more than half the above-named period of years, I had been called to Lambeth, to the service of his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, and, in process of time, the probable advantages of such a collection appeared continually to my mind, rather to increase, than to be diminished; and when some efforts which I had made to bring about the execution of this design, from another quarter, on a contracted scale, had yet produced no effect, I determined to turn my own hands to the work:—and it now becomes my duty to state the views and motives upon which it was begun, and the way and manner in which it has been performed. The mention, in the outset, of the places where the wish for the existence of this work was first conceived, and where it has been prepared for publication, I judge not to be impertinent, because these circumstances may probably have had a considerable influence on its contents and character; and therefore the knowledge of them may lead the reader, by a natural and easy progress, to a further explanation of the principles on which it has been compiled.

A protracted residence in either of our Universities, and

afterwards in that service which I have mentioned, it will easily be understood, was likely to engage any man in ardent wishes and desires for the general prosperity and welfare of sincere piety and true religion: and to inspire him more particularly with an honest concern that those most important interests should ever advance and flourish among our theological students and the clergy; and through their means and labours, with the divine blessing, in every rank of society.

It appeared then, to the present writer, that there were extant, among the literary productions of our country, many scattered narratives of the lives of men eminent for piety, sufferings, learning, and such other virtues, or such vices, as render their possessors interesting and profitable subjects for history, many of which were very difficult to be procured, and some of them little known; and that, therefore, the benefit which might have been expected to result from their influence, was in a great degree lost. These I thought it might be a labour well-bestowed to restore to a capacity of more extensive usefulness, and to republish them in one collection; not merely with a view of affording to many readers an opportunity of possessing what they could not otherwise enjoy; but also from the hopes, that the serviceable effect of each might be increased by their union and juxta-position; and, that through the help of a chronological arrangement, a species of ecclesiastical history might result, which though undoubtedly very imperfect, might yet answer, even in that view, several valuable purposes; while it would possess some peculiar charms and recommendations.

A scheme of this nature, it is easy to conceive, could not well be undertaken without many limitations. Besides those obvious ones of restricting the history to that of our own country, and to the lives of our fellow countrymen, there appeared to me many reasons, why the work should begin with the preparations towards a Reformation by the labours of Wickliffe and his followers, and not a few why it might well stop at the Revolution. Within those limits are comprehended, if we except the first establishment of Christianity, and the growth of the papal power amongst

us, the rise, progress, and issue of the principal agitations and revolutions of the public mind of this country in regard to matters of Religion:—namely, the Reformation from Popery, and the glories and horrors attending that hard-fought struggle; the subsequent exorbitancies and outrages of the Antipopish spirit, as exemplified by the Puritans; the victory of that spirit, in ill-suited alliance with the principles of civil liberty, over loyalty and the established church, in the times of Charles the first; the wretched systems and practices of the sectaries, during the Commonwealth, and the contests for establishment between the Presbyterians and Independents at the same period; the hasty return of the nation, weary and sick of the long reign of confusion, to the antient constitution of things, at the Restoration; the operation of those confusions, and of the ill-disciplined triumph of a portion of the adverse party upon the state of morals and religion, during the early part of the reign of the second Charles; the endeavours of Charles and his brother to restore Popery, and introduce despotism; the noble exertions of the clergy of the Church of England, at that interval, in behalf of natural and revealed religion, and protestantism, and civil liberty; the Revolution of 1688, together with the ascertainment of the distinct nature and rights of an established church, and a religious toleration; and the principles of the Non-jurors.

A narrative of these grand particulars, together with many others of inferior moment, obtained in connexion with a description of the virtues, private life, and character of the agents principally concerned in them would, I thought, be considerably interesting and useful, and especially in regard to those objects which I have above referred to; without descending to later times, less productive in some respects than the preceding, and more so indeed in others, but on both accounts the less fitted to constitute any part of this design. At the Revolution, a degree of stability was given both to our ecclesiastical and civil establishments, which they never before possessed; and hence a great part of the age which followed was less fertile, at least in historical interest: and from that æra, the growing abundance

and extent of biographical memoirs, were felt, of themselves, as a discouragement against attempting the admission of any portion of them into a collection like the present.

It was no part of my original plan to go in quest of any thing new, but merely to revive the old. Yet, when his grace the Archbishop of Canterbury generously gave me permission to avail myself of the stores contained in the manuscripts in the Archiepiscopal Library at Lambeth, I could not forbear, in justice to that liberality, to exert such a further portion of industry, as might seem best calculated to increase the value and usefulness of my publication. For this reason, and from this source, the reader will find here a copious Life of Sir Thomas More, never before published; a new edition of Cavendish's Life of Cardinal Wolsey, so much surpassing in value those which have preceded it, as almost to deserve the name of a new work; and some large and interesting additions to the Memoirs of the Nicholas Ferrars; besides many occasional extracts inserted in the notes: for all which I desire in this place to return humble thanks to my most honoured Patron.

That which occasioned me the greatest labour and difficulty, with regard to the remainder of my materials, was the laying in the first stores, and afterwards making a selection out of them. The contents of these volumes are but a very small part of what I have gathered together, not without a considerable expence of time and pains. From the same heap, another man perhaps would have made now and then a different choice. But the principles upon which I proceeded will, I trust, be made sufficiently apparent to my readers in the course of this preface: further I have nothing to say, but that, proceeding upon those which I judge the best principles, I made the selection the best I could.

It will be found, (for which I imagine, no apology is necessary), that I have preferred the ancient and original authorities, where they could be procured, before modern compilations and abridgments; the narratives, for instance, of Fox and Carleton, before the more artificial compositions of Gilpin.

Neither do I think that it will require any excuse with the judicious reader, that in the early parts of the series, I have been at some pains to retain the ancient orthography. It was one advantage which I contemplated in projecting this compilation, that it would afford, by the way, some view of the progress of the English language, and of English composition. This benefit would have been greatly impaired by taking away the old spelling. But I have always thought that the far more solemn interests of historic reality, and of truth, are also in a degree, violated by that practice.

The reader is desired further to observe, that in many cases the Lives are republished from the originals, entire, and without alteration; but in others, the method pursued has been different. Wherever the work before me seemed to possess a distinct character as such, either for the beauty of its composition, the conveniency of its size, its scarcity, or any other sufficient cause, I was desirous that my reader should have the satisfaction of possessing it complete: but where these reasons did not exist, I have not scrupled occasionally to proceed otherwise: only, in regard to alterations, it is to be understood, that all which I have taken the liberty of making are confined solely to *omissions*. Thus, the Lives written by Isaac Walton, are given entire; but the accounts of Ferrar and Tillotson have been shortened.

Many of the Lives which are given from Fox's *Acts and Monuments*[1], and which the Editor looks upon as among the most valuable parts of his volumes, are brought together and compiled from distant and disjointed parts of that very extensive work; a circumstance of which it is necessary that any one should be informed, who may wish to compare these narratives with the originals. It will be found also, that in many places much has been omitted; and that a liberty has not unfrequently been taken of leaving out clauses of particular sentences, and single coarse and gross terms and expressions, especially such as occurred against Papists. But, here also, though he has not all Fox laid before him, yet the reader may be assured that all which he has is Fox.

[1] The edition followed is that of the year 1610.

In the Notes which I have added, my aim has been occasionally to correct my Author; but much more frequently to enforce his positions, and illustrate him, and that especially in matters relating to doctrines, opinions, manners, language, and characters. Their number might easily have been increased, but I was unwilling to distract the reader's eye from the object before him, except where I thought some salutary purpose might be answered. Where the notes are designated by letters, [a], [b], [c], &c. or are inserted between brackets ([]), it is to be understood, that they are not the Editor's, but are derived from the same source as the text.

Upon the whole then, my desire has been to bring forward in the way, and by the means which I have stated, a work which might deserve some humble station in the same rank with those productions which have been found to benefit the high and holy cause of pure taste, and virtue, and piety. It is presumed, that this object may in some degree have been obtained, by the examples which will be found here recorded, and the manner in which the several narratives are told, of patient enduring of affliction for conscience' sake; of suffering even to bonds and imprisonment, and death itself, in the cause of the everlasting Gospel; of stedfast labour and perseverance in the various duties and good works of many several callings and stations in society: of the successive stages, and the vicissitudes of the progress of the Christian life, from its first beginnings in the grace and mercy of God, to its earthly consummation in a peaceful happy death:—and, on the other hand, by the contrast, which will be found occasionally manifested and displayed, in the goings on and the fate of error and vice, and earthly-mindedness. From the multitude of secular concerns which press upon us on every side, we have all continual need to be called to the contemplation of the things of the future world, and to be reminded that this life is chiefly important because of its connexion with the other. My hope is, that the histories of life and death, here delivered into the hand of my reader, may bring some aid to the side of those salutary impressions.

If it be likewise thought that the Editor has been influenced by a further aim and desire to promote the interests of religion and piety, especially as they are professed within the pale of the church of England, the surmise, he confesses, is well-grounded; and it will greatly add to whatever satisfaction he looks for from his labour, if he shall find that it has indeed operated to that effect: for he is persuaded that whatever is gained in that cause, is gained in the way which is most likely to secure and serve "the edifying of the body of Christ in love." And yet, if he could any where have found Popery associated with greater piety and heavenly-mindedness than in Sir Thomas More, or non-conformity united with more eminent gifts than in Richard Baxter, those examples also should have obtained their station in this work, for the honour of God, for doctrine, for reproof, for instruction in righteousness.

It has then been no part of my design to give occasion of offence to any.

If indeed occasion be taken, where none was intended to be given; if the errors and the evil practices of popery, the truths of Protestantism, the sufferings of martyrs and confessors, and the intolerance and cruelty of persecutors; if the madness of fanatics, and the evils of civil and religious war, cannot be described and deplored without blame; if the wisdom to be derived to present and future ages from the records of the past cannot be obtained by ourselves, without exciting displeasure in other bosoms; there may be circumstances which shall call forth our concern and sorrow for the pain of a suffering fellow-creature; but the consequences must be endured, as no part of our design, but only accidental to it; and the complainant may bear to be admonished, whether, instead of casting harsh imputations upon us, he would not be better employed in re-examining the grounds and principles of his own faith, and enquiring whether all which has been done in what he blames is not that cause hath been afforded to him of rendering thanks and praise to the mercy of God, for giving him another call and summons to escape from error, and forsake his sin.

But the Editor can make no apology for the large space which is occupied in his history by the popish controversy, either in regard to the views of politicians, or of Romish controversialists.

I am well aware that by the extent to which I have availed myself of Fox's *Acts and Monuments*, I fall within the range of such censures as that of Dr. John Milner, in which he speaks of "the frequent publications of John Fox's lying Book of Martyrs, with prints of men, women, and children expiring in flames; the nonsense, inconsistency, and falsehoods of which (he says) he had in part exposed in his Letters to a Prebendary." I am not ignorant of what has been said also by Dr. J. Milner's predecessors in the same argument, by Harpsfield, Parsons, and others. But neither his writings nor theirs, have proved, and it never will be proved, that John Fox is not one of the most faithful and authentic of all historians. We know too much of the strength of Fox's book, and of the weakness of those of his Romish adversaries, to be further moved by Dr. John Milner's censures, than to reject them as grossly exaggerated, and almost entirely unsubstantial and groundless. All the many researches and discoveries of later times, in regard to historical documents, by Burnet, Strype, and many others, have only contributed to place the general fidelity and truth of Fox's melancholy narrative on a rock which cannot be shaken.

After all, the object nearest to the Editor's heart in compiling this collection, has been, as he has already intimated, to consult the benefit of the theological students in the universities, and the younger clergy.

Lambeth, Nov. 20, 1809.

POSTSCRIPT.

I HAVE yet occasion to request the reader's attention, shortly, to another very different subject.

In the year 1802, I published "Six Letters to Granville Sharp, Esq. respecting his Remarks on the Uses of the Definitive Article, in the Greek Text of the New Testament." 8vo. Rivingtons. Much has been said and written for and against that publication. It would be wrong, therefore, if I were to suffer the present opportunity to pass by, without adverting to those notices; at least, without stating whether any alteration of judgment has been produced in my mind, respecting the argument attempted in the "Six Letters," by the many censures and animadversions under which those "Letters" have fallen. I am by no means certain, that a cause of very solemn importance may not, in a degree, have suffered, by an aversion to controversy, and an opinion of the little account due to my adversaries, which have kept me so long silent.

But had it been true, that the "Six Letters" had obtained a much smaller share of the public notice, either for praise or blame, than indeed they have, it could not but be fit, that I should state occasionally what may be the present bearings and estimate of my own mind, respecting the value and truth of the argument once seriously brought forward by me, in those Let-

ters; whether my confidence in its stability may have been, by any means, in the interval, materially increased or diminished; an argument, the more interesting, at least for its assumed relation to an article of our Christian faith, of primary and fundamental importance.

In the year 1803, the Six Letters were followed by "Six more Letters to Granville Sharp, Esq. on his Remarks upon the uses of the Article in the Greek Testament, by Gregory Blunt, Esq." 8vo. Johnson. I thought it sufficient to notice that work by the following Letter, addressed to its Author, which appeared in the month of June of that year, in one or two of the periodical publications. By recording the Letter in this place, I mean it to be understood, that I still retain the same sentiments, respecting the "Six more Letters," which I have therein expressed.

To the Author of Six more Letters to Granville Sharp, Esq.

Sir,

The many observations which you have bestowed upon my "Six Letters to Granville Sharp, Esq." in your "Six more Letters" to that gentleman, may seem to give to my readers, and I have no great objection to say that they give to you, some claim to be informed what impressions have been made on my mind by your animadversions.

Your Letters then, in the first place, have in *no degree lessened* my opinion of the truth of *Mr. Sharp's Rule*, and of the value and importance of that discovery. It is, however, a *disappointment* to me, that I *cannot go further;* that I cannot proceed to say, that your researches have contributed to give *additional evidence and stability* to Mr. Sharp's theory; an event which might perhaps have followed, had that theory found a more learned and more logical adversary.

But, with regard to *my own* more particular concerns, (I speak it, not without due deliberation, and well knowing what I say,) in my judgment, you have not shewn, that I have been guilty of any error, of any misrepresentation, of any false reasoning, whether

great or small, one instance of inadvertency alone excepted. It appears, that in an extract from St. Cyril of Alexandria, (Six Letters, page 10,) I have inserted the article τοῦ before χριστοῦ, which does not exist in the printed text from which I quoted. In offering our acknowledgments for a favour conferred, it is justly accounted unpolite to extenuate that favour, and to shew how small is its value. For this detection, therefore, I beg leave, without interposing any reserve or demur, to return you my thanks. But this is all. In every other respect I maintain what I have written, (so far, I mean, as it has been assailed by you,) without exception or relaxation; and in no other point am I enabled to profess my obligations to you for any new stores or materials which may contribute in any way to the decision of the important subject of our respective lucubrations.

Again: with so little to retract, I feel also very little inclination to recriminate; to shew what you have, or what you have not done; to point out your deficiencies, errors, misrepresentations, and inconsistencies. I think indeed, that they are, all of them, both very great and very numerous. But you have hinted to us, that you write not for incompetent readers. "I am not writing," you say, "for school-boys." If *babes* and boys do not read your book, I shall be well contented to leave you to the judgment and censure of others. If *men* are to be your readers, I can have little concern or solicitude about them.

After these observations, it can hardly be necessary, otherwise than for the sake of *method*, that I should subjoin the *conclusion* to which they were intended to lead; namely, that, unless I should be called to reconsider, defend, or retract what I have written in my "Six Letters" by some more respectable antagonist, it is not my purpose to take any further notice of your pamphlet.

I am, Sir,

Your very obedient and humble servant,

The Author of Six Letters to Granville Sharp, Esq.

In the year 1805, the subject was further prosecuted from the press, by "A Vindication of certain passages in the common English Version of the New Testament, addressed to Granville Sharp, Esq. by the Rev. Calvin Winstanley, A.M." 12mo. Longman. Among many important mistakes, and misinterpretations of writers referred to, from which it might be easily shewn, (as it has been very sufficiently in one of our Monthly Journals, the British Critic, for May, 1808,) that the value attributed by Mr. Winstanley to his labours originated principally in his own mistakes and misinterpretations, it may yet be conceded, that Mr. Winstanley has effected more than any other writer that has yet appeared against Mr. Sharp's theory; not that I apprehend he has, in the slightest degree, affected its truth or stability; but, in one or two particulars, his observations may perhaps tend a little to help his readers to a clearer understanding, and a more distinct enunciation of that theory. With regard to the "Six Letters" of the present writer, Mr. Winstanley condemns them as of little value. But then, many will think that he supplies us with a criterion whereby we must be led to reckon not very highly of the value of this particular censure, not very favourably of his general judgment, when he tells us, that the book which he condemns he had never seen. After all, Mr. Winstanley's tract will not have been without its good effects. The publication has, doubtless, extended the knowledge of the matter in dispute; and it will have tended, I trust, to fix his own mind more closely to his object; and to impress him with higher notions of its importance and difficulty. Let him permit me then to invite him, with sentiments of considerable respect, and as a sincere fellow-labourer in the search of truth, which I doubt not but that he really is, to renew his efforts, to persevere in his undertaking, and to continue to communicate, either publickly or privately, the result of his researches.

In regard to such things as have been said or written, and not printed, against the "Six Letters," and the argument contained in them, it may be not unfit to be mentioned, that where the knowledge of their existence has reached me, I have not been

backward (as the persons concerned could, if they pleased, testify), in seeking to obtain a communication of those sentiments and reasonings. It is not less true, however, that I have found, in more instances than one, a readiness to speak or write against the "Six Letters" and their Author, where there existed none to impart to himself a knowledge of the things objected against. As a personal concern, I should have much preferred to have passed this matter by in silence; but the justice due to a serious argument connected with a very solemn subject, demands that I should not altogether hold my peace.

The testimonies which have been given both in public and private, to the value and importance of the "Six Letters" have been exceedingly numerous. But upon these I have no disposition to enlarge. I have always been much more solicitous to seek for arguments against my labours upon this subjeet, than for commendations of them. But this consideration must not withhold me from earnestly recommending to the notice of those who wish to prosecute the present enquiry respecting the theory of the Greek Article, the learned and elaborate work of Dr. Middleton on that subject. 8vo. Cadell.

Upon the whole then, I desire it to be understood, that the general argument respecting the true interpretation of certain important texts in the New Testament, as it is comprised in the "Six Letters," has hitherto, in my judgment, been in no respect impaired by any thing which I have seen alleged on the other side.

Let it be further understood, that I hereby earnestly invite either the public or private communication of any objections against it;

That I beg respectfully to suggest, that no man can well be more laudably employed than in endeavouring to rescue any doctrine of our religion from the rash attempts of injudicious men to support it by false and untenable arguments;

And, finally, that I hereby pledge myself to retract publicly what I have written in my "Six Letters," so soon as I shall be convinced, either by my own researches, or those of

others, that what I have there written is justly liable to that imputation.

Nov. 20, 1809.

P.S. *June* 1, 1839. Nothing has occurred to the Editor, since his last communications on this subject, to impair, in the slightest degree, his confidence in the conclusions, assumed to have been obtained in prosecuting the investigation above referred to.

When the keepers of the field slept, and the enemy had sown tares, and they had choked the wheat, and almost destroyed it: when the world complained of the infinite errors in the church, and being oppressed by a violent power, durst not complain so much as they had cause; and when they who had cause to complain, were yet themselves very much abased, and did not complain in all they might; when divers excellent persons, St. Bernard, Clemangis, Grosthead, Marsilius, and pope Adrian himself, with many others, not to reckon Wickliffe, Hus, Hierome of Prague, the Bohemians, and the poor men of Lyons, whom they called heretics, and confuted with fire and sword; when almost all Christian princes did complain heavily of the corrupt state of the church, and of religion, and no remedy could be had, but the very intended remedy made things much worse: then it was that divers Christian kingdoms, and particularly the church of England, being ashamed of the errors, superstitions, heresies, and impieties which had deturpated the face of the church, looked into the glass of Scripture and pure antiquity, and washed away those stains, with which time, and inadvertency, and tyranny had besmeared her; and, being thus cleansed, and washed, is accused by the Roman parties of novelty, and condemned because she refuses to run into the same excess of riot and deordination.—But we cannot deserve blame who return to our ancient and first health, by preferring a new cure before an old sore.

Bishop Taylor.

CONTENTS.

VOL. I.

PAGE

I. Introduction. The British Church and the Anglican. *Inett.* 3
II. ———. King Henry II.; and Archbishop Becket. *Inett.* 29
III. ———. National Churches.—Papal Usurpations on the Rights of the Civil Government . . . . . *Inett.* 59
IV. ———. King John, the Barons, and Pope Innocent the Third . . . . . *Inett.* 77
V ———. Papal Usurpations in Church and State: Origin and Progress of.—General Recapitulation . . . . *Inett.* 132
VI. ———. Doctrinal Corruptions of Popery . . *Bentley.* 147
VII. John Wickliffe . . . . . *Fox.* 165
VIII. William Thorpe . . . . . *Fox.* 259
IX. Lord Cobham . . . . . *Fox.* 351
X. Supplementary Extracts.—Invention of Printing.—Chaucer and Gower.—Progress of Reformation and of Persecution.—Martin Luther . . . . . *Fox.* 403
XI. Dean Colet (from the Phœnix) . . . . . *Erasmus.* 433
XII. Cardinal Wolsey, by Cavendish, his Gentleman Usher; a new and complete edition, from Manuscripts in the Lambeth and other Libraries 459

VOL. II.

I. Thomas Bilney . . . . . *Fox.* 1
II. Sir Thomas More; now first published, from a Manuscript in the Lambeth Library, the Author unknown 43
III. William Tindall . . . . . *Fox.* 185
IV. Cromwell, Earl of Essex . . . . . *Fox.* 217
V. John Rogers . . . . . *Fox.* 301
VI. Bishop Hooper . . . . . *Fox.* 353
VII. Doctor Rowland Taylor . . . . . *Fox.* 403
VIII. Bishop Latimer . . . . . *Fox.* 443

VOL. III.

		PAGE
I.	Bishop Ridley . . . . . *Fox.*	1
II.	Archbishop Cranmer . . . . . *Fox.*	123
III.	Thomas Mountain . . . . . *Strype.*	275
IV.	Bishop Jewel . . . . . *Anonymous.*	307
V.	Bernard Gilpin . . . . . *Bishop Carleton.*	367
VI.	Richard Hooker . . . . . *Isaac Walton.*	433
VII.	Archbishop Whitgift . . . . . *Sir George Paul.*	547
VIII.	Doctor John Donne . . . . . *Isaac Walton*	623

VOL. IV.

I.	George Herbert . . . . . *Isaac Walton.*	1
II.	Sir Henry Wotton . . . . . *Isaac Walton.*	63
III.	Nicholas Ferrar . . . . . *Dr. Peckard.*	111
IV.	Bishop Hall . . . . . *Himself.*	255
V.	Dr. Henry Hammond . . . . . *Bishop Fell.*	313
VI.	Bishop Sanderson . . . . . *Isaac Walton.*	395
VII.	Richard Baxter . . . . . *Himself.*	475
VIII.	Sir Matthew Hale . . . . . *Bishop Burnet.*	507
IX.	Earl of Rochester . . . . . *Bishop Burnet.*	585
X.	Archbishop Tillotson . . . . . *Anonymous.*	651
	Index	701

ERRATA.—VOL. I.

Page 270, line 5 from bottom, for *put*, read *fully*.
—— 284, — 12 from bottom, for *would* not, read *could* not.
—— 438, — 19 from bottom, for *modyn*, read *modyr*, (i. e. mother).
—— 442, — 19, for 1538, read 153.

INTRODUCTION

FROM

DR. JOHN INETT AND DR. RICHARD BENTLEY.

"Equidem fontes unde hauriretis, atque etiam itinera ipsa putavi esse demonstranda."

CICERO.

INTRODUCTION.

THE BRITISH CHURCH; AND THE ANGLICAN[1].

Though truth is a blessing which God has laid open and in common to mankind, and they who consider the nature of man, and the great purposes for which he is sent into the world, cannot but own, that every one has the same right, and is under the same obligation, to embrace truth and reject error, as to make a right use of his natural faculties, or to believe and obey God, and to take care of his own salvation; and though this is so evident, that if they who plead for an implicit faith, did not at the same time offer us marks of the true church and the infallible guide, and in so doing make every private Christian a judge in the greatest and most perplexed controversy in religion, and appeal to the reason which they call us to resign, and by contradicting themselves become the jest, they would fall under a different character, and be treated as the common enemies of mankind;—yet it must be owned, that it is a strange deference and veneration which some men pay to the understanding and usages of their ancestors. They will not see, if their fathers happened to live in the dark; refuse truth, if it had not been offered to them; and venture their salvation upon the credit of *their wisdom*, who wanted opportunities to be sufficiently informed; and even they choose error if it has but the colour of antiquity to recommend it. And which is stranger still, as if there was some particular charm

[1] *The Anglican.*] From "*Origines Anglicanæ*, or, a History of the English Church, by John Inett, D.D. Chanter and Canon Residentiary of the Cathedral Church of Lincoln. Fol. 2 vols. 1710. Oxford." Being the *Preface* to Vol. ii.

in proximity of blood, error in the possession of their immediate ancestors has the advantages of truth at a distance; and the dark, illiterate, and corrupted, are by some Christians preferred to the more knowing and purer ages of the church. And it is so difficult to set men right who go wrong out of choice, that he who attempts to undeceive them is more likely to fall under their displeasure, and be thought their enemy for telling them the truth, than to convince and bring them to retract their errors.

But if some men add obstinacy to their mistakes, nothing can be more reasonable than that they who never received, or, upon better information, have forsaken the mistakes, should be just to truth, and guard the honour of their religion from the censures and reproaches of those who unhappily mistake and pervert it. Our enemies know too much to trust their cause to the decision of that rule which ought to determine all the controversies of the Christian church; take refuge in antiquity, and hope for the protection amongst men, which God and his word have denied them; and when we plead Scriptures, boldly reply, that the doctrines which they now maintain are the same that our ancestors received with their Christianity; and the authority which they challenge, no other than what these submitted to. Although there is no weight in arguments of this kind, but such as may with equal force serve the interest of Judaism against our common Christianity, and of paganism against them both; yet the better to undeceive men in their own way, by removing the popular objections from antiquity which commonly mislead them, I have ever thought that a fair and impartial history of the corrupt doctrines of the church of Rome would be the best answer to the antiquity pretended for them, and just views of the time when, and the unworthy arts by which they gained a power over the Western churches, would be the best, and all the apology that was necessary to justify their rejecting of it. This consideration seems to have directed the labours of that great prelate[1] who wrote the history of the British church, and the same views have been the guide to the continuator thereof.

The case of the *British* church is so fully accounted for by the aforesaid prelate, that I shall say nothing of it; and what has

[1] *That great prelate.*] Bishop Stillingfleet; in his "*Origines Britannicæ*; or, the Antiquities of the British Churches. 1685. Fol." By "the Continuator thereof," the author refers to himself, and to the work of which the extract before us is the Preface to the second volume.

already been observed[1] in the history of the first ages of the *English* church, will render it needless to say more to justify the doctrine of our Holy Mother; except only to remind the reader, that the missionaries from Rome, who bore a part in the conversions of our ancestors, suffered them to bring some of their pagan corruptions and superstitious practices along with them into the church. Yet they maintained the doctrine of Gregory the Great, who forbade the worship of images; and God was the only object of their worship. They followed the ancients in their prayers to him to consummate the happiness of departed souls, but knew nothing of praying them out of purgatory. Their Homilies[2] are full and express against the doctrine of transubstantiation. They translated the Holy Scriptures into the vulgar tongue, and by their canons required the reading of them. They forbade private masses, and required and practised the administration of the sacrament in both kinds. And if Lanfrank and the Norman clergy made any change in the doctrine of the blessed sacrament, it went no further than private opinion, till the council of Lateran, in the beginning of the thirteenth century. That of Constance in the fifteenth shows us *when*, and by what authority the practice of administering the sacrament in *one* kind was first established. The original of chantries in England in the thirteenth century shows *when* the doctrine of purgatory was received. That of infallibility arose out of the claims of an universal pastorship, first broached by Gregory the Seventh in the latter end of the eleventh century, but sped in England as it did in France, and was never received. In short, if the world had a just history of

[1] *Already been observed.*] That is, in the author's preceding volume.

[2] *Their Homilies.*] So Archbishop Parker, in his portion of "*The Defence of Priests' Marriages.*" "But, in God's name, why should they make this their doctrine of transubstantiation, and the gross presence to be so new, that Berengarius must be the first author declaring against it? Whereas ancient records prove the true doctrine was urged and appointed both for priests in their synods, for the religious in their collations, for the common people in their ordinary exhortations, and *expressed in Homilies of a great number, extant in Saxon speech for all the festival days in the year*, which written, were so used many a year before Berengarius was born or heard of. So that the bishops of old may as well be charged to be Calvinists, if the assertion be so considered, as well as the bishop of Sarum" (Jewell), "or any bishops at these days." p. 336. 4to. black letter. Some of these Homilies were published under the encouragement of the archbishop, by Fox the martyrologist, A.D. 1571. 4to. See also 1 Inett, p. 348—55, and 366, 7.

popery, *they* would have great reason to repent their rashness, who plead antiquity for it, and put their cause upon that issue. And the many new doctrines first established by the council of Trent so fully confirm the truth of this assertion, that I shall think it needless to say more upon this head; nor had I said this, but by showing the reader that these doctrines fall not in the compass of my present design, to account for the reason of my silence respecting them in the following history.

In this volume I have endeavoured to perform what I promised to the public in my last; that is, to give a just view of the English church for some time after the Norman revolution; and, in particular, of the rise and steps of the papal power, and the changes, as well in the government of the state as the church, which attended it. And because the controversies about investitures, the legantine power, the right of appeals, the exemption of the religious from the authority of their bishops, and both of them and the clergy from the civil power, and about the patronage of the crown, give the best light to the government and discipline of the ancient English church, and show us *when* and *how* a change was gradually introduced; and show that this of England was much the same case as that of other churches abroad, which, by the same men, and by the same arts, and about the same time, were broken and subdued to that of Rome; I have therefore thought myself obliged to be more full and particular in observing the steps and conduct of those long disputes. And indeed, however these controversies pass under other titles, the subject of them was neither more nor less than whether the kings of England should continue, or the bishops of Rome should be raised to the head of the national church? whether the bishops of England might act up to their character and the canons of the universal church; or whether the bishops of Rome might supersede the commission of Christ, and at pleasure control the authority of his church? whether they should govern the church of Rome as bishops; or, as monarchs and sovereign princes, should preside over the universal church?

Nor was England the only scene of controversy; but from the pontificate of Gregory the Seventh, in the latter end of the eleventh century, when the pretence to an universal pastorship was first broached, till the time of pope Innocent the Third in the beginning of the thirteenth, when the authority of the bishops of Rome arrived at its utmost height of grandeur and elevation, the

history of the Western churches is little else but one continued scene of strife and contention; one long struggle betwixt the bishops of Rome endeavouring to raise themselves, and the princes and bishops of the West to guard their kingdoms and churches from their usurpation and encroachments. This was so much the case of England, and the artifices and attempts of the bishops of Rome, in pursuance of the aforesaid design, make so great a part in our history, that it is impossible to give a just view of the English church, without observing the measures and conduct of those prelates, whose ambition and designs did about this time occasion so much trouble, and in the event drew so many mischiefs on the church and nation.

It is but too evident, that the bishops of Rome did in time gain a jurisdiction over the English church; and this has been industriously misrepresented, and so artfully covered with the pretence of antiquity, as to deceive some, and raise doubts and scruples in the minds of others: and this pretence was first made use of, to prevent and embarrass all the steps to the Reformation, and ever since to reproach us with a charge of schism[1]. Besides, not only the doctrines of infallibility and necessity of communion with the church of Rome, but all those doctrines which properly fall under the head of popery, arise out of the claims or depend upon the authority of the see of Rome, and stand and fall with them; and the honour and justice of the Reformation do in some measure turn upon the same foot. I shall therefore, the better to set these matters in a true light, ask the reader's leave to make some historical remarks on the *ground* and *progress* of the claims of the court of Rome, which, for the reasons above, do necessarily take up so much room in the following history.

The unparalleled assurance with which some men challenge a power, which, like the rivers of paradise, encompasses the whole earth, extends to the other world, and determines the future state of mankind; which in many instances pretends to control the authority of God, to allow what He forbids, and forbid what He allows; to set up itself as a standard of truth and error, and the last resort of justice;—would tempt one to think, that a claim which at once shocks the natural notions of God and religion, and

[1] *Charge of schism.*] That the church of England was not guilty of schism in her Reformation, see 4 Christian Institutes, p. 312—24. 334—9. 358—9. Jewell and n.

the common sense of mankind, should have the most express authority of God, or at least something to colour so extraordinary a pretence. But how wretchedly is one disappointed, who finds all this founded on nothing but upon some occasional discourses of our Saviour with St. Peter, or some particular advices and reproofs addressed to that apostle, but so far from giving the least colour to the claims built upon them, that it is hard to say whether they who found them here, or they who carry us to the history of the creation, and undertake the proof from God's making two great lights[1], have the greater advantage in the argument.

If one looks to the commission which our Saviour gave to his apostles in his lifetime, to preach to the Jewish nation, exclusive both of the Gentiles and Samaritans; or to that after his resurrection when all power both in heaven and earth was given to him, to go out into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature, and finds not the least mark of any particular power given to St. Peter;—if one considers, that although Christ as God-man was the great lawgiver to his church, yet this power was founded in his divine nature, and was essential to and inseparable from the person of the Mediator; that as a prophet he came not to be ministered unto, but to minister; that it was this ministerial and prophetic power[2] which he committed to his church; we are so much to seek for the regalia of St. Peter, that if history did not explain the secret, the Christian church had in probability been as little acquainted with the pretended powers of the bishops of Rome, as the patriarchs were who lived before the flood.

But it is so natural to men who make their fortunes in the world, to indulge a vanity, and the better to cover the meanness of their original, to look backward to find or make a pedigree, to add a lustre to the family which themselves first raised, that we are not to wonder if the bishops of Rome took the same measures, and endeavoured to persuade the world, that the authority which

[1] *Two great lights.*] "They have indeed found the Pope" (says Barrow) "in the first chapter of Genesis, v. 16; for, if we believe P. Innocent III., he is one of the *two great luminaries* there; and he is as plainly there, as any where else in the Bible." Barrow *on the Pope's Supremacy;* or *Christian Institutes,* vol. iv. p. 151. 8vo. 1837.

[2] *This prophetic power.*] See Baxter in *Christian Institutes,* vol. i. p. 475; and Barrow, in the same collection, vol. ii. p. 398.

was first gained by their own conduct, was founded in the commission of Christ. And the sense and practice of the whole Christian church, for a thousand years after Christ, do so fully confirm this conjecture, that there is no one thing more evident, than that the aforesaid claims, and the wrested interpretation of Scriptures on which they are built, had the same beginning, and were ushered into the world by that ambition which first broached the pretence to an universal pastorship.

And the success and credit thereof has been answerable to the weakness of the pretence; for at least two-thirds of the Christian world rejected as well the aforesaid interpretations, as the doctrines which were built upon them: and those Christians who have been unhappily deceived by the assurance with which the court of Rome has endeavoured to impose their pretensions, do still differ so much about them, that if a visible interest did not enable us to account for it, one would wonder how such great bodies of Christians should centre in the communion of a church, when the principles on which that unity is founded, so vastly differ, or rather so directly destroy one another, that it may be truly said of the claims of the court of Rome, that they have had the fate which commonly attends impostures, which seldom need any thing else to detect and expose them, but the inconsistent tales which are usually made for their colour and support. For a primacy of order, an universal pastorship by divine right, and an authority over the Western church in right of the patriarchate of Rome, are so many several things so widely distant in their own original, their nature and extent, that if they do not flatter themselves, who tell us that the Spanish and Italian churches maintain the supremacy, and in consequence thereof the infallibility of the bishops of Rome by divine right, the Gallican church is certainly in the wrong, and guilty of heresy in denying both; but if the French are in the right, the charge of heresy will with equal force turn back on the Spanish and Italian churches.

If a more favourable construction be put upon this controversy betwixt those churches, it may be, it will appear much more to the disadvantage of those claims which occasion it; for if they who boast so much of the zeal of the Spaniards for the grandeur of the papacy, would follow them to their dominions in Italy, and observe the jurisdiction which they challenge and exercise in the right of the crown of Naples, and call to mind the vigorous efforts of their bishops, as well as of the French and Germans, in the

council of Trent, for the divine right of episcopal residence and the consequences of that doctrine; or consider their friendship and communion with the Gallican church, which so openly denies and confutes the supremacy of the bishops of Rome,—they cannot easily be persuaded that the Spaniards are such friends to those claims as some men seem to believe. And one who reflects on the conduct of the Portuguese, upon that revolution which brought the present royal family to the crown of Portugal, with what steadiness and resolution they opposed the attempts of the court of Rome, to gain a part in the nomination of their bishops; that notwithstanding the unsettled state of the new government, the vigorous attempts of the Spaniards to reduce that kingdom to their obedience, and the utmost inconveniences which their church suffered by that dispute,—yet for above twenty years they maintained their ground, and at last secured the rights of the crown,—will be apt to think, that the bigotry of that people is not such a blind and governable thing as some men seem to imagine. And indeed the conduct of all the Western princes in communion with the church of Rome is so much alike, whenever their interests call them to dispute the claims of the court of Rome, as might convince the world that they mean no more by the pompous titles they bestow upon the bishops of Rome, than what the emperor Phocas intended, when he conferred upon them the title of œcumenical bishops; or the preceding emperors, when in their edicts and rescripts they gave the same titles to the bishops of the greater sees. And the unsuccessful attempts of those prelates to put an end to the disputes betwixt the Dominicans and Franciscans, the Jansenists and the Jesuits, and even to quiet the trifling squabbles, where the sentiments, the honour, the offices, or the privileges of particular orders are concerned, would incline one to think, that the universal pastorship has little credit amongst those who are under the obligations of vows and interest to support it.

Whatever the present sense of some Western churches may be in this particular, nothing can be more evident, than that all the apostles and all the first Christian bishops consulted and acted in common[1], and ever treated one another as colleagues and brethren; that the government and discipline of the whole

[1] *In common.*] See Barrow *on the Pope's Supremacy*; or *Christian Institutes*, vol. iii. p. 267—70.

Christian church was founded on a belief of an equality of character and power, common to the whole order of bishops; that several popes in their disputes with the African bishops founded their claim on a pretended canon of the council of Nice; that when the title of universal bishop was first given to the patriarch of Constantinople, Gregory the Great founded his arguments against that title, not on any particular right of his own see, but on the indignity thereby offered to the whole order of bishops: to say no more,—the grounds upon which the councils of Nice, Chalcedon and Constantinople, settle the patriarchal dignities, are so certain, so full and uncontrollable an evidence of the sense of the whole Christian church, against the universal pastorship of the bishops of Rome *by divine right*, that if some men's ambition had not extinguished all sense of truth and modesty, and some corruptions in doctrine and worship, which depend chiefly on the authority of the see of Rome, had not disposed others to favour the pretensions, which at once shelter their errors and serve some unworthy ends, I make no doubt but the claims of that court had long since been exploded, as the worst grounded and the most dangerous imposture that was ever offered to the Christian world.

The Gallican church pretends to steer a middle course, betwixt a bare primacy of order *by canon*, and the supreme authority over the church, or the universal pastorship *by divine right;* and yet in the decrees of their general assembly in the year 1682, wherein that church has published her sentiments on that subject, they treat of it in such a manner, as if they designed to mortify the power which they pretend to advance; to justify the churches which are already reformed; and open the way to the reformation of that of France. For whilst they assert the primacy of St. Peter and his successors by the institution of Christ, speak of the majesty of the apostolic see and the obedience due to the bishops of Rome from all Christians, they renounce the authority of the church in temporal matters; they confirm the council of Constance, the 4th and 5th sessions especially, which subject the bishops of Rome even to be deposed by a general council; deny their infallibility in matters of faith; and bound their authority in matters of discipline, not only by the canons of the Christian church, but by the rules, customs, and institutions of states and national churches; and found these decrees on the

authority derived to them from the Holy Ghost. How consistent these decrees are with themselves or with the usages of the Gallican church, I shall leave others to determine; but if there can be such a visionary primacy as is consistent with the natural rights of princes, the canons of the universal church, the just liberties of national churches, and the authority of Christian bishops, there seems no more reason to quarrel about it, than to make war upon the king of Spain for his title of king of Jerusalem; or undertake to confute the claims of a certain prince who calls himself the emperor of the Sun: in short, whatever occasioned or whatever be the issue of these decrees, I cannot but say of them as St. Paul does on a like occasion, whether of truth and good-will, or out of contention, yet Christ is preached, and I glory in it. For the sense of this council is so agreeable to the sentiments of the greatest writers of that nation, who with incomparable learning and judgment have confuted the supremacy of the bishops of Rome, and does so much overbalance whatever can be pretended from the contrary sense of the Spanish and Italian churches, and at the same time does so fully assert the independence of the Gallican church, and thereby justify the conduct of the reformed churches, and open a way to the reformation of a church which has made so open and so vigorous a step toward it,—that one cannot but hope that it may in time produce great effects for the good of Christendom.

They who give up the aforesaid claims as indefensible by scripture and the best antiquity, and found their hopes in the patriarchal institution[1], and upon this foot challenge the obedience of the Western churches, have some colour for their pretensions. But unless this argument be carried beyond its due length, the controversy on this head would be confined to the bounds of Italy, and no way deserve the reflections of an English historian. Yet because this institution leads to the true original of the authority of those prelates, who suffered their ingratitude to keep equal paces with their ambition, and in time disowned the trust which was the first step to their succeeding greatness, and to this day continues to be the most colourable pretence for it; to set this matter in a just light, it may be fit to observe the

[1] *The patriarchal institution.*] See Barrow *on the Pope's Supremacy,* or *Christian Institutes,* vol. iii. p. 370—3.

original, the nature, the extent and consequences of this institution, before I come to consider the sense of the English church and nation in the matter under question.

The gospel having made a great progress in the empire, the fathers of the church began very early to suit the policy and discipline thereof to the form of the civil government[1], and by silent consent yielded a superiority to the bishops of the greater sees; and the success of this change answering the expected ends, the first council of Nice settled it by canon, and leaving the metropolitans, or the bishops of the metropolis, in possession of the power which had before been allowed by silent consent and confirmed by usage, they made a farther step, still acting upon the same view, the plan of the civil government. During the infancy of the Roman empire, the court of the prefect of Rome was the last resort of justice, and appeals were brought thither from the utmost parts of the empire; but to render the methods of justice more easy, the succeeding emperors changed this course and divided their dominions into districts, which, from the title of prefects given to the persons who presided in them, came in time to be termed prefectures. And after several changes, about the reign of Constantine the Great, Rome, Antioch, Alexandria, and Treves, were set out for the residence of their prefects, and for the supreme courts of justice to all the adjacent provinces. Rome to some parts of Italy and Africa; Antioch to the eastern provinces; Alexandria to Egypt, Libya, and the neighbouring provinces of the empire; Treves to Britain, Spain, and Gaul. From this platform the bounds of the church and the empire being much the same, the bishops of Rome, Antioch, and Alexandria, were by the consent of the church raised above the rest by the council of Nice; and upon the same grounds, after the building of Constantinople and settling it as a new seat of the empire, next in honour and precedence to Rome, and styled *New* Rome, the bishops thereof were by the council of Constantinople raised to the *second* place in the church. Jerusalem, before subject to Antioch, as the mother church of Christendom was upon that ground considered by the same council; and as the bishops thereof were the only prelates advanced above

[1] *The civil government.*] See Hooker, b. vii. c. viii. § 7. Keble's edition; and Barrow *on the Pope's Supremacy;* or *Christian Institutes,* vol. iii. p. 269—73.

their brethren on the foot of our common Christianity, they seem to have much the fairest claim to the eminence of authority, which they of Rome only pretend to.

Things being thus settled by the councils of Nice and Constantinople, about the time of the council of Chalcedon in the following century, the bishops of those churches acquired the title of patriarchs, and their districts of patriarchates; their sees were styled apostolical, and so great a deference was paid to their persons, that the emperors in their rescripts address to them under the title of holiness, and style them œcumenical patriarchs: and in the seventh Novel of Justinian, tit. i. that prince addresses Epiphanius, then bishop of Constantinople, not only under the title of most holy and blessed archbishop and patriarch of that city, (as the bishops of Rome were usually called patriarchs of the city of Rome,) but adds as a distinct title, that of œcumenical patriarch.

Treves, the chief seat of the Gallic prefecture, though equally within the reason and grounds of this establishment when it was first projected, had yet no part therein. But this seems owing not to any oversight or omission, much less to any design to open a way to the pretensions of the bishops of Rome, (for the whole course of this affair, and the part which those prelates acted therein, oblige one to believe those pretences were not at this time so much as thought of by any side,) but was occasioned by the circumstances of that part of the Roman empire. For Gaul, which was the name the Romans gave to that vast tract of land lying betwixt the Alps and the Pyreneans, the Mediterranean, the Ocean, and the Rhine, was exceedingly infested by the irruptions of the French and Almans, the Vandals, Alans, Burgundians, the Sueves, and Visigoths; and the French gained such footing therein, that after a succession of some lesser princes, the French monarchy was settled by Pharamond about the year 420.

Pretty near the same time the Vandals seated themselves in Spain, as the Saxons did in Britain about the middle of that century, and the whole empire received such a shock in the taking of Rome by the Goths the beginning of the same age, that although the emperors continued their titles to these kingdoms, yet they were never recovered to the empire, and were torn off from it before the final settlement of the patriarchal power in the council of Chalcedon. The kingdoms about the Baltic were never subdued by the Romans; and the impres-

sions which they made upon Germany were so far short of a perfect conquest, that it may more properly be said, that that country added a bare title to the emperors, rather than enlarged the bounds of their dominions.—These few reflections make it easy to conceive how it came to pass, that the western and northern kingdoms were so little considered, or rather not thought of at all, by those councils which settled the patriarchal institution. But if they had, those nations had certainly fallen within the patriarchate designed to answer the Gallic prefecture; and Treves, not Rome, had been the seat of it; and even if Britain, France, and Spain had been laid into the patriarchate of Rome, I make no doubt but the same authority which first settled, would have put an end to this institution, had those who formed it, lived to see the empire torn to pieces, and in that change the reason entirely extinguished upon which it was founded. And since God only, who sees things that are not as if they were, can give such laws as shall be for ever binding; since there is not a nation or a church in the world, which has not great numbers of laws and canons grown obsolete by change of circumstances; and this is the case of many canons of general councils, and of that of the apostles "to abstain from blood," and even of the whole ritual law, and must of necessity be the case of all human constitutions, the obligation ever ceasing with the reason on which they are grounded; nothing can be more evident than this proposition, that it is the interest of a party, not the weight of argument, which supports the pretended patriarchal power of the bishops of Rome. In short, they have as good a title to be kings as patriarchs of Great Britain, and might with a better colour challenge the crown from the void resignation of King John, than pretend to an authority over the English church, by virtue of those canons which settled the patriarchal power.

But though the authority of that institution is long since determined with the reason of it, yet it had such good effect in the East, that if it had been carried to the intended lengths in the West, and a patriarchate settled there to answer the Gallic prefecture, in all probability it would have prevented the mischiefs the Western churches have suffered by the claims of the bishops of Rome. But so it was, that whilst the Eastern churches were so well guarded thereby, that notwithstanding the shock they received by the conquest of the Latins in the beginning of the thirteenth century, and the pretended submission of the Greek to

the Latin church in the council of Florence, the Greek churches preserve their rights and liberties to this day:—God, for reasons best known to himself, left the Western churches open and unguarded, and in time suffered them to become a prey to the ambition of the bishops of Rome.

For these prelates, being thus raised in that capacity to the first place in the Christian church, were exceedingly elated by their new character; and the way being thus prepared, a great many things fell to favour their ambition. The zeal and resolution of those prelates in opposing the Arian heresy brightened their character. The countenance which pope Zachary and Stephen gave to the deposition of Childeric king of the Franks, and setting up the Carlovingian line, so engaged the princes of that house, that by their interest the Gallican church was united to that of Rome the latter end of the eighth century. The translation of the empire to the Franks, wherein pope Stephen and Leo acted a part, was returned by Charlemagne in conferring great wealth, and power, and privileges on the see of Rome; and the bishops thereof were thereby raised to the state of temporal princes about the year 800.

The afflictions which fell upon Christendom by those inundations which tore the empire in pieces, did indeed lessen their merit, but raised their power and interest. For those invasions in a great measure bore down the religion, and extinguished the learning, and for some time spread paganism through all the Western nations; and the bishops of Rome having a hand in the conversion of these invaders, suffered them to bring a great deal of their pagan doctrine and superstitious worship along with them into the church; treated them as the Jesuits have lately done their converts in China; and became popular by indulging and defending their errors. The purity of the gospel being thus corrupted, and the discipline and ancient government of the church in great measure forgotten, great numbers of forged epistles were published to raise a belief of the ancient power and privileges of those prelates; and though now rejected by the most learned men[1] of that communion, yet they passed for true history in the ages wherein they were published, and in great measure answered the purposes for which they were designed.

[1] *The most learned men.*] See Joannis Morini *Vita,* in his *Antiquitates Ecclesiæ Orientalis,* p. v. vi. 1703.

But still, though they made a great figure in the West, it yet went little farther than parade and show. Their power was precarious and uncertain, ruffled and checked at pleasure; and the canons of the church turned against them by every private bishop. In short, their authority was controlled and denied, and even insulted, whenever it bore too hard on the rights of princes, synods, and national churches. And thus things continued till Gregory the seventh, in the latter end of the eleventh century, published his design to erect the ecclesiastical monarchy. And indeed, whilst the church of Rome continued in a state of dependence on the empire, and the bishops thereof were nominated, or at least their elections confirmed by the emperors, and did not enter upon the pontifical authority till they were qualified for it by an oath of allegiance to them;—it was impossible they should ever raise themselves to a sovereign power over other national churches; for nothing could be so wild and ridiculous as to challenge the title of mistress and mother of other churches, when she was not mistress of herself; or to pretend to separate other churches from a dependence on the supreme authority of states and kingdoms, whilst that of Rome itself remained in a state of dependence on the empire. And the long disputes betwixt the emperors and the bishops of Rome on that subject, begun by Gregory the seventh, put it beyond all doubt, that this was the case of that church when that prelate[1] was raised to the papal chair.

Having said thus much, to give a short view of the claims and pretensions of the bishops of Rome, and the first steps they made towards the supreme jurisdiction and sovereign power which they gained in time over the Western churches; I come now to consider the state and sense of the English church in particular. And here it will be requisite to observe,

I. The nature and extent of the supremacy or sovereign jurisdiction those prelates pretend to. I shall not lead the reader to the dictates or maxims of Pope Gregory the seventh, or to the boundary set out by the canon law, or by the council of Trent, but observe the nature and extent thereof whilst received in England, or as now exercised in some other churches of the West. And this consisted in confirming the elections of archbishops and bishops; putting them in possession of their respective trusts; and, in return, receiving an oath of canonical obedience from

[1] *When that prelate.*] April 22, 1073.

them; calling them to councils abroad, and to national synods at home; discharging places and persons from their jurisdiction, and receiving appeals from their courts; exempting the persons of the clergy from the authority, and their revenues from the impositions of the state; and subjecting both these to themselves; exempting the lands of some of the religious from payment of tithes; and subjecting as well them as the secular clergy to first-fruits, tenths, pensions, and subsidies imposed by themselves. There are some other instances wherein those prelates exercised a sovereign power over the English church, but they are branches from these greater articles, and must stand or fall with them.—This being said of the nature and subjects of the supremacy of the bishops of Rome, it will be fit to proceed and enquire,

II. *How far* the ancient English church was affected by it. And here we are to observe, that although one part of the English nation owed its conversion to the see of Rome, and all the rest complied in some of the rites and usages thereof; and the archbishops did sometimes receive their palls from thence; and the whole English church paid a great deal of deference to the bishops of that see;—yet in all our histories and records, from the first planting of the gospel amongst the Britons[1] to the

[1] *Amongst the Britons.*] See Bishop Stillingfleet's *Origines Britannicæ*, chap. 3. p. 99—144. (The Just Rights of the British Churches cleared.)—No evidence that they were under the Roman patriarchate; and chap. 5. p. 356—64. (Independence of the British Churches, evinced by their conduct towards Augustine the Monk.) So the learned Sir Roger Twisden, in his excellent work, *An Historical Vindication of the Church of England, in point of Schism*, 1675. 4to, p. 7. says, "As the *Britons* are not read to have yielded any subjection to the papacy, so neither is Rome noted to have taken any notice of them. For Gregory the Great, about 590, being told certain children were *de Britannia insula*, did not know whether the country were Christian or Pagan. And when Augustine came hither (598), and demanded their obedience to the church of Rome, the abbot of Bangor returned him answer, 'that they were obedient to the church of God, to the pope of Rome, and to every godly Christian, to love every one in his degree in charity, to help them in word and deed to be the children of God; and other obedience than this they did not know to be due to *him*, whom he named to be pope, and to be father of fathers.' . . . And it appears by Giraldus Cambrensis, this distance between the two churches continued long, even till Henry II. (1185) induced their submission by force; before which 'episcopi Walliæ a Merevensi antistite sunt consecrati, et ipse similiter ab aliis tanquam suffraganeis est consecratus, nulla penitus alii ecclesiæ facta professione vel subjectione;' the generality of which words must be construed to have reference

Norman revolution, there is not so much as a single instance of any one bishop, whose election was confirmed by those of Rome, or put in possession of his trust, or tied to them by an oath of canonical obedience; of any council called in England by their authority; or bishop called to their councils abroad; of any person or society exempted from the authority of their proper bishops; or of any appeal made from their courts to that of Rome; of any tenth, first-fruits, or subsidies paid to or imposed by them: in short, there is not any law of the state, nor any canon of the church, that gives the least countenance to the pretended authority of the bishops of Rome; there is not the least mark of any jurisdiction or authority exercised by them over the ancient English church. And one who considers, that jurisdiction is a plain and a sensible thing, and appears so evidently in canons and matters of fact; that church discipline and forms of ecclesiastical business do as certainly discover the seat and boundaries of ecclesiastical power, as the style of laws and forms of justice set out the nature of civil government, and enable us to distinguish a monarchy from a commonwealth;—should, one would think, need nothing more than the entire silence of our history to clear the matter under question.

If this be not enough to give us a just view of the sense and practice of the English church in this particular, it may be fit to observe, that when the legate of the bishop of Rome, Boniface archbishop of Mentz, by whose address the princes of the Carlovingian line were wrought upon to subject, or at least to unite, the Gallican church to that of Rome, in an epistle to Cuthbert archbishop of Canterbury attempted to bring the English church to the like condition; the council of Cloveshoe in the year 747 not only rejected the offer with resentment, but by an express canon [1] asserted the freedom and independency thereof. Besides, as our history does not afford one single instance in favour of the

as well to Rome as Canterbury. For, a little after, he shows that though Augustine called them to council as a legate of the apostolic see, yet returned, they did proclaim they would 'not acknowledge him an archbishop, but did contemn both himself and what he had established.' 'I confess,' says he again, 'that it has ever seemed to me (and he alleges his reasons) that they received the first principles of their Christianity from Asia.' "—Ibid. p. 7.

[1] *An express canon.*] The Acts of the council (see 1 Wilkins's *Concilia*, p. 90—100) do not seem to warrant this strong expression. I do not see that much can be concluded from them either way.

papal claims, so, on the contrary, they are full and express on the side of the royal supremacy. The kings of England acted as the supreme ordinaries and heads of the national church; and, as such, set out and divided dioceses; named their bishops and received appeals from their courts; convened national councils; and by their laws settled the revenues of the church; directed the conduct, and punished all offences of the clergy against the state; and, as occasion required, subjected their revenues to the support of the government. And the long struggle and opposition which they made to guard their rights from the usurpations of the court of Rome, and the subsequent changes in the polity and order of this church occasioned thereby, so fully confirm what has been already suggested on this head, that if some men had not lost all sense of shame and regard of truth, the supremacy of the bishops of Rome over the ancient English church had never been the subject of dispute. But,

III. It must be owned, that during the reign of William the first, pope Gregory[1] published the claims of the bishops of Rome to a supreme authority over the whole Christian church; and what our Saviour said to St. Peter of the rock on which he would build his church, the charge he gave him to feed his sheep, and what he said of himself of his being the way and the door; and, in short, all the fine things that could be thought on, were laid together to give weight to, or at least to colour that pretence.—But after all, if arguments of a very different nature from those of the gospel had not come in to their aid, the English church *after* the Conquest had doubtless paid as little regard to this pretence, as it had done *before;* and this sort of reasoning had signified as much in the Western, as it did in the Eastern churches, which paid no more regard to it than to the claims of the Turks in favour of Mahomet. *How* it came to pass will be fully accounted for in the following history; but it may be fit shortly to observe here on this head, that king Henry the first, by yielding up his right of investiture and giving way to the legantine power, advanced the bishops of Rome to the head of the English clergy. In consequence of those concessions they became judges of the elections of bishops; put them in possession of their trusts;

[1] *Pope Gregory.*] Of the general history of Hildebrand, or pope Gregory VII. as connected with his vast ambitious designs on England, &c., see *Inett*, vol. ii. p. 32—69; *Christian Institutes*, vol. iv. p. 104—7. 120—2. and Index, under *Gregory VII.*

required an oath of obedience from them; called national councils at home; obliged them to attend their councils abroad; and in time came to lay impositions on the revenues, and to dispose of the preferments of the church. The right of appeals, and the exemptions of the clergy from the authority of the state, contended for and begun in king Stephen's, were yielded up in the following reign of Henry the second; and the designs of that court were consummated, and the civil as well as the ecclesiastical supremacy, so far as was in the power of that prince, was put into their hands by king John.

It is *here* we have the beginning, the steps, and the foundation of the papal supremacy over the English church, which the flatterers of that pretence look for in vain in the *preceding* ages. And the whole course of our history so fully justifies this account, that whereas before the Conquest we have neither marks nor footsteps of the papal jurisdiction,—from the time of the aforesaid agreements to the Reformation, our ecclesiastic history is little else but different scenes of oppression, and of remonstrances against the abuses it occasioned.—Whether this change *in fact and practice* altered the *sentiments*, and *changed* the *faith and sense* of the church and nation in this particular, is the *next* thing to be enquired into.

IV. One would have expected, that men who are so very forward to reproach us with a parliamentary church and a state-religion, would have produced some canon of an English national council, grounded on the authority of Christ or the consent of the universal church, to justify this change in the government thereof; at least some public act of the state. But after all it is very evident, that all through the long controversies which their claims occasioned, the nobility, bishops, and clergy, some few excepted, adhered steadily to the rights of the crown and the church; and that when king Henry did what in him lay to give them away in the great council held in London in the year 1107, he acted wholly upon political reasons; and was over-influenced by his great minister and favourite the Earl of Mellent, against the sense of the wiser and greater part of that assembly. And this was so much the case in all the other disputes on this subject, that if any credit can be given to history, the supreme authority of the bishops of Rome over the English church had no other foundation, but some unhappy concessions or leagues betwixt the kings of England and those prelates, occasioned by the bad titles,

the weakness, the ill circumstances, or the difficulties which the arts of that court had drawn upon them.

If the same reasons, upon which our princes acted in the aforesaid changes, did not oblige the church and nation to submit to them, then, since (unless the restoration of the papal power in the reign of queen Mary may be so called) it does not appear that a submission was ever settled by any law of the state, or any canon of the English church:—on the contrary, the entire and full sovereignty of the imperial crown of England was so constantly asserted by our several succeeding kings and their great councils; and the pretended supremacy of those prelates was so frequently denied and controlled, and even insulted by the statutes of mortmain, præmunire, and provisors, annates or first-fruits, and that of Henry the seventh rescinding the papal exemptions of the religious from the payment of tithes; and was so restrained in all the parts and branches thereof, whenever it interfered with the rights of the crown or the good of the nation; and was at last so generally renounced and abjured [1], as well by the whole clergy in convocation, as by the people in parliament; and all this brought about in fewer weeks than it had cost years to obtain; and whilst popery, in other respects, continued the established religion, and did depend so far on the authority of the bishops of Rome, that it was easy to foresee that this change would open the way to the Reformation which the body of his clergy so much dreaded: hence if any judgment can be made of the faith of a Christian church and nation by the canons, the laws and practices thereof, the supremacy of the bishops of Rome was never received as a part of the religion of England, any more than it is at this time in France; but, on the contrary, was ever esteemed an *usurpation* on the rights of the monarchy and the church. Besides it is very evident, that the attempt of king John to render the kingdom a fief of the papacy, though attended with the forms and appearances of law, was ever thought a void [2] and illegal act, and

[1] *Renounced and abjured.*] *An Act* (26 Hen. VIII. c. i. A.D. 1535-6) *concerning the King's Highness to be Supreme Head,* &c., and *An Act* (28 Hen. VIII. c. x. A.D. 1537) *extinguishing the authority of the Bishop of Rome.*

[2] *Ever thought a void.*] The king (Edward III.) had lately received notice, that the pope, in consideration of the homage which John, king of England, had formerly paid to the see of Rome, and of the tribute by him granted to the said see, intended by process to cite his majesty to appear at

served only to reproach the memory of that prince and the wickedness of that court which compelled him to it; and to let

his court at Avignon, to answer for his defaults in not performing what the said king, his predecessor, had so undertaken for him and his heirs, kings of England. Whereupon the king required the advice of his parliament, what course he had best take, if any such process should come out against him. The bishops, lords and commons desired until the following day to give in their answer; when being again assembled, after full deliberation, they declared as follows: that "neither king John, nor any other king, could bring himself, his realm, and people, under such subjection without their assent; and if it was done, it was done without consent of parliament, and contrary to his coronation oath; that he was notoriously compelled to it by the necessity of his affairs and the iniquity of the times. Wherefore the said estates enacted, that in case the pope should attempt any thing by process, or any other way, to constrain the king and his subjects to perform what he says he lays claim to in this respect, they would resist and withstand him to the utmost of their power." *Parliamentary History of England,* vol. i. p. 130. Compare Cotton's *Abridgment,* p. 102. fol.

Of hardly inferior value, is a very explicit testimony even from Sir Thomas More:

"Nowe if he saye, as in dede some wryters saye, that king John made England and Ireland tributary to the pope and the see apostolike, by the graunt of a thousand markes; we dare surely saye agayne that it is untrue; and that all Rome neither can shewe such a graunt, nor never could: and if they could, *it were right nought worth.* For never could any kinge of England geve away the realm to the pope, or make the land tributary though he would; nor no such moneye is there payde, nor never was." *The Supplication of Souls.* Works of Sir Thomas More, p. 296. 1557. fol. The testimony, I say, is valuable, as proceeding from a high constitutional authority. At the same time, you cannot but remark, in reference to a different point, that it is not pleasant to see with what confidence, in a controversial spirit, and in extenuation of the offences of the see of Rome, such a man should so confidently contradict, as he here does, the unquestionable facts of this tribute having been imposed, and exacted, till it came to be denied in a tone too firm for the pope to overcome. It is true that More might not have so fully all the sources of information which we possess; but ignorance can hardly be thought a sufficient excuse for assertions so positive and confident.

See also Sir Thomas Smith's *Commonwealth of England,* b. i. c. ix.

We may remark yet again, on this important point, that we have the general argument well put and clearly expressed, in a short tract of bishop Hooper, preserved by Strype, in his *Ecclesiastical Memorials,* (vol. iii. No. xxvi. Records), and entitled *De vera ratione inveniendæ et fugiendæ falsæ doctrinæ.* It was written, as the reader will perceive, in the reign of queen Mary.

"Et quod auctoritatem suam papa ratum esse voluerit, *quasi a regibus et principibus concessam*; certo scimus reges et principes, et *si vellent,* non *posse*

posterity see how impossible it is to guard the civil, whenever the ecclesiastical supremacy shall be ravished from the crown: and yet it is certain, the grants of the *ecclesiastical* supremacy were no less mischievous and no better grounded, than that charter which pretended to give away the crown.—And if this be a true state of our case, the charge of schism against the reformed church of England must of necessity vanish with the imposture which supports it; and there can be no more ground to question the wisdom and justice of our reformation, than to doubt whether a nation may resume the rights [1] which were illegally given away; or

aliquam suæ dignitatis partem cuiquam conferre, nec a suo officio et honore *deponere.* Nam *quod Deus* necessario alicui statui conjungit, nemo in alium statum transferre valet. Reges autem sub se ministros, qui *ecclesiæ* et *reipublicæ* munia ministrent, habere possunt, sed *pares* vel *superiores* in ecclesiæ vel reipub. ministerio habere, *regibus non licet.* Et si forte quispiam, vel regis *permissione,* vel aliqua *temporis præscriptione,* vel *tyrannide,* in ecclesiis auctoritatem sibi vindicat; nemo tamen illius auctoritati obtemperare debet, nec episcopo, nec papæ, quatenus sunt episcopi; quandoquidem a Deo talem potestatem non habent: nec quia a regibus missi, propterea quod talem potestatem reges *episcopo papali* facere non possunt. Sed hanc potestatem papæ clare vindicat Joannes (Apoc. xvii.) originem suam habuisse nec a Deo nec ab homine, sed ex abysso; et in interitum procul dubio brevi ibit.

"Sed hanc violentiam et Satanicam auctoritatem papæ, non est præsentis instituti ulterius prosequi. Tantum admonere volui, quamvis contra omnia jura divina et humana, nunc iterum, propter nostra peccata, inter Anglos *caput ecclesiæ* appellari obtinuerit; non plus hic habere *jurisdictionis, quam infimus episcopus Angliæ habet Romæ.* Et tandem denuo Dominus interficiet illum spiritu oris sui, ut antehac fecit." P. 75, 76.

In a later age, the *like* objection was urged to the royal concessions, to another species of tyranny and usurpation, that of democracy and regicide.

"This parliament," says the noble-minded Marquis of Ormond to Lord Inchiquin, (Nov. 17, 1648) "have voted the king's answers unsatisfactory; though they were *as* large, or larger than *he could give:* for to my sense he hath parted with more than *his own.*" Carte's *Life of Ormond,* vol. iii. p. 593. Again in the *State Papers of Edward Earl of Clarendon,* vol. ii. p. 309. "*The king hath not power to release* one grain of *the allegiance* that *is due to him.*"

[1] *May resume the rights.*] All the points connected with these matters were deliberately considered by the Convocation of 1536, and accordingly, on this in particular, in their *Institution of a Christian Man,* 1537, (the Bishop's Book) they thus express themselves, under the head "*The Sacrament of Orders.*" fol. p. 50, 51.

"Whereas the kynges most royall Majestie, consyderynge of his most excellent wysedom, not only the notable decaye of Christe's true and perfytte religion amonges us, but also the intollerable thraldome, captivitie and

a Christian church may act up to the commission of Christ, and contend earnestly for the faith which he delivered to the saints.

These few reflections on the claims of the bishops of Rome, on their true and pretended antiquity; on the grounds and the consequences thereof; and on the sense of the Christian church in general on this subject, and of that of England in particular, will, I hope, give the reader a just view of the nature and importance of those disputes occasioned thereby: and by leaving it out of doubt that it was guarding the supremacy of the crown, and preserving the ancient freedom and independence of the English church on the one side, and on the other usurping on the rights of both, which were the great subject of the aforesaid controversies, will sufficiently answer for the room which has been allowed them in the following history.

bondage, with the infinite damages and prejudices, whiche we and other his subjectes continually susteyned, by reason of that longe-usurped and abused power, whiche the bishops of Rome were wonte to exercyse here in this realme, hath nowe of his moste godly disposition, and by consent of his nobles spiritual and temporal, and by the auctoritie of the hole parlyament, determyned no longer to suffer the byshop of Rome to execute any parte of his jurisdiction here within this realme, but clerely to delyver us from the same, and restore us again to our olde lybertie: surely we have great cause most joyfully and thankefully to embrace and accepte the same, considerynge that therby no prejudice is done to Goddis worde or his ordynances. For, as we have shewed and declared before, it was by princes and *men's* ordinance and sufferance onely that the byshop of Rome exercysed any such jurisdiction within this realme, and not by any auctoritie gyven unto hym by *Christe*. And, as for the byshop of Rome, he can not pretende himselfe no more to be greved or injured therewith, than the kynges chancellour, or any other his offycers might worthily thinke, that the kinges highnes shulde do hym wronge, in case he shulde upon good causes remove hym from his sayde roome and offyce, and committe it unto another. And as for us and other the kynges faythfulle subjectes, we shall undoubtedly receyve and have therby syngular welthe and commoditie, as well spiritually to the edifienge of our soules, as corporally to the encrease of our substance and ryches."

See also a passage to the same purport, under the same head, in the *Necessary Doctrine and Erudition for any Christian Man*. (The King's Book, 1543. signat I. 6, 7.) The reader is aware that two years before, viz., in 1534, the bishops, universities, collegiate churches, monasteries, and learned men generally throughout the kingdom, on being formally consulted by the king, had, with very few exceptions, determined:

"Romanum episcopum majorem aliquam jurisdictionem non habere sibi a Deo collatam in sacra scriptura, in hoc regno Angliæ, quam alium quemvis externum episcopum." Twisden, 72 and 119.

If I have not carried this work so low as might be expected, and this be not sufficiently accounted for by what has been already said on the subject thereof, I hope I may be allowed to say, that I have performed what I promised to the public in my last, and given a just view of the state of the church from the first rise of the papal power, till that usurpation was carried to its utmost height of grandeur and elevation; and of the changes occasioned thereby both in church and state.—When the hard fate of our Holy Mother, which stands charged by one party with approaching too near to that of Rome, whilst that church, which one would think was the best judge of compliances of this kind, charges us with heresy and schism for standing at too great a distance from her, first obliged me to lay out out all the time I was master of, the better to enable me to make a true judgment of the controversies which so unhappily divide the state of Christendom; and the bright pattern of that most worthy and learned prelate, who wrote the History of the British church, had brought me to a resolution to endeavour to do right to our Holy Mother by setting her history in a true light; I flattered myself with the hopes of continuing our history, from the time where the learned bishop of Worcester concludes his, till the resumption thereof by another very learned and most worthy prelate [1], in his History of the Reformation; and designed in three short and distinct volumes to set out the three great periods and different states of the English church: the first, that before the Conquest, whilst its primitive freedom and independence on that of Rome were duly preserved; the second, the state of the church from the Norman revolution, whilst things were in a ferment, and the usurpations of the bishops of Rome still making new steps, till their sovereign power rose to its full growth in the reign of king John; the third, to give a just view of our affairs during the vassalage and subjection of the English church to that of Rome, till the Reformation so happily rescued the church and kingdom from the mischiefs of that usurpation.

The first part of this design has been published some years since; the second is what now I offer to the public: but the time and my age have in some measure cooled the sanguine thoughts I once had of the third; and the views I have taken, and the steps I have made towards it, drive one backward, and rather

[1] *Another more worthy prelate.*] Bishop Burnet.

throw one into despair, than bring me to any resolution to proceed. For to say nothing of the expense of time, the charge and difficulties which attend the very access to records and manuscripts, from whence the most considerable notices are to be expected; it is no little mortification to hunt from one record to another, to find little else but new scenes of tyranny and oppression; to dwell upon a story filled with remonstrances of our kings and their great councils; broken and eluded laws; the unregarded complaints and petitions of the clergy; the unpitied cries of a nation; and, in every line one writes, to feel new pain and bleed afresh in the wounds of our country. In short, a history which one can hardly read with patience, or relate with the calmness and temper that become a Christian, is at best a very discouraging undertaking.

Yet one who considers the artifices and address, with which our enemies are every day attempting to bring these nations back again to the yoke under which our ancestors so long groaned; how totally some men have forgot the miseries of those days, and even the late prospect we had of falling under them again; how fondly some men talk of an union with that church, which can allow no terms of communion but such as must let in a foreign power, and bring servitude along with them; how unhappily some mistake the decency and order of our Holy Mother, and will not believe that she is far enough from popery, because she does not sacrifice all regard to the best ages of the church, and run into novelty to show her aversion to that of Rome;—will easily be persuaded, that the advantages would on many accounts over-balance the difficulties which attend a work of this kind. Had we as plain a view of the use which the court of Rome *made* of their power[1], as, I hope, the following history will give of the unworthy arts by which they *gained* it; could we see how the wealth of the nation was exhausted to enrich her enemies; all the measures of law and justice, and even the religion of Christ, forced to give way to avarice and ambition; the sacred patrimony of the English church made the reward of those who first enslaved it; and at once behold the difference betwixt the purity, the decency, the order, and the gentleness of our Holy Mother, and the corruptions, the foppery, the superstition and tyranny of

[1] *Made of their power.*] This service, I may remark, is designed to be answered, in some degree, by the earlier portions of the present collection.

Rome;—a work of this nature would give us a lively view of the blessings of the Reformation, and raise up so just a veneration for that church, which has hitherto through the blessing of God continued its greatest ornament and support, as might possibly cure the mistakes which so unhappily divide us, or at least teach us all such forbearance of one another in love, that our divisions and animosities may never provoke God to take his blessings from us.

INTRODUCTION.

KING HENRY II.; AND ARCHBISHOP BECKET[1].

The affairs of the king (Henry II.) being in a very good posture, he was at leisure to make his progress in England, and in the year 1159 to go over into France, and set up his pretensions to the earldom of Thoulouse. But whilst things went thus quietly in England, pope Adrian died, which occasioned a new schism[2] in the church of Rome.

The haughtiness and ambition of pope Adrian were so suitable to the present views of the court of Rome, that it is not easy to determine whether that prelate was inspired from his court, or actuated by the ambition of his own nature. But from whatever principle he moved, it is very evident that his whole conduct was much of a piece. His rescript to king Henry and bold claim to a sovereignty over all Christian islands[3] were dictated by the same spirit, which every where appears in his transactions with

[1] *Archbishop Becket.*] From Inett's *Origines Anglicanæ*, vol. ii. p. 235—51. 272—83. 286, 7.

[2] *A new schism.*] Of these schisms in the church of Rome, their effects, &c., see *Inett*, vol. ii. p. 77—81. 140. 138—70.

[3] *Christian islands.*] "The kyng" (Henry II.) "wrote to P. Adrian of his purpose to reduce the Irishe nation to better religion. The pope in his rescripte did well commende his good zeale, and councelled hym to go forwarde; but with this proviso, that because (saith he) all ilandes that be turned to the fayth belong to the ryghts of S. Peter and the most holy churche of Rome, the lande shoulde pay yerely to S. Peter for every house a penye. . . . . So that whosoever take payne and coste to set any nation in order, or to bryng them to better beliefe, the pope would lose nothyng thereby: where yet tyll that tyme, his fatherhood dyd most strangely suffer

the empire. And it was easy to foresee that the designs of the court of Rome would not die with pope Adrian; therefore the emperor Frederick, taking the advantage of the present vacancy, employed all his interest in that court to secure such an election as might be consistent with the peace of the empire. On the other hand, the governing part of that court, which was hitherto animated by the spirit of Gregory the seventh, cast their thoughts another way, and this created such difficulties in the election of pope Adrian's successor, as ended in a schism; for the court party chose cardinal Rowland late chancellor of the church of St. Peter in Rome, who took the name of Alexander the third; whilst the imperial faction chose cardinal Octavian, who took upon him the name of Victor the fourth.

The warmth of the several parties was much alike, and with equal assurance they mutually pretended to the right of election. The kings of England and France acknowledged the title of Alexander, whilst the emperor favoured Victor, and gave such uneasiness to pope Alexander, as obliged him to run the hazard of a voyage by sea to get into France, where we must leave him, till we meet him at the council of Tours, about three years after his advancement to the papacy, concerting measures with Becket then archbishop of Canterbury, for which the king of England had no reason to thank him.

The public business detaining the king (1160) in Normandy, Theobald archbishop of Canterbury had the greatest hand in all the affairs of the English church, and by his wisdom and good conduct things went on so smoothly, that except the common changes which death is ever making, the three or four last years of that prelate's government afford nothing but the building of monasteries, the increase of the religious, and such other occurrences as the historian of the state is chiefly concerned to account for.

But after that prelate had filled that chair for two-and-twenty years, he died about the middle of April in the beginning of this year (1161), and by his death made way for a successor of a very different temper. The king was in Normandy at the time of

that people so outrageously to live, tyll the kyng tooke to the reformation." Archbishop Parker, in the (anonymous) *Defence of Priests' Marriages,* p. 344. 4to.

For a further account of this pretended grant of Ireland by pope Adrian, see *Inett*, vol. ii. p. 227—31. and 279. given below.

Theobald's death, and was attended by Thomas archdeacon of Canterbury, whose services there were so necessary to him, that whatever thoughts he might have of his succession, that chair was not filled till the year following.

The king having determined to put that important trust into the hands of his present chancellor, in order thereto he sent him into England, where, by the appointment of Henry the father, his son Henry, lately crowned king of England, summoned a council to meet at London; and the prior and some of the monks of Canterbury being commanded to attend that assembly, the said prior and monks, with the concurrence of the bishops of the province, elected Thomas Becket[1], provost of Beverly, archdeacon of Canterbury and lord chancellor of England, archbishop. To fit him for that great station he was ordained priest on Trinity Sunday this year (1162), and in the beginning of June following was consecrated bishop, by Henry bishop of Winchester, assisted by several other bishops of the province. This prelate was the son of a merchant, and born in London, and is said to be the first Englishman advanced to the see of Canterbury since the Norman conquest. He was at this time the great favourite and minister of Henry the second, and at his desire chosen archbishop; and as chancellor he had acquitted himself so much to the satisfaction of the king and the court, that from his great complaisance and address in that post, the king had formed a mighty expectance, and promised himself a freedom from the disputes and broils, which the stiffness of Anselm and some other of this prelate's predecessors had drawn upon the kingdom.

But the king too soon saw himself deceived, and the ground of his hopes turned back upon him. For no sooner did that prelate change his character, but his air and address became new too, and his conversation and conduct had a turn so different from what they appeared before, as too plainly showed the king he had

[1] *Thomas Becket.*] "Thomas *a* Becket. This is a small error; but being so often repeated, deserveth to be observed and corrected. The name of that archbishop was *Thomas Becket;* nor can it otherwise have been found to be written in any authentic history, record, calendar, or other book. If the vulgar did formerly, as it doth now, call him Thomas *a* Becket, their mistake is not to be followed by learned men." Henry Wharton's *Observations* subjoined to Strype's *Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer;* Appendix, p. 256.

misplaced his hopes and favours, and that there wanted nothing but opportunity and instructions from the court of Rome, to render this prelate the fittest instrument to consummate that usurpation which was already become insupportable to the church and kingdom; and the trusts which he had passed through, served only to increase and give still greater reason for the suspicion and fears of the king. However, things passed quietly the first year.

Pope Alexander the third, as has been said before, finding himself very uneasy at Rome, and by the power of the emperor Frederick, who had espoused the interest of his rival pope Victor the fourth, so shut up in Italy, that he could not without great difficulty keep up a correspondence with France, England, or Spain; and having for that reason ground to suspect, that the emperor might bring those nations over to his adversary; at least make such impressions as might be to his disadvantage; he left Rome, and sailed to France; and the better to concert measures with the clergy of France and England, called a council, which met at Tours in France about Whitsuntide this year (1163).

This put so colourable an opportunity into the hands of the new archbishop of Canterbury, to concert measures for the carrying on what his after conduct gives one reason to think he had before projected, that he could not overlook it. Therefore he applied himself to the king, and having obtained his leave, he, accompanied by Roger archbishop of York and the bishop of Durham[a], went over into France. Pope Alexander received the archbishop of Canterbury with all the marks of honour and esteem; and in return, if we may rely on the authority of Neubrigensis, he secretly resigned his archbishopric, because, as that author saith, he had received his investiture from the hands of the king[b]; and then took it back again from the hands of the pope[c].

Baronius agrees that he resigned his bishopric to pope Alexander, but fixes the resignation after the council of Clarendon when that prelate fled into France[d], and says, the reason of this resignation was for that his conscience was troubled, because he chiefly owed his election to the archbishopric to the favour of the

[a] Baron. Annal. ann. 1163. N. 2.
[b] Neubrig. lib. ii. cap. 16.
[c] Ibid.
[d] Baron. Annal. ann. 1163. N. 19.

king[a]. And herein Baronius follows the writers of his life; and if he be not mistaken in the time he fixeth for this affair, it is very probable he is not mistaken in the reason and true ground thereof. For beside the many papal canons which had been made upon that subject, King Henry the first did in the year 1107 give up his right to the investiture of bishops[1], and it does

[a] Annal. ann. 1164. N. 30.

[1] *Investiture of Bishops*] "The king's" (Henry I.) "contests with the church, concerning *the right of investiture*, (A.D. 1108) were more obstinate and more dangerous. As this is an affair that troubled all Europe as well as England, and holds deservedly a principal place in the story of those times, it will not be impertinent to trace it up to its original. In the early times of Christianity, when religion was only drawn from its obscurity to be persecuted; when a bishop was only a candidate for martyrdom; neither the preferment, nor the right of bestowing it, were sought with great ambition. Bishops were then elected, and often against their desire by their clergy and people; the subordinate ecclesiastical districts were provided for in the same manner. After the Roman empire became Christian, this usage, so generally established, still maintained its ground. However, in the principal cities, the emperor frequently exercised the privilege of giving a sanction to the choice and sometimes of appointing the bishop; though, for the most part, the popular election still prevailed. But when the Barbarians, after destroying the empire, had at length submitted their necks to the gospel, their kings and great men, full of zeal and gratitude to their instructors, endowed the church with large territories and great privileges. In this case it is but natural that they should be the patrons of those dignities, and nominate to that power, which arose from their own free bounty. Hence the bishoprics in the greatest part of Europe became in *effect*, whatever some few might have been in *appearance*, merely *donative*. And as the bishoprics formed so many seigniories, when the feudal establishment was completed, they partook of the feudal nature, so far as they were subjects capable of it; homage and fealty were required on the part of the spiritual vassal; the king on his part gave the bishop the investiture, or livery and seizin of his temporalities, *by the delivery of a ring and staff*. This was the original manner of granting feudal property, and something like it is still practised in our base-courts. Pope Adrian confirmed this privilege to Charlemagne by an express grant. The clergy of that time, ignorant, but inquisitive, were ready at finding types and mysteries in every ceremony: they construed the staff into an emblem of the *pastoral* care, and the ring into a type of the bishop's allegorical *marriage* with his church; and therefore supposed them designed as emblems of a jurisdiction merely *spiritual*. The papal pretensions increased with the general ignorance and superstition; and the better to support these pretensions, it was necessary at once to exalt the clergy extremely, and, by breaking off all ties between them and their natural sovereigns, to attach them wholly to the Roman see. In pursuance of this project, the pope first strictly forbade the clergy to receive investitures from laymen, or to do them homage.

not appear that this usage was resumed either by king Stephen or by the present king. But it is very evident that the court of Rome began about this time to be very impatient of allowing princes any share in the election of bishops; and the archbishop's

A council held at Rome entirely condemned this practice: and the condemnation was the less unpopular, because the investiture gave rise to frequent and flagrant abuses, especially in England, where the sees were on this pretence with much scandal (often) held long in the king's hands, and afterwards as scandalously and publicly sold to the highest bidder. So it had been in the last reign, and so it continued in this.

"Henry, though vigorously attacked, with great resolution maintained the rights of his crown with regard to investitures, whilst he saw the emperor, who claimed a right of *investing the pope himself*, subdued by the thunder of the Vatican. His chief opposition was within his own kingdom. Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, a man of unblamable life, and of learning for his time, but blindly attached to the rights of the church, real or supposed, refused to consecrate those who received investitures from the king. The parties appealed to Rome. Rome, unwilling either to recede from her pretensions or to provoke a powerful monarch, gives a dubious answer. Meanwhile the contest grows hotter: Anselm is obliged to quit the kingdom, but is still inflexible. At last the king, who, from the delicate situation of his affairs in the beginning of his reign, had been obliged to *temporize* for a long time, by his usual prudent mixture of management with force, obliged the pope to a temperament, which seemed extremely judicious. The king received homage and fealty from his vassal: the *investiture*, as it was generally understood to relate to *spiritual* jurisdiction, was given up, and on this equal bottom peace was established. The secret of the pope's moderation was this: he was at that juncture close pressed by the emperor, and it might be highly dangerous to contend with two such enemies at once; and he was much more ready to yield to Henry, who had no reciprocal demands on him, than to the emperor, who had many and just ones, and to whom he could not yield any one point, without giving up an infinite number of others very material and interesting.

"As the king extricated himself happily from so great an affair, so all the other difficulties of his reign only exercised without endangering him." Burke's *Essay towards an Abridgment of the English History*. Works, vol. x. p. 437. 8vo. 1812.

This is the best concise account I have seen of Henry's struggle in the question of the investiture. But looking at the turn of some of the expressions, it may not be improper to remind my reader, that Burke, at least at the time when this work was written, was a Roman Catholic.

On the same dispute, see also Southey's *Book of the Church*, vol. i. p. 128—31 134,5. 137,8. edit. 1824; an exact and masterly compendium, which, with Blunt's *History of the Reformation*, ought to be in the hands of every young person of suitable condition in the kingdom.

Consult also, for the *general* history of this question, Inett, vol. ii p. 24—7, 92—101, 104—9, and 238, &c., part of the extract now before us.

pretence of being troubled in conscience[1], for being advanced by the interest and recommendation of the king, was at this time

[1] *Troubled in conscience.*] It will be right here to turn to Inett's account of the previous practice of the church of England in the appointment of bishops, and of what took place in the cases of the four immediate predecessors of Becket:

"The elections of bishops had hitherto ever had their beginning from the crown. The method observed from the Conquest had been this: Whensoever the see of Canterbury became void, the time of filling it was governed by the pleasure of the king; and when he had first resolved upon disposing that great trust, he sent his summons to the prior and convents of Canterbury, to depute some of their body to attend him at some meeting of a great council, to assist in the choice of an archbishop, where, with the advice of that assembly and the suffrage of the bishops of the province, a person nominated by the king was usually chosen. Thus Lanfranc, and Anselm, and William, the three preceding archbishops, were advanced to that great station.

"But in the summons of the legate (Alberic, bishop of Ostia) to the aforesaid council of Westminster (December A.D. 1138), directed to Jeremy the prior, and the convent of Canterbury, that prelate requires that the prior, with a number of the convent, sufficiently empowered for the election of an archbishop, should attend upon the council. Nor was he content thus to break in upon the rights of the crown in making the *first* step in this affair; but in the same instrument he tells the prior that their election being thus made, and consented to by the bishops of the province, the king cannot and ought not in justice to deny his consent. Such an insult upon the rights of the crown was too open to be overseen by the king (Stephen), but the ill posture of his government made him wink at it; and his brother the bishop of Winchester had set his heart upon Canterbury, and was not to provoke the legate, who by the bold and insolent manner in which he had set the business of the election into motion, without the knowledge of the king, had given ground to believe that the conduct of that affair would fall into his hands.

"But it happened here as it generally does when some present views lead men out of the ways of law and justice. The compliment made to the bishops of the province in asserting their rights to a vote in the choice of their own metropolitan served only to render their rights an easier prey, by separating them from the rights of the crown.—Such was the case of the convent too. Neither did the king nor his brother find their accounts in this matter. The king was afraid to trust a new accession of power in the hands of his brother, whose authority in his capacity of legate had already overshadowed the royal power; and therefore, notwithstanding the passion of his brother for the vacant chair, the king secretly favoured the interest of Theobald, abbot of Bec in Normandy; and this so influenced the election, that Theobald was chosen archbishop of Canterbury." *Inett*, vol. ii. p. 179—80.

Compare Twisden's *Vindication*, p. 54, thus: "Our writers do wholly look upon the placing of Lanfranc in Canterbury as the king's act, though it

the highest and most acceptable strain of courtship that could be made to the court of Rome, which began every where to pretend to be supreme patrons as well as ordinaries of the church, and, in order thereunto, pretended to a mighty zeal for asserting the rights of capitular elections[1].

Beside what was publicly owned and transacted at the council of Tours, it seems very probable, that a design was there formed to make the clergy of the Western churches, as far as it was possible, a body separate and independent on the civil powers, and that measures were concerted and agreed upon in order thereto: at least thus much is evident, that he who preached the sermon at the opening of that council, and which is inserted in the history of Baronius, saith, that the unity of the church, then engaged in a schism, and the liberties of the clergy, were the business of that assembly[a]; and he presseth both with such equal passion and warmth, that it is not easy to determine, which of the two that orator was most concerned to recommend to that assembly: for, as he tells them, that "the church had not a being if it was not one;" so he tells them, that "without liberty the church must be miserable, and to be miserable and not to be were much the same; nay," saith he, "it is worse to be miserable than not to be at all[b]." Such stress was that council taught to put upon the new ecclesiastic liberty.

Accordingly, when the dispute on that subject broke out in England, the archbishop pretended to entitle God to the liberties he contested for, and in the management of that controversy was so entirely governed by the court of Rome, that in his letters to the king and to the bishops of England, written during his exile, he says, that his letters were perused and allowed by the bishop of Rome[c], before he sent them. And the zeal, with which that court defended that prelate when alive, and prosecuted his ene-

were not without the advice of Alexander II. Neither did Anselm ever make scruple of accepting the archbishopric, because he was not chosen by the monks of Canterbury." For the earliest case of concession by a king of England, in a dispute of this nature, which was by king Stephen (A.D. 1141), in refereuce to the see of York, see Inett, vol. ii. p. 188—90. and for the practice in the appointment of bishops in earlier times, see a long note from Inett given below under king John, &c.

[1] *Capitular elections.*] See Index, under *Capitular elections.* See also *Inett,* vol. ii. p. 188—90. 365—75. 403—10.

[a] Baron. Annal. ann. 1163.

[b] Ibid.

[c] Hoved. par. poster. fol. 289.

mies, and did honour to his memory when he was dead, make it still more evident that the affair, which about this time gave so much trouble to England, was first formed by the counsels and then conducted by the interest of the court of Rome, and in all probability concerted at this interview betwixt the pope and the archbishop. And the commotions which immediately followed the council of Tours, still add more weight to the conjecture; for from this time the histories of the Western nations are so full of the wrangles and broils occasioned by the pretence to ecclesiastic liberty, that Æmilius saith, the controversy on that subject spread itself over the world[a]. It appears by Baronius[b], that the empire, and the kingdoms of Sicily and Hungary, as well as England, were about the same time embroiled by the same controversy.

Some steps this way had been made in England about twenty years before; for Alberic bishop of Ostia and legate of pope Innocent, taking the advantage of the weakness and troubles of king Stephen's reign, by a canon of the council which he held in Winchester in the year 1138, gave the first light into the designs of the court which sent him; and was followed therein by Henry bishop of Winchester and legate of the bishop of Rome, at the council held in London in the year 1143 according to Hoveden[c], the year preceding according to M. Paris; wherein it was decreed, that whosoever should lay violent hands upon any clergyman, should not be absolved but by the pope himself or in his presence. This canon is somewhat different in M. Paris, but the preamble, the reason, and the consequence of the canon are agreed upon. The pretence which gave beginning to it, was the mischiefs which the clergy then suffered by the civil war; for the several parties made no difference betwixt them and the laity, but took them prisoners and made them pay for their ransom. But had this matter stopped here, the world had received no trouble by it; for the favour allowed the clergy by this canon, was little more than what another canon of the same council allowed to those that till the ground, and what the imperial law had generally allowed to merchants and husbandmen in the time of war; and that is, a security of their persons from outrage and violence.

[a] Æmil. de Re Fran. fol. 110. [b] Baron. Annal. ann. 1169. N. 49.
[c] Concil. Brit. vol. ii. p. 47.

But this alone was not sufficient to answer the great design, to make the clergy of the Western churches a body separate and independent on the civil power; which could not be done without delivering them from the authority of their old masters. And the sanctions annexed to the aforesaid canons leave it beyond a doubt, that the security of the clergy was not the only thing which the court of Rome had then in view; for by carrying the cognizance of such violences as should be offered to them, from the courts of the king of England to the bishop of Rome, and by changing the civil penalty into an ecclesiastic censure, those canons did, in the consequence and effect thereof, declare the clergy of England subjects to the bishops of Rome. And the present conduct of that court was every way answerable; for though king Henry took such care for the impartial administration of justice, that the least wrong to the clergy and religious could not escape unpunished, and the settled state of his government left no room for their fears, yet this was so far from putting an end to the design to exempt the clergy from the secular power, for which the confusions of the last reign had given some colour, that this impartial administration of justice was the chief support of those pretences, which disturbed the government of king Henry.

The better to engage the clergy and religious, they were flattered into a belief of the honour and advantages which would accrue to themselves and to the church, by being discharged from the secular power. And by this artifice the design of the court of Rome was so well covered, that the clergy generally ran into it, and those of them who meant well, out of a principle of zeal were for the most part the forwardest therein. And the better to raise their zeal and make them sensible of the encouragement they might expect, the archbishop of Canterbury applied himself to pope Alexander for the canonization of the late archbishop Anselm[a], who had distinguished himself by attempts against the rights of the kings of England, and who had given the first blow to their authority. And as this would raise a glory to surround the head of that prelate, so it would at the same time tell the clergy the example they were to follow, and give new vigour to their zeal, by brightening the pattern which was set before them.

[a] Angl. sac. par. ii. p. 177.

The forwardness of pope Alexander was answerable to the importance of this design; therefore a bull, which bears date at Tours, for the canonization of Anselm, was directed to his successor the new archbishop, with assurance that his proceedings therein should be confirmed by the court of Rome [a]. And no doubt but the address of that court, which ensnared the body of the clergy, easily possessed the archbishop with an opinion of the great honour which would redound to him, by appearing at the head of those who were to assert the ecclesiastic liberty. But whatever springs the zeal of that prelate had, he was no sooner returned from the council of Tours, but he presently set this pretence into motion; the occasion and circumstances whereof, Hoveden and Brompton, both favourers of the pretence and of the conduct of the archbishop, thus relate.

Immediately after the return of the archbishop and his brethren from the council of Tours, a great controversy began betwixt the king and the clergy. "The king," saith Brompton [b], "being desirous that justice should be equally and impartially distributed, and having notice given him by his judges, that several outrages, thefts, and murders were committed by the clergy, ordered," saith Hoveden, "that such of the clergy as should be taken in felony, robbery, murder, or burning of houses, should be carried before the judges, and punished as the laity were, when found guilty of those offences [c]." On the contrary, the archbishop opposed this proceeding, and asserted, that "whatever faults the clergy should be found guilty of, they were only triable in the ecclesiastical court, and before the judges thereof."

The bishops and clergy of the province of Canterbury, in a synodical epistle written to pope Alexander [d], give much the same account of this affair. "The king," say they, "seeing the peace of his kingdom much disturbed by the enormous excesses of some of the clergy, and not thinking the degrading of them for murder and other enormous crimes, a punishment sufficient to answer the guilt, or to preserve the public peace; he caused the laws observed by ecclesiastic persons in the days of his predecessors to be drawn into a body, and appointed that such of the clergy as offended might be punished according to those laws:"

[a] Angl. sac. par. ii. p. 177. [b] Brom. X. Script. col. 1058. N. 50.
[c] Hoved. Annal. par. poster. fol. 282.
[d] Ejusd. Annal. ann. 1167. fol. 293.

whereas say they on the other side, the clergy insisted on their being punishable by the ecclesiastic laws only. And as the king had the advantage in point of right, having the law and usage of England on his side, he had the advantage also in the management of this controversy; for whilst the address on the other side was fierce and impetuous, and carried on with very indecent reflections, the king, says the same provincial letter, on his side managed this dispute with all possible respect and veneration to the clergy[a].

"This," say they, "was the cruelty, which has made such a noise in the world; this the persecution, this the wickedness, which have been so much clamoured against." Whereas, says the same synodical epistle, as the king had declared he had no thoughts of lessening the honour of the clergy or the rights of the church, so he has promised, that if it appear that the aforesaid laws are any way prejudicial to the welfare or good of souls, or dishonourable to the church, he was ready to make such alterations, as with the advice of the clergy of his kingdom should be thought fit.

There were some other collateral branches of this dispute; as whether there lay any appeals[1] from the king's courts, or whether bishops might go out of the kingdom without his leave: but the stress of this controversy was, in short, whether the king had any authority over ecclesiastic persons or in causes ecclesiastical. But because this affair did not only at this time divide the Western churches, but has remained a subject of dispute to after-ages, and the honour of the English church and nation, and the justice and authority of the kings of England, have a great share therein; before I enter upon the relation of this controversy, it may not be amiss to look backward, and to observe the laws and practice of the preceding ages, in the particular under question.

Religion has so just and undoubted a right to the most profound veneration and regard, that the ministers thereof never did and never can want a due respect, but where religion itself wants a due influence and authority on the minds of men. For the honour of religion, and of those to whose conduct the interest and ministry of holy things are committed, stand upon the same

[a] Hoved. Annal. ann. 1167. fol. 293.

[1] *Any appeals.*] See Twisden's *Historical Vindication,* p. 28—38: also Barrow *on the Pope's Supremacy,* p. 417—37. 4to, 1680; and Inett, vol. ii. p. 195,6. 280,1. 376,7. a part of the present extract; and see also Index, under *Appeals to Rome.*

foot, viz. the honour of God, and cannot fail but with the foundation upon which they are built; and as they flow from the same common fountain, and stand or fall together, so they ever bear proportion to one another. Therefore the same holy warmth, which accompanied the first ages of the gospel, did also induce Christian princes to grant great privileges and immunities to the ministers thereof. They were excused from all those personal services, which might be burthensome to them, or which might withdraw them from the offices of their holy function, or render them little in the eyes of men [a]; and their estates were exempted from many charges and burthens, to which the estates of other men were subject [b].

Nor did the favours to the ministers of Christ stop here, but Christian princes entrusted them with all the power that was necessary to serve the ends of peace and charity and holiness [c]. Yet religion was never thought to strip princes of any of those rights, which nature and the ends of government have put into their hands. On the contrary, from the time that the gospel became the religion of the empire, all the concerns and interests thereof were taken under the care of the civil power, and so many laws relating to ecclesiastical persons and causes were made by the imperial authority, that they take up a great deal of room in the body of laws collected by the appointment of the emperor Justinian.

In short, those laws take cognizance of sacred things, persons, and causes. They determine when new churches shall be built, and how supported; how the rectors thereof should subsist; and appoint that their maintenance shall be sacred and inalienable [d]; to whom the patronage of churches shall belong, and by what measures that right should be conducted [e]; how the bishop shall demean himself, if an unworthy man shall be presented [f]; what articles of faith should be esteemed catholic [g]; who shall be deemed heretics, and how punished [h]; and who shall be esteemed catholics [i].

By the same authority too councils were convened, and the canons thereof confirmed and published. Particularly the imperial law determines that the councils of Nice, Ephesus, Chalcedon, and

[a] Codic. lib. i. tit. 2. sect. 6.
[b] Ejusd. N. 5. 7. 11.
[c] Ejusd. tit. 4. sect. 7, 8.
[d] Novel. 7. tit. 1. præfat.
[e] Novel. 123. cap. 18.
[f] Codic. lib. i. tit. 1. sect. 1.
[g] Ejusd. sect. 5.
[h] Codic. lib. i. tit. 1. 6.
[i] Novel. 7. tit. 1. præfat.

Constantinople should be received, and that the books written by Porphyry against the Christian religion should be burnt [a]; that Nestorius, Eutyches, Apollinaris, and their followers, should be esteemed heretics [b].

As the imperial authority thus acted in matters relating to religion and holy things, so it judged of *persons* too. It determined that every city should have its own bishop, and how far his diocese should extend [c]; how persons should be qualified that were admitted to holy orders [d]; how the lower clergy, the monks, the bishops, the metropolitans, the patriarchs, should behave themselves: and by convening the bishops of the whole Christian church to the eight first general councils by the emperors, the world has one comprehensive and undeniable proof of the authority of princes over all ecclesiastical persons, received and owned by the universal church.

Ecclesiastical *causes* were no less the subject of the imperial authority. The laws of the empire direct that synods shall be yearly called, to consider of the matters of faith and discipline [e]; that the judgment and sentences of those assemblies should be conducted by the canons of the church and by the laws of the empire [f]; that the disputes amongst diocesan bishops should be determined by their proper metropolitan and two assessors [g]; if they cannot determine them, then by the archbishop or patriarch [h]; that all causes of the clergy should be finally determined in the provinces wherein they arise [i], and that the clergy should not be called out of the province where they live to any foreign tribunal; and in what manner causes ecclesiastical shall be conducted, to whom the cognizance thereof does in the first instance belong, by what steps appeals shall proceed, and whose sentence shall be final and unappealable [k].

The same laws direct, how a suit betwixt a layman and a clergyman shall be managed; and in case a layman shall commence a suit in the court of a bishop, and either party does not acquiesce in the sentence thereof, that then the cause may be reheard by the civil judge [l]; how metropolitans and bishops should be punished, if they neglect to convene their provincial or

[a] Codic. lib. i. tit. 1. sect. 3.
[b] Ejusd. sect. 5.
[c] Ejusd. tit. 3. 36.
[d] Novel. 6. tit. 6. cap. 4, 5.
[e] Novel. 123. tit. 6. cap. 10. 22.
[f] Ibid.
[g] Ibid.
[h] Ibid.
[i] Codic. lib. i. tit. 4. sect. 29.
[k] Ibid.
[l] Novel. 123. cap. 22.

diocesan synods [a]; how a bishop should be punished, if absent a year from his diocese without the leave of the emperor [b], or, if he excommunicate a person without showing cause; how a deposed bishop should be treated, if he attempt to disturb the public peace [c].

And which is still more, the greatest part, and probably every one, of the aforesaid laws were made by the emperors with the advice of their bishops, and without any complaint were universally obeyed by the clergy and religious; yet, at the time of making those laws, the bounds of Christendom and the empire were much the same. So that one, who looks backwards to the first Christian emperors, and to the greatest and best bishops and clergy that ever served in the Christian church, and finds so many laws on the one side, and such dutifulness and obedience on the other, cannot but stand amazed at an attempt to withdraw the clergy and religious from the authority of the civil government, which at this time gave so much trouble to the English church and nation.

If one was to run over the laws and histories of Europe after the fall of the empire, the case will appear still the same.—But to judge truly of the present controversy, it will concern us to look at home, and view the practice of our ancient English-Saxon ancestors.—Though the assertion of that learned gentleman [d], who affirms that a third part of the land of England was in possession of the clergy, at the time of the Norman conquest, cannot be allowed, yet there is no reason to doubt what that writer and M. Paris before him say of the great tenderness and regard, with which they were ever treated under the Saxon government; wherein the aforesaid learned writer observes, they held their lands by Frank Almonage, and subject to no duties and impositions, but such as they laid upon themselves in ecclesiastical assemblies [e]. Whether this be wholly true, I shall not inquire; but it is certain, that their lands were excused from many of those burthens, to which other lands were subject; that the bishops had a great share both in the legislature and in the administration of justice; they were called to and had places in the great council; and, beside the proper authority allowed to them in right of their function, they were standing judges in the county

[a] Novel. 6. tit. 6. cap. 2. [b] Novel. 123. cap. 10.
[c] Codic. lib. i. tit. 3. sect. 14.
[d] Sir Will. Temp. Introduct. Engl. Hist. p. 175. [e] Ibid.

and hundred courts [a], and a mighty deference was ever paid to their judgment, as well in civil as in ecclesiastical affairs.

Yet, after all, the privileges they enjoyed are so far from proving the English clergy and religious a body distinct and independent upon the state, that they demonstrate they ever were and ever esteemed themselves a part of the body politic, and owed a subjection to their princes and obedience to their laws. For it was by the authority of their princes that the bishops were convened to all state councils, and it was in obedience to their laws that they presided and judged in the courts of justice; and under these laws it was, that the clergy of England challenged all the privileges they enjoyed; and all sides acted up to these notions of the rights of the civil power.

King Ina published a body of ecclesiastic laws [b], and therein directs the duty of the clergy and religious. The laws of king Alfred are particular and express in directing the punishment of a clergyman who should be found guilty of murder [c]. And the dialogue of Egbert archbishop of York shows that this had been the usage of England long before the reign of that prince, not only in the case of murder, but also of adultery and theft [d]. He adds too, that the violence of a layman to the person of a bishop, a presbyter, a deacon, or a monk, was punishable by the secular power [e]. Edgar followed the example of Ina and Alfred, and in his laws directs the affairs of religion [f], and was so far from thinking that the character of his bishops discharged them from the obligation of his laws, that he commands them to assist in person in the two annual county courts [g]. Nor did that prince only extend his laws to the clergy, but he published a body of canons for the good government of the church [h], wherein he directs the conduct of the ecclesiastic discipline, in almost all the parts and branches thereof.

King Canutus also has his body of ecclesiastic laws [i]. And the gentle laws of Edward the Confessor, which the clergy, and indeed the whole nation, so passionately desired under the Norman government, are no less full and plain in directing the affairs of the church [k]: and in a law of that prince, directing the form of

[a] Concil. Brit. vol. i. p. 447.
[b] Ibid. p. 182.
[c] Lambard. de leg. p. 27.
[d] Egb. dialog. p. 273.
[e] Ejusd. p. 276.
[f] Concil. Brit. vol. i. p. 446.
[g] Lambard. de leg. p. 65.
[h] Concil. Brit. vol. i. p. 447.
[i] Ejusd. p. 538.
[k] Lambard. de leg. p. 138.

judicial proceedings, he requires that the advocates of the clergy should be first heard in his courts of judicature [a].

King William the first went on in the same steps, and by his authority first established the ecclesiastical courts [b]; and was so exactly followed herein by his successors, that in a synodical epistle of the bishops and clergy of the province of Canterbury to pope Alexander the third, they tell that prelate, that the laws which occasioned the controversy betwixt the king and Thomas, at this time archbishop of Canterbury, "were the ancient laws of the kings of England [c]." So that, upon the whole matter, the judgment and practice of the Western church in general, and of the English church in particular, are so evident, that it is impossible for one who knows any thing of antiquity to make a doubt whether the clergy were anciently subject to the temporal laws of princes, or whether things of ecclesiastical nature were within the cognizance of their courts.

I have led the reader thus far, partly to give him some idea of the nature and importance of those rights and powers which the kings of England had anciently enjoyed, and of which king Henry the second was now in possession; partly to do right to the English church and nation, by showing how unjustly their enemies place the resolutions and laws of our princes and their great councils, relating to the affairs of the church and clergy, amongst the faults of the Reformation; (for if this be the fault of our government, it is a fault which has the best antiquity for example, and such as the best princes and the wisest nations have gloried in;) and partly to give the reader a just view of that design which was set on foot about this time, to break in upon the authority of the king of England, and to invade the rights of the crown; the manner and circumstances whereof, the steps by which it was advanced, the actors therein and the purposes which were served by it, the course of our story brings us now to consider.

To set this matter in such a light as may appear free from the bias and impressions which the concern for the honour of one's country might possibly lead one into, I must again ask the reader's leave to remind him of the occasion of this dispute, as it

[a] Lambard. de leg. p. 138. [b] Concil. Brit. vol. ii. p. 14.
[c] Hoved. Annal. ann. 1167. fol. 293. N. 20.

is related by the writers of archbishop Becket's life, and from them by Baronius. Neubrigensis, honestly and bluntly giving an account of this controversy [a] says, that archbishop Becket (1163) would not permit a clergyman to suffer according to law, and that this was the occasion of the misunderstanding betwixt him and the king. Baronius undertakes to blame that writer for this account, and from the writers of the archbishop's life gives us a relation of that matter somewhat different [b].

The archbishop, saith he, being returned from the council of Tours, was received very kindly by the king, but afterward fell under his displeasure, for applying himself to recover something which his predecessors had lost from his see, and endeavouring to prevail with the king to fill up some bishoprics then void; for laying down his chancellorship, "and denying the right of the crown to raise money on the clergy; for sending away a priest to a monastery, who was convicted of murder and degraded, that he might not be punished by the secular arm [c];" and when Philip, a canon, was convicted of the same crime, for sending him away, though the king had commanded he should be punished according to law, the archbishop "denying that these or any other clergyman was punishable in any other manner than by the censures of the church." This is the account which Baronius, from the aforesaid writers, gives of the controversy which lies now before us.

The king, adds the same learned writer, apprehending that such proceedings might increase the wickedness of the clergy, did very earnestly desire "that clergymen, who offended in any heinous manner, might be degraded, and then delivered to the secular power to be punished as the offence deserved." But, as he observes, "this was utterly denied by the archbishop and some other bishops [d]; at which," saith he, "the king was exceedingly angry." And great reason he had to be so, and more especially if we add what Neubrigensis saith [e], that "above one hundred homicides were committed by the clergy under the reign of the king, and that their bishops were much more vigilant to protect them from the law, than to punish their disorders [f]."

But, after all, one has much ado to forbear saying, that all these accounts are still defective, and come very short of the true rea-

[a] Neubrig. lib. ii. cap. 15, 16. [b] Baron. Annal. ann. 1163. N. 29.
[c] Ejusd. N. 30. [d] Ejusd. N. 31. [e] Neubrig. lib. ii. cap. 16. [f] Ibid.

son of this controversy; for though there can be no doubt that the persons mentioned by the aforesaid writers were singled out by the king as fit subjects for his justice, yet it is very evident these instances are the least part of the provocation which the government had received; for the outrages committed by the clergy were very numerous, and the contempt and insults of the civil authority were open and avowed, and both the mischief and the impunity were of older date than the advancement of archbishop Becket. So that it was not so much the faults of particular men, as a general licentiousness of the clergy, together with their contempt of the civil authority, founded on a pretence that they were not accountable to the secular power, which gave beginning to, and which was the true basis and foundation of, this unhappy controversy.

Whilst the dispute about the ecclesiastic liberty was thus going on in England, the court of Rome had so managed their affairs in Italy and Germany, that the emperor Frederick, the great opposer of the designs of that court, was reduced to such circumstances, that pope Alexander called a council to meet in the Lateran, 1168, where he took upon himself to excommunicate and depose that prince, and absolve the subjects of Italy from their obedience; and the reasons given in that sentence were, because he had espoused the interests of the anti-pope [a]. And John of Salisbury, from whom this account of this council is taken, saith, that pope Alexander herein followed the example of Gregory the seventh, and concludes the paragraph with words very dark; but if they have any meaning at all, it is this; "that the safety of the church being established in the head thereof, there was just ground to believe the like success would attend that prelate in the dispute relating to the church of England [b];" that is, in plain English, there was reason to believe that the court, which had humbled the emperor Frederick, would subdue the king of England.

Though the court of Rome was exceedingly elated with their success against Frederick, and the king of England had little reason to hope for any good issue thereof, yet that he might not be wanting to his cause, by a new embassy to Rome, he attempted to prevail with pope Alexander, to translate the archbishop

[a] Concil. tom. x. ann. 1168. Ed. Lab. col. 1449. [b] Ibid.

Becket to some other see, and to remove him from France to Rome[a]. And knowing the debts the see of Rome had contracted in opposing the designs of the emperor Frederick, the king offered pope Alexander to pay his debts, and that he would give him ten thousand marks[b], in case he was gratified in his desire, and the archbishop translated to some other see. Though the desire of the king was not granted, yet by those great presents, and greater offers which he made, the king prevailed so far, that he chained up the fury of the archbishop for another year, and obtained the sending of Gratian, nephew to pope Eugenius, and Vivian, advocate of Rome, to mediate a peace[c]. These legates made some progress in the accommodation, but were not able to complete it; but discovered a secret, which the king had before but too much reason to suspect.

For when the king, tired with the ill-usage he had received, said in anger, he would take other measures, the legates replied, "Sir, threaten not; we fear no threatenings, for we belong to a court that is used to command emperors and kings[d]." This insolent return of the legates, together with the denials and delays he met with, were enough to let the king into the true sentiments of that artful court with which he had to deal, and to put him out of doubt, that they were resolved to carry their point, and to force him and his laws to submit. Accordingly, when after several conferences a form of agreement was drawn up, wherein the king consented to restore the archbishop to his see, and to all the rights thereof in such manner as he enjoyed them before the controversy, "salva dignitate regni sui,—saving the rights of the kingdom;" this clause spoiled the whole and broke up the conference[e], and the legates returned as they came. Upon the breaking up of this assembly, the king dispatched new embassadors to Rome, and before the end of the year Simon prior de monte Dei and Bernardus de Corilo were sent legates from thence[f]; but the king still insisting on the archbishop's promise to observe his laws, this effort also came to nothing[g].

The king (1170) appearing thus steady and resolute in the defence of his right, the court of Rome came at last to a resolution

[a] Baron. Annal. ann. 1169. N. 1.
[b] Ibid.
[c] Ejusd. N. 5.
[d] Ejusd. N. 11.
[e] Baron Annal. ann. 1169. N. 17, 18.
[f] Ejusd. N. 30.
[g] Ejusd. N 31. 33.

to try extremities. In the mean time they set themselves to prepare the minds of men, to bear so violent a shock to the natural and undoubted rights of princes, by possessing the world with such a character of the king and such an opinion of his laws, as might if possible bring men to think he had merited the hardships that were or should be put upon him; or at least might so artfully cover their own designs, that the neighbouring princes might stand still, and quietly see their authority humbled in the example of the king of England. To bring this about, the king was represented as "a tyrant, an oppressor, a violator of the rights of the church," and, in the writings of the archbishop and his party, frequently mentioned under the title of Pharaoh [a]: and in the common language of that party, "the customs of England were styled pravities, and its laws represented as tyrannical and wicked [b], repugnant to the honour of God [c], and destructive to the rights and liberties of his church [d]." On the other hand, the cause of Becket was represented as the cause of God and of his church [e], and the mortification, humility and holiness of the archbishop every where magnified, and he himself styled a martyr and defender of the cause of God and of his church [f], and his name inserted into the offices of the great monasteries of France [g]: and a decretal bull of pope Alexander was published, against such prelates as adhered to the laws of their own country under the title of court-bishops, wherein "that prelate excites all bishops to defend the ecclesiastic liberty [1]," and for their encouragement saith, there were two things for which every Christian ought

[a] Baron. Annal. ann. 1170. N. 21. [b] Ejusd. N. 1.
[c] Ibid. [d] Ibid. [e] Ejusd. N. 16.
[f] Ibid. [g] Ejusd. ann. 1164. N. 11.

[1] *The ecclesiastic liberty.*] Isaac Casaubon began, and has left behind him an interesting portion of a Treatise *De Libertate Ecclesiastica*, which promises to have been one of great learning and value; but he was stopped in his progress by the interposition of the Pope with his patron and master, Henry IV. (Henry, *The Great*) of France, and was prevented from proceeding. He has *defined* the subject of his intended work in the following words:—

"Ex iis quæ hactenus disputata sunt, hoc tandem elicimus, non longe ab hodiernorum pontificii juris doctorum sententia aberraturum, qui *Libertatis Ecclesiasticæ* hanc sive descriptionem, sive definitionem contexuerit: *Libertas Ecclesiastica jus est quoddam, primarie quidem Pontifici Romano adhærens, quo universi orbis dominium illi paratur; secundarie vero Ecclesiasticis, quo viritim et in commune eximuntur ipsi, et bona ipsorum ab omni omnium Principum subjectione, jurisdictione, potestate: Laici vero ipsis ad omne obsequium redduntur obnoxii.*" P. 175. A.D. 1709; apud *Is. Casauboni Epistolæ, &c.* fol.

to lay down his life, viz. justice and liberty [a]; that is, in short, for the cause under debate.

The way being thus prepared, pope Alexander recalled the inhibition he had before granted, and set the archbishop at liberty, to use the censures of the church upon the person of the king.

But lest this should speed no better than the former attempts of that angry prelate, pope Alexander did this year constitute Rotrode archbishop of Rouen, Bernard bishop of Nevers, and William archbishop of Sens, his legates, with power to excommunicate and put the kingdom of England under an interdict [1]: and because he had advice, or at least suspected, that that prince had a secret purpose to have his son Henry crowned king; the better to break his measures, and put him under a necessity of recalling the archbishop of Canterbury, pope Alexander sent his bull, declaring the crowning of the king the right of that prelate, and forbidding the archbishop of York or any other bishop to intermeddle in that affair without his consent [b]. This was a fair step towards putting the disposal of the crown into the hands of the archbishop; at least it was putting the succession into the same methods, by which the bishops of Rome were now arrived to a pretence of disposing of the empire; which pretence doubtless had no other original, but the civil respect that was paid to the bishops of Rome, in permitting them to crown the emperor. This inhibition of pope Alexander had not its effect, but, on the contrary, notwithstanding it the young king was crowned this year by Roger archbishop of York: yet this disappointment of pope Alexander gave beginning to a new scene of trouble; for that prelate suspended the archbishop of York for crowning the new king, and excommunicated the bishops of London, Rochester, and Salisbury as assistants in that solemnity [c].

And lest the world should mistake the reasons upon which that prelate acted, in the body of the aforesaid bull of suspension he tells the archbishop of York, that the chief reason thereof was, "because the new king had sworn inviolably to observe the ancient customs, whereby the dignity of the church was put into danger [d]." And as he thus used the bishops, so he sent the king word, that if he did not make his agreement with the archbishop

[a] Baron. Annal. ann. 1169. N. 49.

[1] *An interdict.*] See Index, under *Interdict.*

[b] Hoved. Annal. ann. 1170. fol. 296. N. 40. and fol. 297.

[c] Ibid.

[d] Ibid.

of Canterbury by the time which he appointed in his letter, "he would pronounce the same sentence against him, which he had pronounced againt the emperor Frederic[a]:" and by his approbation the archbishop seconded this impudent and unchristian resolution, with notifying to the king, "that he would put the kingdom under an interdict, if he did not in fifteen days make his peace[b]."

The king had a mighty passion for his family, and in the advancement of the late king Stephen to the crown in opposition to the juster title of his mother Maud, and in the controversy which had given him so much trouble and let so many dangers and disquiets in upon him, he was made abundantly sensible, how difficult it would be for a minor to bear up against the prevailing power of the clergy, headed by the bishop of Rome. The late ill treatment of the emperor Frederic could not but confirm him in this apprehension: and it seems very probable, that considerations of this kind, together with the vexatious and incurable obstinacy of the archbishop, broke the resolution which the king had hitherto shown in opposing the designs of the court of Rome, and brought this controversy to an issue which was likely to have frustrated all the ends the king hoped to have served by it; for this agreement, instead of securing the succession, did, by helping to raise the usurpation of the bishops of Rome, enable pope Innocent the third to depose his son king John, and bade fair for the disinheriting of his family.

Whatever were the reasons by which this prince moved in that affair the writers of Becket's story generally say, he was frightened into the agreement, as not daring to stand the shock of the interdict and sentence of pope Alexander. Thus much is evident, that an agreement was made the two-and-twentieth of July, (1170) being the feast of St. Mary Magdalen; by which the king yielded that the archbishop and all his followers should return to England, and peaceably enjoy what they had held before this controversy began; and this without so much as a promise on the side of the archbishop to observe the laws of England, or so much as the king's presuming to open his mouth for those usages[1], "which with so much obstinacy he had before

[a] Baron. Annal. ann. 1170. N. 20. [b] Ibid.

[1] *Those usages.*] The ancient prerogatives, that is, of the crown of England in ecclesiastical matters, the chief of which had been collected together, and formally recognized in a council convened by the king in the month of

defended;" as that prelate, according to his rude and unchristian manner, relates this affair to pope Alexander[a].

The king was pleased with this agreement, as princes commonly are, when they are ill-used and insulted by their own subjects. But the archbishop sped worse; for his success made a wonderful accession to his natural vanity and haughtiness, and at last proved fatal to him. His zeal was now become all fire, and that his opposers might not be kept in suspense what they were to expect from him, before he left Normandy he sent letters of excommunication against Roger archbishop of York for crowning the young king, and together with him the bishops of London and Durham, and all that assisted in that solemnity[b]; the doing whereof, as he pretended, did of right belong to him.

The king was sensible of that prelate's design, and endeavoured to prevent it, by appointing men to guard the ports, and seize such persons as they found bringing letters of this kind[c]. However, they arrived safe, and in the beginning of Advent returned the angry prelate himself who had sent them, and who defended them with a fury agreeable to that which gave them a beginning. And fire so naturally produceth fire, that it is no wonder if the king was transported beyond the bounds of temper, to see himself affronted in the ill usage of those who had distinguished themselves by a steady zeal for his service;—and the excommunicated and suspended bishops leaving England, and coming to the king in Normandy, and complaining to him, that the archbishop was grown so imperious that they were not able to live under him, and that when the archbishop came to wait on the young king he came attended by soldiers, and so attended would have entered the king's palace; this (saith the same author) so raised the

January 1164, and to which, after some demur, Becket promised obedience, but afterwards revoked his promise, to the great indignation of the king, and the almost universal disapproval of the bishops and great body of the clergy, as well as of the nobles. Hereupon the archbishop withdrew privately into France, where he continued several years under the protection of that court and of the pope, persisting all the while in treating the king in his letters with great insolence. He declares the statutes of Clarendon void, excommunicates their abettors, &c., and procures the pope's permission to excommunicate the king, if he did not submit very shortly; engages the French king in a war against Henry, and at length terrifies the king into concession. See these particulars related at large, Inett, vol. ii. p. 253—71.

[a] Baron. Annal. ann. 1170. N. 22.

[b] Gervas. Chron. ann. 1170. [X. Script.] col. 1413. N. 30. 40.

indignation of the king, that he said "in passion, he maintained a company of cowardly and slothful men, of which not one would vindicate him from the many injuries which he sustained[a]:" or as others report his words, that "among all those he maintained or had obliged by his favours, he had none that would vindicate him from one priest that troubled him and his kingdom, and sought to depose and to disinherit him[b]." The king's domestics thinking themselves reproached by this reflection, were officious beyond their duty and beyond what the king intended; and presently laying hold of these hasty expressions, four of them, viz. Reginald Fitz-Urse, William de Traci, Richard Brito, and Hugh de Morevile, resolved upon the death of the archbishop, and hasting away to England, with all the circumstances of inhumanity, murdered that unhappy prelate in his own Cathedral church, December 28, 1170.

The archbishop being thus murdered, the noise which attended it was in some measure answerable to the guilt and horror of the fact; for as that was barbarous beyond excuse, there wanted no industry to blacken the guilt and to fix it upon the king. On the other hand, the king was sensible of the ill use which would be made of it, and was just to his own honour and innocence; and to prevent the advantages which his enemies might reap from this occasion, king Henry employed his embassadors everywhere to assert his innocence. On the other hand, the French ministers aggravated the inhumanity of the deed; and the court of Rome could not but have reason to fear the consequence of this affair, as that which in the first view appeared very likely to intimidate their partisans, and make them cold in a design wherein that prelate had so fatally miscarried: therefore that court employed their emissaries to represent the horror of the fact, and used their eloquence to give the world such an idea thereof, as might beget impressions fitted to the purposes which they designed to serve by it. Nor did their exclamations set bounds to the displeasure of that court; but as they were very loud in their outcries against the king, so they threatened his kingdom with an interdict, and had doubtless kept their word, if the affairs of that court had not been too much perplexed to permit them to venture upon an undertaking attended with so much danger.

On the other hand, the king foreseeing what representations and what use the court of Rome would make of it, did not

[a] Gervas. Chron. ann. 1170. [X. Script.] col. 1414. N. 40.
[b] Baron. Annal. ann. 1170. N. 45.

without good grounds, dread the issue of this affair, and took all possible precaution to prevent the ill effects thereof, and to do right to his own honour and innocence, and more especially in the court of Rome: in order whereto he presently sent an embassage thither. But that court, which never overlooked any advantage to serve itself, would not permit the embassadors to assert the king's innocence, until they had first made their way by good presents and round promises, that the king should abide by the award of the legates who should be sent to enquire into this affair; a promise which in time entangled the king in difficulties which he was never able to overcome.

However, to put the evil day as far off as he could, the king sailed over to Ireland, to receive the homage of that kingdom. And as during his stay there that people generally submitted to his authority, so in a council which he held at Cashel, the bishops and clergy consented, and in the seventh canon ordained that divine service should be celebrated in all the churches of Ireland, according to the rites and customs of the church of England[a]. The settlement of Ireland took up the greatest part of this year; therefore the king fearing lest any ill use should be made of his long stay in that kingdom, ordered his ports to be stopped, and nobody to be suffered to come into England, that should pretend to bring letters of interdict against his kingdom.

Thus things passed on till the year following (1172); but before that time the legates of the court of Rome arrived in Normandy, where the king permitted them to wait till his return from Ireland; but being returned from thence, without making any considerable stay in England, he went over to Normandy, where he met the legates in the latter end of September. It was the cause of the court of Rome and interest of the papacy, for which the late archbishop had lost his life, and that court was resolved to be paid for the blood of their martyr: and what was said of the martyrs of the first ages, that their blood was the seed of the church, was verified in this their martyr. And it was a mighty harvest which they reaped from his blood; for after all the noise and clamour they had made upon this subject, it appears plainly by the issue, that all their zeal and outcries upon this occasion were nothing else but arts to sell his blood the dearer.

Therefore after some time spent upon this occasion, the king was forced upon an agreement, which at once gave away all that

[a] Concil. Brit., vol. ii. p. 98.

he had been so long contending for, and which in the consequence thereof overwhelmed the rights of the church and the crown, and let in an usurpation which bore down all before it. There were seven articles upon which this accommodation was founded, of which three or four so nearly concern the church that they are not to be passed by.

First, that the king should never forsake pope Alexander or his catholic successors, so long as they used him as became a catholic king.

Secondly, in causes ecclesiastical appeals should be freely made to the bishops of Rome, and the king should neither hinder them himself nor permit others to hinder them; provided, that if any one should be suspected to have evil designs against the king or kingdom, they should give security before they departed out of his dominions.

Thirdly, that the king should after Christmas next ensuing go to the Holy Land in person for three years, unless dispensed with by the pope or his successors; and in the mean time, that he should maintain two hundred men for that service.

Fourthly, that he should abolish all such customs as in his time had been introduced to the prejudice of the church.

These articles, together with some others, by which he declares his innocence of the archbishop's death, and promises satisfaction, and to restore the rights of the church of Canterbury, being agreed upon, a council was called, where the king, the archbishop of Rouen, together with other Norman bishops and abbots, did in this assembly swear to observe the agreement; and so did his son king Henry, so far as the articles were general; and then the articles were sealed with the seal of the king[a]. All that this mortified prince had in exchange, was absolution from the legates for the fault, of which he was first made to swear he was not guilty.

Thus this unhappy prelate's death, like that of Samson, drew destruction after it, and the church and crown suffered more by it, than by all the attempts and endeavours of his life. And watered with his blood, the papal usurpation presently grew up to its full complement and perfection; for having before gained from the crown the patronage of bishoprics by forcing the right of investitures from the kings of England, and broken all the authority of provincial and diocesan bishops by settling the legatine power, and by assuming an authority to exempt the religious from

[a] Gervas. Chron. X. Script. col. 1422.

their jurisdiction; they now by the article of appeals gained a power to call every thing to Rome; and by the grant of the king to abolish the laws which they called prejudicial to the church, removed every difficulty which stood in the way of their new maxims, and pretensions to the ecclesiastic liberty. There remained little more, but to possess themselves of the crown; and this too we shall hear of time enough, in the reign of king John the son of the present king.

The changes which presently ensued, were so visible, that one of the writers of archbishop Becket's story, in the account written about this time, thus describes the change. "In the former reigns the authority of the see of Rome was little regarded [a], and the kings of England ordered all affairs in the church as they saw good; and under them the archbishops ordered all things according to the law of England; and when the royal and archiepiscopal power united, their authority was uncontrollable and past resistance [b]." And the court of Rome appears to have had the same sentiments of the conquest which they gained over the crown and the English church, within the compass of the present reign, and by the address of the late archbishop: therefore when king John in the council of Northampton declared, that he challenged no other right in disposing the bishoprics, but what his predecessors had enjoyed; Pandulphus the legate of pope Innocent answered, "that the right the king pretended to, was abolished by the surrender which archbishop Becket had made of his bishopric into the hands of the pope, and from that time the church of Rome was made the lady and mistress of all the churches of England [c]."

But to return to the agreement of the king.

Whatever the flatterers of the court of Rome may pretend to the contrary, we are to ground their first colourable pretence to appeals from England on the aforesaid article of king Henry. For though Henry Huntingdon, who wrote in the preceding reign, saith, the use of appeals was begun by Henry bishop of Winchester, and then legate to the bishop of Rome [d] (as he adds) to serve some unworthy ends of his own, and Gervasius follows him in this opinion, (and they are in the right as to the fact; for that prelate, endeavouring to lessen and mortify Theobald then archbishop of Canterbury, and bring every thing into his own hands,

[a] Angl. sac. par. ii. p. 524. [b] Ibid. [c] Ibid.
[d] H. Huntingd. lib. viii. p. 227.

led the way to that practice, and during the war between king Stephen and the present king several things were carried to Rome ;) yet as the practice was new, and had no ground in canon or antiquity or law, so that court, whose interest was served by it, was so sensible that their title was but precarious and had the marks of novelty very fresh and visible, thought fit to give it the colour and appearance of right by their late agreement with king Henry, and the article on this subject was at this time their best title to appeals from England.

But what has been said before of the state of the English church under William the first and second, explained by the ecclesiastical law of England in the statutes of Clarendon, puts it beyond a doubt, that no such right had ever been owned under the Norman reigns. And the history of the ancient English church makes it no less evident, that the case had been the same in England from the foundations of the English church. And the whole circumstances and manner of gaining on the one side and yielding on the other, make it plain, that religion was no way considered in that affair ; for an article of this kind could never have had a being, if either side had believed that the court of Rome had a right to appeals from the authority of Christ or his church, or if this had been the ancient usage of England.

So that if the circumstances and designs of king Henry had not explained the reasons thereof, one would stand astonished at a concession of this kind, and at this time of day, when the designs of the court of Rome were visible to all the world, and their abuses of that power to receive appeals, which they before this had gained in some other places, were become so notorious, that St. Bernard who had done too much toward advancing the papal greatness, did but a few years before this complain of the abuse of appeals by the court of Rome, and in terms so passionate and full of resentment as would make one very uneasy to read them.

In his hundred and seventy-eighth epistle to pope Innocent, he tells that prelate, that it was the common complaint that justice was perished in the church, that the authority of the keys of the church was destroyed, and the power of bishops become vile and contemptible ; " because," saith he, " it is out of their power to punish offenders, or to correct the disorders of their own dioceses ;" of which he assigns this reason : " offenders," saith he, " appeal to you and to the Roman court, and what the bishops determine with justice, you cancel and repeal, and what they forbid, you

determine and appoint [a]; and if there be men either of the laity, clergy, or religious, who are more wicked and profligate than other men, they run to the court of Rome, and they have sanctuary and protection; and having such defenders, they return and insult over those who pretend to correct them [b]."

In the year 1174 a bull was received from pope Alexander declaring Becket a martyr and a saint, and appointing that the day of his passion should be received into the calendar [c]; and all on a sudden the miracles of the new martyr shone so bright, that votaries to his shrine and devotions to his tomb became so fashionable, that king Henry was forced to run in with the crowd, and upon his return out of Normandy went and paid his devotions to the tomb of the late archbishop. And if the monkish writers, who began about this age to be fond of an invention of their own, the disciplining whip, do not misinform us, this prince submitted to it, and suffered his body to be scourged; a sort of discipline, which till the latter end of the eleventh century [d] had never been heard of in the Christian church; and if men had not learned to consecrate their own follies, and to set up their own inventions as standards of holiness and devotion, might have continued unknown to this day. But this has so little of the gospel method of reclaiming sinners, that it is hard to say, whether this treatment was more disagreeable to the spirit of Christ, or more reproachful to the majesty of kings; so that if we must not reject the authority and disbelieve this part of the story, the honour which is due to the character of God's vicegerents should at least oblige one to cover and forget it.—Had he stopped here, the age, and the difficulty of his present circumstances, might possibly have made some apology for him: but so fatally did the aforesaid treaty break all the measures of this prince, that he never stopped till his concessions gave the finishing stroke to that interest, which broke his own, and plunged his posterity into mischiefs the past ages had never heard of. As for the court of Rome, it was no wonder if they made all possible haste to distinguish the martyr for the papacy, and let the world see what a value they put upon that bigotry, which had turned to such account to them.

[a] Bernard. Epist. 178. [b] Ibid. [c] M. Par. ann. 1173. p. 127.
[d] Du Pin, Eccles. Hist. Cent. ii. p. 126.

INTRODUCTION.

NATIONAL CHURCHES.—PAPAL USURPATIONS ON THE RIGHTS OF THE CIVIL GOVERNMENT[1].

In the year 1175, the king (Henry II.) received intelligence of the arrival of Hugo cardinal of St. Peter de Leon[2], legate of pope Alexander the third. During his stay in England, the old dispute about the liberty of the clergy was brought under consideration; and as this appears to have been the great errand, so the chief remains we have of this embassy is an agreement betwixt the king and the legate, which consists of these four following articles.

First, that no clergyman for the time to come should be carried in person before any secular judge[3] for any crime or transgression, unless for abuses of the forest, or for such services as by reason of some fee they owed to the king or other secular lords.

Secondly, the king covenants that he would not keep any archbishopric, bishopric, or abbey, in his hands above a year, unless there was an apparent necessity thereof.

Thirdly, it was agreed that such persons as should confess or be convicted of having killed a clergyman, should be punished in the presence of the bishop.

Fourthly, that a clergyman should not be obliged to defend himself by duel[a].

[1] *Civil government.*] From Inett's *Origines Anglicanæ*, &c. vol. ii. p. 295—313.

[2] Hugo de Perleonibus, Cardinal Deacon of St. Angelo, and afterwards Priest Cardinal of St. Clemente.

[3] *Any secular judge.*] See Index, under *Clergy, exemption of from secular jurisdiction*, p. 296. See also *Christian Institutes*, vol. iv. p. 32. 180. 235. Also Inett, vol. ii. p. 195. 319—22.

[a] M. Par. ann. 1176. p. 132.

If what has been already said had not enabled us to account for the reason of this transaction, one who considers the provision which the gospel has made for preserving the rights of the secular power, and the obedience which the first Christians paid to the worst of princes, or the grounds upon which Christianity was admitted as the religion of states and kingdoms, and the advantages which accrue to it from their favours and encouragement, would stand amazed at an attempt to discharge the clergy from the laws of the state; and much more to find this claim founded on a pretended grant of Christ, who declared his kingdom was not of this world, and both lived and died a great example of the doctrine which he had delivered; and which is stranger still, that devoting men to the service of religion should exempt them from the duties of it, and an authority to publish the gospel discharge them from the subjection which their holy function obliged them to preach to all the world.

There is no doubt but our Saviour appointed an order of men to make the will of God known to the world, and to publish the terms on which He will pardon our sins, accept our services here, and reward us when this life is done, and gave them commission to convey this authority to others: and it is beyond all question, that this is a power different from that which God has given to princes, and such as they can neither give nor take away, nor assume to themselves. And they who are thus commissioned by Christ, are under the same obligation to preach the gospel as they are to obey God; and the people are upon the same grounds bound to receive it.—And upon this foot Christianity was first preached and obeyed, though the secular power withheld their protection and persecuted those who embraced it: but God blessed His people, and gave success to the ministry of His servants, and will do so if ever this case should happen again. And if this is all that is meant by the independence of the church and clergy on the secular power, there is no more reason to doubt it, than to make a question whether the gospel ought to be preached, or God obeyed, or His people take a care of their own souls. But if the gospel gives no new powers to princes, it certainly takes nothing from them[1]: they lose nothing by becoming Christians: they are God's vicegerents as much as they

[1] *Nothing from them.*] See Hooker, b. viii. c. iii. Keble's edition, vol. iii. p. 450—9.

Again

were before, and in right of their character continue the common guardians of religion. And that of the prince is thus far the case of every subject too. His submission to Christ does not set him free from any relative duty: he no more ceases to be a subject than to be a father, a husband, or a master. Christianity makes no change in the natural ties of allegiance: the Christian

Again c. vi. s. 13. thus:—

"Christ in His church hath not appointed any such law concerning temporal power, as God did of old deliver unto the commonwealth of Israel; but leaving that to be at the world's free choice, his chiefest care was that the spiritual law of the gospel might be published far and wide.

"They that received the law of Christ were for a long time scattered in sundry kingdoms, Christianity not exempting them from the laws that they had been subject unto, saving only in such cases as those laws did enjoin that which the religion of Christ forbade. Hereupon grew their manifold persecutions throughout all places where they lived: as oft as it thus came to pass, there was *no possibility* that the emperors and kings under whom they lived, should meddle any whit at all with making laws for the *church*. From Christ therefore having received power, who doubteth, that as they *did*, so they *might* bind themselves to such orders as seemed fittest for the maintenance of their religion, without the leave of high or low in the *commonwealth*; for as much as in religion it was divided utterly from them, and they from it?

"But when the mightiest began to like of the Christian faith, by their means whole free states and kingdoms became obedient unto Christ. Now, the question is, *whether kings by embracing Christianity do therein receive any such law, as taketh from the weightiest part of that sovereignty, which they had even when they were heathens? Whether being infidels they might do more in causes of religion, than now they can by the law of God, being true believers?* For whereas in regal states the king or supreme head of the commonwealth had *before Christianity* a supreme stroke in making of laws for religion; he must, by embracing Christian religion, utterly thereof deprive himself, and in such causes become subject to his subjects, having even within his own dominions them whose commandment he must obey; unless this power be placed in the hand of some *foreign* spiritual potentate; so that either a *foreign* or *domestical* commander upon earth, he must needs admit more now than before he had; and that in the chiefest things whereupon commonwealths do stand; but apparent it is unto all men, which are not strangers in the doctrine of Jesus Christ, that no state in the world, receiving Christianity, is by any law therein contained bound to resign the power which they lawfully held before; but over what persons and in what causes soever the same hath been in force, it may so remain and continue still: that which as kings they *might* do in *matter of religion*, and *did* in matter of *false religion*, being idolatrous or superstitious kings, the same they are *now* even in every respect as fully authorized *to do* in all affairs pertinent unto the state of *true Christian* religion." Vol. iii. part i. p. 517—9.

is as much bound to obey as the Pagan and the Jew. And the case is still the same whatever post he fills: the pastor is as much a subject to the higher power as the people committed to his charge; and in some cases in those instances wherein they may pretend to act by the authority of Christ.

For our Saviour, who as the great prophet and instructor of mankind laid the foundation of that society which He thought fit to honour and distinguish by the name of His body the church, and who appointed His ministers to go out into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature, and commanded the people to hear His law from their mouths and with meekness to receive the ingrafted word; to submit to those who watch for their souls; and even to obey those who rule over them in the Lord; does yet compare His church to a field that should consist of tares as well as good seed, and foretold that ravening wolves should come in sheep's clothing and deceive many. And His apostles by the same spirit foresaw that the seat of God would fall into the hands of antichrists, and deceivers arise who would set themselves above all that was called God; or in other words, that the ministers of Christ would be subject to error, and might endeavour to impose their mistakes upon the world. Therefore at the same time they command us to believe and obey the gospel, they caution us not to believe every spirit, and not to receive any other doctrine but that of Christ, though it come attested by an angel of light; to consider whether the doctrine be of God; to try all things and hold fast that which is good. Thus far every Christian is for himself[1] made a judge of the faith of Christ, and by the same authority too which commands him to receive it; and he is under the same obligation to reject the error however it come recommended, as he is to provide for the welfare of his own soul.

The case of the Christian magistrates is very different. They are obliged to encourage the worship of God upon rules of the gospel; to see that subjects be duly taught; to keep them from the danger of false teachers, and provide them such pastors as Christ has appointed. And if it happen through human frailty, corruption, mistake, or worldly interest, that the pastors of the church preach themselves instead of Christ, teach the people

[1] *For himself.*] See Hooker's *Preface*, chap. iii. § 1—3, and chap. vi. § 5, 6; or *Christian Institutes*, vol. iv. p. 380—2, and 415—7.

idolatry or superstition, or any doctrine which may endanger their salvation or the peace of his dominions; the supreme power in such cases is under the same obligation to remove the deceivers and provide true pastors, as he is to protect the church, to secure the truth and honour of religion, the institutions of Christ, the welfare of his people, and the peace of his country.

If the error spread farther and become general, and involve the governing part of a national church, this case may require more caution and prudence; but if the matter be notorious and the offenders obstinate, the mischief cries so much louder for a remedy. For by permitting the guides thereof to involve themselves in the common guilt, and thereby depriving his church of the ordinary means of redress, God points out the duty of the magistrate, and calls the supreme power, to whom He has committed a general care of His glory, to exert the authority which He lodged in his hands. They are in this case under the same obligation to control the error, and secure the truth and honour of religion, as they are to obey God rather than men. And the reason is plain; the guides in this case go beyond their commission, and, as the apostle well distinguishes, it is the man and not the Lord that speaks by them. For it is certain that Christ never gave men authority to preach the idolatry which His gospel forbids; and when this is the case, it is the wolf and not the shepherd which the magistrate drives away from the flock.

Besides, this seems to be the only provision which God has made to secure the purity and succession of national churches. His promises to be with His church till the end of the world, and that the gates of hell should not prevail against it, are limited to the catholic church; and though they afford us ground enough to believe that the church of Christ shall never fail, but continue visible till His second coming, yet these promises are not applicable to particular national churches. The present state of Africa makes it but too plain, that a national church may be extinguished: and if one looks to the condition of some western nations as they stand at this day, and to the general state thereof as they stood some ages since, it will be out of doubt that Christianity may be corrupted[1]; that the guides and pastors

[1] *May be corrupted.*] "As the churches of Jerusalem, Alexandria, and Antioch have erred; so also the church of Rome hath erred, not only in their living and manner of ceremonies, but also in matters of faith." Art. XIX. of the Church of England.

of national churches may avow the corruption, and propagate the idolatry which the gospel has forbidden; may require the worship of an image, a relic, or a piece of bread; deny the use of the sacraments which Christ instituted, or impose new ones of their own; deny their people the use of the Scriptures in a language they understand, and command them to pray to God in one they do not; an impostor may call himself the vicar of Christ, and under colour of his authority usurp the rights of princes and oppress their people; and the spiritual guides of national churches may countenance and defend their claims and errors. Now whenever this happens to be the case, if the natural right which God has given to men to take care of their own souls, or the general commission which He has entrusted to supreme powers to provide for His honour, to minister wrath to evil doers and encourage truth and holiness, be not authorities enough to remove the blind guides and justify the redress, the mischief would be incurable; a church might degenerate into a den of thieves, and souls perish and nations be ruined without the hopes of a remedy.

They who bar the exercise of this power by advancing a pretence of a spiritual relation betwixt the pastor and his flock, and raise up this relation above the reach of princes, and upon this ground pretend to tell us, that the secular power can neither nominate nor deprive a bishop, seem wholly to mistake this affair, and apply that to a particular local and legal, or at most a canonical relation, which is only applicable to the relation of a bishop or a priest to the whole Christian church. For the first is only human and prudential; the latter flows from the Order, and has its foundation in the commission of Christ. For according to the way of speaking amongst the ancients there is but one episcopate, and every bishop is a bishop of the whole Christian church, and as such has a spiritual and pastoral relation to the whole flock of Christ; and this is founded in the Order, goes along with the person, and without change or addition of character equally entitles him to discharge the offices of his holy function throughout the whole Christian church; and this relation continues as long as the character upon which it is founded. And all the forms of consecrating bishops, used by the Christian church, come up to the grounds of this opinion: they confer the Order, and the relation which flows from it.

But the relation of a bishop or a priest to a people of a particular diocese or parish springs from a different fountain, and

must for that reason be of a different nature, and subject to different rules and measures. For it is certain, that a relation peculiar and appropriated to a person cannot flow from his character; for then it must lie common, and extend itself to the whole Order: and if it arise from a national establishment, it is then no other than a legal and local relation, and must of necessity be subject to the same authority which gave it a beginning. And to one who considers how frequently this relation is dissolved by the voluntary acts of bishops, priests, or their people, in removing from one diocese or one parish to another, and new relations acquired without assuming a new character, and all this, not only to serve the ends of edification, but sometimes for purposes of a very different nature; it will seem somewhat strange to have it said, that a relation which so often gives way to covetousness and ambition, vapour, resentment, ease, or the little conveniences of human life, cannot be dissolved to serve the ends of peace or justice, or the safety of a nation, or the greater ends of truth and holiness. But if the distinct nature and grounds of the aforesaid different relations of the same men to the Christian church and to a particular people were duly weighed, all the difficulties which arise from this head would presently vanish.

The reason and grounds of the present dispute about the authority of princes, have been considered in another place[1]. But it may not be amiss, before I end this digression occasioned thereby, to observe, that that which generally misleads learned men in their reasonings about the supremacy of princes and the dependence of the church upon the state, is the want of a due attention to the difference betwixt churches, considered in their proper natures and as they are incorporated into states and kingdoms; and challenging those powers and privileges as the inherent rights of the church taken in the first sense, which are only applicable to churches in the second sense, and are derived from the concessions of the civil power.

Churches considered as pure spiritual societies are founded upon the commission of Christ, and can have no head but Him on whose authority and doctrine they are built, and by whose spirit they are governed, and from whom they expect protection and rewards: and though that as such they have proper inherent rights, seems as evident as any part of our common Christianity,

[1] *In another place.*] *Preface* to vol. ii. p. v. &c., or above, p. 7.

yet these rights are of the same kind with the institution itself, of a pure spiritual nature, and such as no way affect the rights of princes or the subjection of their people. And whilst churches continued in this posture, there was nothing to awake the jealousy of states and kingdoms. Princes who had not embraced the gospel did not concern themselves in the choice of pastors, or the voluntary rules which these societies prescribed to themselves, or in the exercise of a power which did no way affect the liberties, the estates, or the peace of their people.

But when whole nations submitted to the doctrine of Christ, and princes and their people entered into Christian societies, and the gospel became the religion of states and kingdoms, and these societies were established by laws, and provision made by the state to support the ministers of Christ, bishops called to a part in the legislature and great councils, and qualified for those trusts by titles of honour, their censures enforced by civil sanctions, their authority enlarged by making them judges in many cases, wherein the reputation, the liberty, and property of the subject were concerned; by this change bodies of Christians, which were before pure spiritual societies, were incorporated into bodies politic, and by becoming a part of the legal establishment acquired the title of National churches. And thus though their inherent rights remain, and may be enjoyed separate if princes should resume their grants, yet these societies acquired a new capacity, and became a part of the national establishment, and as such can have no other head but the head of the body politic; for a national establishment not subject to the head of the national body, seems a fit subject for a jest, rather than a ground of controversy and dispute.

But however wild and extravagant it may appear to after-ages, this was the present subject of dispute; for the men who followed Hildebrand in the doctrine which he had lately broached of the independence of the church upon the state, took the doctrine in the lump, and without distinguishing what was true from what was false in that proposition, did, as he intended they should do, run away with the whole together. They applied that to national churches, which was only true of the whole Christian church; and that to the particular and acquired rights of a national church, which was applicable only to the original rights of the church in general. They confounded the legal powers and privileges of the clergy with those that flow from their Order; and from the account which they were to give to Christ for their pastoral office,

argued against their allegiance as subjects; and because they were accountable to the great shepherd and bishop of souls for the holy offices of their function, concluded they were not answerable to the magistrate for felony or murder; and from their authority to preach the gospel, argued themselves into a power to preach sedition and rebellion uncontrolled. Had the laity fallen into the same way of arguing, and, because they are answerable to God for theft, and perjury, and murder, and breach of the public peace, concluded they were not liable to the punishments of the civil power, and, from their natural freedom as men, argued against their legal obedience as subjects, there had been an end of all government at once. And yet these claims are so equally balanced, that it is not an easy matter to determine which has the least reason on its side, or which of them is attended with the greater mischief and absurdity.

But one who will carefully distinguish betwixt the relations of churchmen to the whole Christian church and to a particular people; betwixt authoritative preaching of the gospel, administering sacraments, conferring orders,—and choosing persons to receive those holy trusts, giving of livings, and bestowing baronies and palaces, and calling men to the great councils; betwixt the plain and express doctrines of Christ, and the inferences and opinions supposed by some Christians to be grounded thereon, but contradicted and denied by others; betwixt the rites and discipline of Christ's appointment and the prudential forms, rites, and rules of churches, to serve the ends of decency and order; betwixt the proper power of bishops, flowing from their character, and their external jurisdiction in cases of tithes, patronage, defamation, validity of wills and contracts, and legitimacy of children; in short, betwixt the inherent and essential rights and powers of a church, considered as a pure spiritual society; and the acquired powers, rights, and privileges of national churches, derived from the concessions of the civil powers, and not from the authority of Christ; and will consider how reasonable it is, that the supreme power of nations should be judges of their own grants; will not find it so difficult, as some men imagine, to reconcile the rights of the church to the ecclesiastical supremacy of princes.

Upon the whole matter: one who sees all parties of Christians addressing to Christian princes to decide the greatest controversies in religion, by receiving one church and persuasion of Christians into the national establishment, and shutting out all others;

soliciting for their favours, and calling for their laws to distinguish their opinions and constitutions; to punish offences against the natural and moral and positive doctrines and duties of religion; imploring their aid to guard the inherent powers of the church, and making use of civil sanctions to chastise every contempt thereof; and whenever they prevail, all this bound upon princes by the authority of their own laws and the religion of oaths; and yet at the same time hears great numbers of the same persons telling the world, that princes have nothing to do in the affairs of the church and religion; is tempted to such melancholy reflections on human nature, as are very apt to make a man fall out with himself, and even to entertain a very mean opinion of mankind.

But whilst we are thus called to pity the weakness, and dread the mistakes and prejudices of men, one cannot overlook a subject for our thanks to God, who has placed us under the instructions of a church, whose wisdom and integrity teach us how to reconcile our faith and our allegiance, our zeal for our holy religion to a Christian pity for all that differ from us, and which at once calls us to assert the original and inherent rights of Christ's church, and at the same time to be just to the state which protects it, in acknowledging the supremacy of the crown.—But I have led the reader too far, and must return to the subject which occasioned this digression; the fatal agreement of king Henry and the legate of the bishop of Rome, for discharging the clergy and religious from the authority of the state.

The tyrannical usage and horrible oppressions which the clergy afterwards met with under the papal usurpation, leave it out of doubt, that the court of Rome never designed more by their pretended zeal in asserting the liberty of the clergy, than to cover their own designs the better, and to make use of the clergy, first, to assist in humbling their princes, and then to put the yoke about their own necks. However, for the present the secret was so artfully covered, that the clergy seem to have been very fond of the pretence: and this makes it easy to account for their conduct, but at the same time it leaves us still farther to seek out how it came to pass, that the kings of England, who could not but see the dangerous consequence of this design, should be brought into it. But if the views of the king hurried him on too fast to see the tendency of this affair, it is certain his council did not oversee the danger, and were just to him; for in his letter to pope Alex-

ander upon the occasion of this grant, the king tells that prelate [a], that "the wisest and greatest men of his kingdom very much opposed it:" and it was no wonder.

For the ground on which this whole scheme was set on foot, was a new and very dangerous principle, viz., that the authority of kings did not extend itself to ecclesiastical causes or persons: so that by discharging the clergy from the obligation of the laws of England, the king did in effect acknowledge the supremacy over ecclesiastical persons and causes to be lodged in another hand. And we are not to wonder, if we find the clergy henceforward acting accordingly; for that prince who gives up a body of his people to a foreign power, and by a formal releasing them from the obligation to his laws, at least virtually consents to their changing masters, does in a great measure remit the natural ties of allegiance, and must take a great share of the blame to himself, if such subjects forget the duties from which he first discharged them.

The bigotry of Anselm, Becket, and some others, is past all excuse; yet it ought to be remembered to the honour of the English bishops and clergy, that under the steady reign of William the first, the whole body of the clergy did unanimously oppose every attempt against the rights of the church and the crown; and, Anselm and some few others excepted, they stood by William the second and Henry the first in the long controversy about investitures; and though king Henry the first had, by yielding up that right of his crown, in some measure given up the clergy to the mercy of the bishops of Rome, yet they were just to his grandson Henry the second, and did their parts towards the defence of the crown and the laws. So that do all one can, one, who considers well the series of our story, will find too much reason to believe, that the usurpations on the rights of the church and the crown were, if not entirely yet chiefly, owing to the ill-conduct of the present and the two preceding princes, who, to serve some present turns, or to stave off some impending dangers, made such concessions as in time broke their authority, and put it out of their power to preserve the rights of that church which God had raised them up to defend.

Thus for instance; William the first called in the authority of the bishops of Rome to depose the Saxon bishops and abbots whom he

[a] R. Dicet. X. Script. col. 591. N. 60.

did not dare to trust, that he might make way for the Normans: and his son Henry the first, to secure himself against the pretensions of his brother Robert, recalled Anselm, and thereby virtually and afterwards in form yielded up the royal right of investitures: and king Stephen sent to Rome to have his title to the crown confirmed, and, to secure his possession, asked the legatine power for his brother, and unworthily bowed down before it, and acted the subject in his own kingdom. And appeals to Rome, though not established till the succeeding reign, had their beginning at the same time and upon the same grounds. To give the better colour to his ambition, Henry the second took a title to the kingdom of Ireland from pope Adrian; and a dispensation from a successor to violate his father's will, which he had sworn to observe, and upon that ground dispossessed his brother Geoffrey of the dukedom of Anjou; and by his aforesaid agreement, after the death of archbishop Becket, gave up the ancient right of the crown to the last resort in causes ecclesiastical, and discharged the clergy from the secular power.

By these false politics those princes did virtually own all that the bishops of Rome contended for, and it was in vain to pretend to deny the authority, which they had allowed when it served their own ends. But if the hasty growth of the papal power in England be not thus to be accounted for, this part of our story must for ever be left in the dark; for they who put it upon the superstition and ignorance of the age, or the bigotry of some particular men, have difficulties in their way which are never to be overcome.—But to return to the exemption of the clergy from the secular power.

Wheresoever the blame ought to lie, it is but too evident this was the unhappy state of England; the interests of the church and state were about this time divided, and set in opposition to one another; the one headed by the bishops of Rome, the other by the kings of England: and we are in the ensuing story to see these two powers dashing one against another. And which is sadder still, the clergy, who of all men ought to be most tender of the peace and honour of their country, were by these unhappy changes put under a necessity of becoming parties in a very unnatural and dishonourable usurpation on the rights of their natural princes and their kingdoms.—But whoever is to be blamed for letting in that usurpation, the clergy are never to be excused for what they afterwards did to render it lasting and insufferable.

Whilst these things were doing (1177) in England, that we

might not be to seek where our miseries had their beginning, the same spirit appeared every where throughout the Western nations; and though it advanced by slower paces than it had done in England, yet a general assault was made upon the secular power, and there is scarce a nation in Europe which does not afford some trophies to adorn the triumphs of the Roman court. But those of pope Alexander over the emperor Frederic are very extraordinary, and such as ought never to be forgotten.

There had never been a good understanding betwixt the emperors and the bishops of Rome, from the time that pope Gregory the seventh first broached the doctrine of judging, correcting, and deposing secular princes. And as that doctrine and the new maxims of the court of Rome had given perpetual jealousies to those princes, the same reason had made them ever forward to break the measures of that party, which ran into the Hildebrandine principles. And this occasioned several schisms and wars; and there had been a long quarrel upon this subject betwixt the present emperor and pope Alexander, which was compromised about this time, but in a manner so equally unbecoming both parties, that one cannot easily determine at whose door the greatest share of the infamy ought to be laid.

After a war of sixteen or seventeen years, and a schism supported by a succession of four anti-popes [a], and the blackest scenes of confusion and misery that war and schism can produce, pope Alexander, by the assistance and intrigues of the French king [b], and, by the arms of the Lombards and of William king of Sicily, had so entangled the affairs and so broken the measures of the emperor Frederick, that that prince saw himself under a necessity of making a peace with the pope: and meeting at Venice, an agreement was made, wherein it was stipulated that the emperor should beg the pope's pardon. Accordingly, at the great door of the church of St. Mark, in the presence of the senate and people of Venice, the emperor, kneeling down kissed the feet of pope Alexander, and asked his pardon; whilst that haughty prelate treading on the neck of the emperor, that he might at once offer an outrage to God and to his vicegerent, repeated these words, "It is written, thou shalt walk upon the basilisk and the asp, and tread the lion and dragon under thy feet [c]."

[a] Stell. de vit. Pontif. p. 180. [b] Epist. Alex. Concil. tom. x. col. 1293. [c] Ibid.

The emperor endeavouring to lessen the infamy of so mean and tame a submission, cried out in return, that he submitted to St. Peter and not to him; but that prelate replied, "Mihi et Petro [a]," giving himself the preference to the apostle whom he pretended to succeed. Baronius, who relates this story, and seems to have been ashamed of one part of it, does yet confess, that it has the authority of Blondus and Æneas Silvius, and that from them it is translated into the chronicle of Cardinal Bessarion [b]. And in the account which he gives thereof, he makes the story rather worse than better; for he saith, that at that congress the emperor put off his imperial robes and dignity, and prostrated his body to the ground to kiss the feet of the pope [c]; and that when he came into the church, he took a stick, and, having first driven out the people, did the office of a door-keeper, and in that manner waited upon the pope to the altar [d]. But after all the pains he has taken to soften this story, Stella, a writer of the lives of the popes, and who was himself a Venetian, as he makes no doubt of the truth of that particular of which Baronius seems to be ashamed, so he speaks of it with a relish, and gives it a place amongst the triumphs of pope Alexander [e]. And that prelate himself was not only transported with the general success of this affair, but all his epistles written upon that occasion have an air and turn which plainly show he took pleasure in the pompous circumstances he must have blushed to have had a share in, had he not forgot the modesty and humility which became a Christian prelate. For in his epistles to the archbishop of Canterbury [f], to the archbishop of York [g], to the bishops of England [h], and to the archbishop of Capua [i], he takes care to tell them, that the emperor kissed his feet, and when he took horse held his stirrup. And there is no doubt but all the rest he wrote upon that subject ran in the same strain: and so hasty was he to publish his glory, that his letters bear date at Venice, where this affair was transacted. So that when we behold this scene, and at once see an emperor forgetting all the honour and majesty of a prince, and a Christian bishop insulting his rightful sovereign, and glorying in a pomp which crowned heads had never assumed; we have in one view such unhappy instances of the effects of prosperity and adversity, as

[a] Epist. Alex. Concil. tom. x. col. 1293. [b] Baron. Annal. ann. 1177.
[c] Ejusd. N. 100. [d] Ibid. [e] Stell. de vit. Pontif. p. 180.
[f] Concil. tom. x. col. 1487. [g] Ibid. [h] R. Dicet. X. Script. col. 598.
[i] Concil. tom. xi. col. 1486.

afford us a very mortifying reflection on the infirmities of human nature.

If the French kings escaped better than the emperor and the king of England, yet it was not long before their great monarch Lewis was brought as a pilgrim to Canterbury, to pay his devotions at the tomb of that prelate [a], who had been the great instrument in humbling the king of England, and had done a great deal in advancing the designs of the papacy. And that court was very just in making their returns, and letting the world see how much their heart was set upon humbling kings, by the veneration and favours which they paid to those who were their instruments therein.

As upon this foot the French king was brought to the tomb of the late archbishop, and by rich presents and a grant of great quantities of wines yearly for the monks of Canterbury, he has given the world very unusual marks of a zeal for the rights of princes, so this year Philip earl of Flanders and the archbishop of Rheims [b] came to Canterbury on the same errand, to visit the tomb of the late archbishop. And the merits and sufferings of that prelate, or, to speak more properly, the cause he suffered in, not only shed a lustre upon his memory, but descended to all his creatures and followers: therefore about this time John of Salisbury, who had been a dependent upon him, was upon that account advanced to the bishopric of Chartres in France. And as the French king grounds his consent to the election of John of Salisbury, chiefly upon the friendship of that prelate with the late archbishop [c], so he thinks fit to tell the world, that that election was owing to the influence of the archbishop of Sens, legate to pope Alexander [d]. And to render the honours to the memory of the late archbishop as public as was possible, the dean, precentor, and chancellor of Chartres, came over to England and made their election, or rather published the certificate thereof, in the cathedral church of Canterbury.

As if all this zeal to brighten the memory of the greatest enemy the present king and crown of England ever had, and to reward his party, had not been mortification enough to the king, before this year was done a new legate from Rome, and at the

[a] Baron. Annal. ann. 1179. N. 21.
[b] Gervas. Chron. ann. 1177. X. Script. col. 1435.
[c] Ludov. Epist. R Dicet. X. Script. col. 593. [d] Ibid.

instance of Lewis king of France who was then in open war with England, was sent into France with power to put the dominions of the king of England under an interdict, in case he did not suffer his son Richard to marry Alice the daughter of the French king[a]. And when by his menaces that legate had brought those two princes to an agreement, he farther engaged them to agree upon an expedition to the Holy Land; an undertaking so fatal to all the Western princes who engaged in it, that one can hardly forbear applying to him who gave this advice, what our Saviour saith of sowing tares, "it was an enemy that did it." This was one article first put upon king Henry, when he made his peace upon the death of Becket: and indeed this was the usual atonement required to appease their wrath, whenever the court of Rome was offended. And if weakening Christian princes and rendering them an easier prey to the papal usurpations were not at the bottom of this war, it is very certain this was the effect and consequence thereof.

Whilst the court of Rome was thus carrying on its designs to render the Western princes vassals to the papacy, and was every day making some new advances, they did not forget to mortify and humble their bishops; and in order thereunto took all occasions to encourage those who attempted to break through the ancient discipline of the church. And as the religious were ever the most forward therein, their encourgement bore proportion to the importance of that interest which the court of Rome hoped to serve by it. It was this consideration which ever made them friends in that court, which no interest was sufficient to resist. And Richard archbishop of Canterbury about this time felt the effects[1] of the bias that court lay under, and not only saw his authority disobeyed, and

[a] Baron. Annal. ann. 1177. N. 126.

[1] *Felt the effects.*] Of the progress, effects, &c. of this exemption of the religious orders from episcopal jurisdiction, we may take the following as a melancholy specimen from Sir Roger Twisden:

"When the papacy first attempted the exempting some great monasteries from the jurisdiction of their ordinary, it was 'salva Primatis reverentia;' or, as Malmsbury explains it, 'Archiepiscopi tantum nutum in legitimis spectaturus.' But, however this was thus carefully penned not to thwart with the archbishop, yet, being brought hither, it was taken away by Lanfranc, and not permitted to be made use of, the abbot finding no other way to regain it but 'multorum preces.' Yet afterward the pope without scruple exempted them not only from their diocesan, but even such as were under the archbishop's nose, with all pertaining to them, were taken out of his jurisdiction;

the offender supported in his rebellion, but put in a condition to set him at defiance, and to insult him in his own province; and this was occasioned by the vanity and ambition of the monks of Canterbury.

The convent of the monks of St. Austin having first driven out, and then by their interest in the court of Rome got their former prior deprived about two years before, they chose Roger in his room, who having in a very haughty manner required the archbishop to come to Canterbury, and to give him his benediction in his own monastery, was told by the archbishop that it was his duty to attend the place which he appointed. Nevertheless he at last consented to come to Canterbury and give him his benediction, provided the prior would make such profession of obedience as had usually been made to his predecessors: but this was a condescension the monks had not humility enough to think of, much less to bear; and therefore their prior was sent away to Rome, and in the beginning of this year returned to England with the ring and the mitre, the usual ensigns of the episcopal authority [a], and with a mandatory letter from pope Alexander, requiring the archbishop of Canterbury to go to the monastery of St. Austin in Canterbury, and there to give his benediction to the prior elect, and without requiring from him the usual profession of canonical obedience [b].

When the archbishop refused to obey, the prior returned to Rome, and there received his benediction. Nor was this the only mortification put upon that prelate; for pope Alexander did at least pretend to confirm the scheme and model projected by Gregory the Great, and to determine that the two archbishops of

and he who at first preserved others' rights, had now those houses at an easy rate removed from his own: a fact of infinite advantage to the papacy, by which it *had persons of learning in all parts,* who, depending wholly on it, defended what was done as being so by one who had a power (*right*) of doing it. And he (the archbishop), who alone did at first 'agere vices apostolicas in Anglia,' was under no legate, permitted no bull from Rome to be made use of in England but by his approbation, was now so far from taking them away from the bearers, that private clerks, by deputation from thence, did sit as his superiors in determining differences between him and others, who by strength were taken from his jurisdiction." *Vindication of the Church of England, &c.* p. 39, 40.

On the general question, see a learned and elaborate statement in Inett, vol. ii. p. 204—23. See also 226,7. 318,9. 338—41. and 494.

See also Index, under *Religious Orders, exemption of, &c.*

[a] Gervas. Chron. ann. 1178. X. Script col. 1444. [b] Ibid.

Canterbury and York should have precedence according to priority of consecration [a], and that the archbishops of Canterbury should not require a profession of canonical obedience from the archbishops of York [b]; and in case they refused to consecrate the archbishops of York for want of such profession, the bishops of the province were then to consecrate them by the papal authority [c]. But though a constitution of this kind appears both in the history of Diceto [d] and in the appendix to the third council of Lateran, and this doubtless served to perpetuate the quarrel upon this subject, yet it doth not appear that it answered the ends for which it was designed: however, it could not but give some uneasiness to the archbishop of Canterbury.

But if pope Alexander gave too much to the province of York, he endeavoured to make the archbishop of Canterbury a recompence at the charge of his suffragan bishops. Those prelates, it seems, had a wrong notion of the legatine authority, and persuaded themselves that the archbishops of Canterbury as legates had no cognizance of such causes as were the proper subject of their authority, but when carried to the legate by appeals [e]: but by a constitution of pope Alexander the third, directed to the bishops of the province of Canterbury [f], he thinks fit to tell them, that though their archbishop as metropolitan had no cognizance of things arising in their dioceses, but when brought to him by appeals, yet as legate he had cognizance of every thing in the first instance as well as in case of appeals [g], and commanded them quietly to submit, and to suffer causes from their several dioceses to be brought to his legate; or, in other words, quietly to part with their rights and to yield up their authority, as a sacrifice to the usurpation which was by this time grown masterly and incapable of resistance.

This was the return which the court of Rome made to those bishops who were not so careful as they should have been in the defence of their metropolitans; they were made an easy prey, and became a common sacrifice to the usurpation which they wanted precaution or courage to prevent; and if they had any favour, it was only this, to see the rights of the crown and the national church perish first, and to be themselves last devoured.

[a] Concil. tom. x. col. 1690.
[b] Ibid.
[c] Ibid.
[d] R. Dicet. X. Script. col. 589.
[e] Concil. tom. x. col. 1690.
[f] Ibid.
[g] Ibid.

INTRODUCTION.

KING JOHN, THE BARONS, AND POPE INNOCENT THE THIRD [1].

The design of pope Gregory the seventh to change the primitive and apostolic government of the Christian church from an aristocracy to a monarchy, and such a monarchy too as pretended to a supreme authority over princes, falling into the hands of a succession of men who for more than an age pursued it with indefatigable zeal, great applications, and steady counsels, the ecclesiastic monarchy was raised to such a pitch, that pope Innocent, taking the advantage of a dispute (1207) betwixt Otho and Philip, who by different factions were both elected emperors, determined "that the correction of princes belonged to the bishops of Rome [a];" that "it was their right to judge of the elections of emperors, and either to approve or reject as they saw cause [b]:" and this determination was inserted into the decretals, as a standing law and maxim of the court of Rome. And in the council of Avignon in the year one thousand two hundred and nine, it was decreed by the legates of that court, that bishops might by the censures of the church compel the lords, nobility, and people, and governors of provinces, to promise upon oath to extirpate heresy out of their country, and in case of neglect to interdict their dominions and countries [c].

[1] *The Third.*] From Inett's *Origines Anglicanæ*, &c. vol. ii. p. 410—22, 430—52, 465—72, 473—87.

[a] Blondel. decad. ii. lib. vi. [b] Decretal. Greg. lib. i. tit. vi. cap. xxxiv.

[c] Concil. tom. xi. par. i. col. 43.

The conduct of that court was suitable to the maxims thereof; for not contented to command the wealth, and usurp on the authority of the Western churches by drawing the clergy and religious to a dependence upon them, and thereby to secure to themselves a considerable interest in the several dominions of the Western princes, they carried their pretensions still higher, and under the umbrage of the Holy War[1] found out ways to break in upon the authority of states and kingdoms, to lay impositions on their subjects, and without the leave of their princes to raise men and head armies in their dominions, and in some measure to make themselves masters of their wealth, their arms, and people. And it was an easy step from hence to advance to the command of their crowns; for he who has the wealth and subjects in his power, has the prince and the crown at his disposal. And so artfully did they manage that war, that those expeditions which were at the first the scourge of infidels, became at last the terror of Europe, and were upon all occasions held as rods over the heads of Christian princes.

The emperors of Germany had very often felt the dire effects of that holy fury, and the Eastern church and empire were at this time bleeding under it. And yet, as if God had given up the Western princes to blindness and infatuation, and intended to redouble his judgments upon them by suffering them to be parties to their own ruin, whilst these things were doing, they were so fatally charmed by the artifices of the court of Rome, that their arms were engaged one against another, and princes by turns were tools to and suffered under the imposture, and were not allowed to see their danger, till it was past a remedy. For whilst they slept, the new ecclesiastic monarchy grew up to the most formidable power in Europe; and which is still more, it was in the hands of Pope Innocent the third, a young, bold, and active prelate; a man of great capacity, great application and address, and greater ambition; and as exactly fitted to put the last hand to the vast designs of the court of Rome, as if God had raised him up for an original of craft and ambition, and intended in him to let the world see, what base and unworthy designs might be covered and carried on under the colour of religion and the holy name and authority of Christ.

[1] *The Holy War.*] See Index, under *Crusade.*

See also Ben. Accolti *De Bello a Christianis contra Barbaros.* 1731. 8vo. Buddei *Selecta Juris Naturalis,* p. 97—148, &c.

Whilst the court of Rome was thus in the height of its glory, the monarchy of England was in a very feeble and languishing condition. The king found his kingdom deprived of the civil duties and assistance of the clergy and religious, their persons made subjects to a foreign power, their wealth excused from the necessities of the state, and the power of nominating and investing bishops snatched out of his hands; and by this means saw so great a body of men excused from his laws and government, that the number, wealth, and dependencies of the clergy and religious considered, it may seem doubtful whether himself or the bishop of Rome had the greater interest in his kingdom.

Besides, the king had ascended the throne over the head of his nephew, Arthur earl of Bretagne, and if he had not the guilt of his death to answer for, yet the world believed hardly of him, and he had at least the reproach and the dishonour of it. The suspicion he had of his title made him very liberal in his promises, and stoop too low to meet the crown; and that raised an expectance in his people which he could not answer, and for that reason he was scarce sooner on the throne, than on ill terms with his subjects: and he was so far from recovering the affections of his people by his succeeding conduct, that he gave them too much reason to believe, that the care of their welfare had not its due weight upon him; so that time rather increased than put an end to the uneasiness and disaffection of his people. And the issue was such as might be expected; for they remembered the promises which the king had too soon forgot, and suffered themselves to be led by his ill example to forget their own duty, when he stood most in need of it, and when the honour of the monarchy and their country required it at their hands.

In this posture stood the affairs of the monarchy and of king John, when he was called to assert the rights of his crown, against a bold and daring encroachment of pope Innocent the third, in his attempt to force an archbishop[1] upon him. The king had the law, and the ancient usage of England, and the rights of all the princes of Christendom on his side; but the time was now come when the court of Rome was to let the world see, that the canons were rules fitted only to the infant ages of the church, and had now no more force, but where the interest of the papacy made them binding: and accordingly the power which Christ had trusted

[1] *Force an archbishop.*] See Southey's *Book of the Church*, vol. i. p. 256—62.

to his church, to serve the ends of peace and holiness, was presently called forth to serve the purposes of that ambition, which our Lord detested and which his religion had forbid.

For pope Innocent seeing the king resolute to maintain the poor remainders of his right, proceeded to interdict the kingdom, and commanded that the sentence which he had before pronounced in his own consistory at Rome, should be pronounced and published in England by the bishops of London, Ely, and Worcester, who for this purpose were made executors of the aforesaid sentence: and the interdict was pronounced accordingly, the latter end of March this year (1208), and too soon and too generally obeyed.

The king, as he had great reason to be, was exceedingly provoked with this wicked and unchristian usage, and suffered his resentment to carry him to such extremities as turned to his disadvantage: for not content to treat William bishop of London, Eustace bishop of Ely, and Malgar bishop of Worcester, as their undutifulness deserved, and to force them to seek their safety out of his dominions, that prince, though he did afterwards distinguish and receive those to his favour and protection who refused to observe the interdict, for the present let loose his rage upon the whole body of the clergy and religious, and generally seized their effects, especially those of the religious. And the event was such as usually succeeds, when princes suffer themselves to consult with their passions, and make their own displeasure the measure of their justice; for seeing innocence no longer their security, and the innocent and guilty involved in the same fate, resentment carried the clergy and religious beyond their duty, and united them, at least in their wishes, to the papal interest.

It seems very probable, that this proceeding had a very different effect from what the king expected, and, instead of giving a check to it, made the interdict the more generally observed: so that except the baptism of infants, confession, and the last offices to dying persons, there was a stop put to all the public offices of religion. The dead had the burial[1] of the ox and the ass; daily prayers, the administration of the eucharist, preaching of God's word, were forced to give way; God's altars were forsaken, his houses shut up and left destitute; in short, the honour of God and the interest and care of souls were made sacrifices to the

[1] *Had the burial.*] See Index, under *Interdict.*

tyranny and ambition and wickedness of the court of Rome; and (except in some convents, which had ever been the favourites of that court, and were for that reason, rather than for the sake of God, permitted to say their offices once a week [a]) this was for some time the miserable state of the nation, at least wheresoever the interdict was obeyed.

The king, who had by his own ill conduct provoked the clergy and religious, saw himself under a necessity of endeavouring to bind his lay subjects faster to his interest; therefore he called them to renew their oath of fealty, and took hostages from many of his nobility. But though he was generally obeyed herein, yet such precautions as give men reason to think they are suspected without cause, do commonly operate the wrong way, and, if they tie up their hands, do at the same time alienate and let loose their affections, and carry their hearts another way; and if this was not the case of this prince, the too general coldness of the nobility in the defence of the king gave ground for a suspicion of this kind. And the heavy impositions which the present circumstances of the king required, redoubled his misfortune; for it is so natural to subjects to judge by what they feel, that nothing but uncommon measures of goodness and wisdom can secure their affections to a government, that does not suffer them to be safe and easy under it.

This still increased the difficulties which the king lay under; for though Geoffrey archbishop of York only openly opposed the imposition of a thirteenth part of all their moveables, which was upon this occasion laid upon the nation, and excommunicated the king's officers that attempted to collect it in his province, and chose rather to leave England than submit to it, yet it appears that this imposition caused a general murmur and uneasiness.

Misfortunes of this kind seldom go alone; for the enemies of a prince can never want advantages, if he once deprive himself of the affections of his people; for as the hearts of subjects, next under God, are the only certain supports of a crown, every enemy becomes formidable to the prince that wants them. And the court of Rome had but too many opportunities to be informed of the terms on which the king stood with his people; therefore pope Innocent made another step, and excommunicated the king

[a] Hist. Croyl. Col. Gal. vol. i. p. 473.

by name, and required that this sentence should be pronounced against him every Sunday and every holy-day in all the conventual churches in England [a].

This excommunication had not all the effect the court of Rome [b] expected; for though some of the bishops and abbots fled out of England, to avoid the difficulties which the personal excommunication of the king might have drawn upon them, it being impossible to reconcile their duty to their prince and to their country, to the expectation of that court which required that they should withdraw themselves entirely from the presence and service of the king; yet, for the most part, the duty or the fears of the clergy and people kept them from paying any regard to a sentence founded in injustice, and attended with danger: so that if the ill-advised conduct of the king had not suffered him to involve the innocent, amongst the clergy and religious, as well as the guilty in his displeasure, the unchristian attempts of pope Innocent against the king might possibly have come to nothing.

However, things being brought to this pass, the honour and interest of the court of Rome were so far engaged, that pope Innocent omitted nothing that might take off the affections of his own people, or stir up the neighbouring princes against the king, or give him such apprehensions of the power and address of the court of Rome, as might probably work upon his fears. His first attempt was upon the subjects; and in his epistle to the bishops of England and Wales, he blames their coldness and want of zeal for the ecclesiastic liberty, and exhorts them to set themselves as a wall of defence to the house of God, and endeavours to possess them with a belief, that this was the cause of Christ and of His church [c], and commands them, "that laying aside all fears of the king, they should assert the ecclesiastic liberty [d]."

In his address to the nobility of England, he left nothing unsaid that might engage them against their prince; tells them they cannot serve two masters, and that the king was fighting against God; and conjures them as they tender the good of their souls, that they oppose the designs of the king, and not suffer him to embroil them and his kingdom. And lest they should think that this zeal was the effect of some sudden heat and might cool again, that prelate tells them how much his heart was set

[a] M. Par. ann. 1209. p. 228.
[b] Ibid.
[c] Innoc. Epist. lib. x. Epist. 159.
[d] Ibid.

upon this affair; "that he was resolved never to give it up, and, if occasion was, would lay down his life in the defence of it:" and profanely alluding to what the prophet saith of God, that prelate thinks fit to add, that his hand was not shortened, but by the grace of God so strengthened, that he should be able to crush and oppress him that justly incurred his displeasure [a]. And the better to spread the ferment through the whole nation by depriving the people of all public offices of religion, in another epistle to the bishops of London, Ely, and Worcester, he commanded them to involve Wales as well as England in the sentence of interdict, and not to suffer the hospitalers, or templars, or any other of the religious, to pretend to an exemption from it [b].

Whilst this wicked prelate was thus sowing the seeds of sedition in England, and preparing the way to that dismal scene which too soon ensued, the court of Rome made so many successful efforts abroad, that if the king made his judgment of his success and future treatment, by the usage which about this time the neighbouring princes received from the ecclesiastic monarchy, he had at the best but a very melancholy prospect.

For whilst this dispute was carrying on in England, the court of Rome scattered its thunders all over Europe, and by turns mortified almost all the princes and states of Christendom. It was the intrigues of that court which first raised Otho to the empire of Germany, in opposition to the pretensions of Philip; and because he could not be contented to be a tool, and would not sacrifice the rights of the empire to the ambition of the papacy, that prince was excommunicated and deposed by pope Innocent. Vladislaus prince of Poland was deposed, and Otho his son excluded from the succession by the same prelate [c]. Raymond earl of Tholouse was not only excommunicated and forced to a base and unworthy submission, but treated worse than a schoolboy; first scourged with rods [d], and then dragged to the tomb of the friar Peter de Chastean-neuf, who had been killed by his people for attempting to set up the inquisition in the country; and after this usage, to bind the yoke still faster upon him, he was forced to surrender seven or eight of his strongest towns to the legates of pope Innocent, as a security for his future servitude, and to promise upon oath to obey all and every the commands of

[a] Innoc. Epist. lib. x Epist. 160. [b] Ejusd. Epist. 161.
[c] Bzovii Annal. ann. 1207. [d] Mezeray's Life of Philip II. ann. 1208.

the church; that is, in other words, to be a vassal to the court of Rome. And Avignon, at that time a part of the dominions of that prince [a], being one of the cautionary towns, was yielded up on this occasion to the legates of pope Innocent, and remains to this day as a standing monument of the barbarous treatment, which this oppressed and unfortunate prince owed to the ambition and wickedness of the court of Rome.

Which is sadder still, the earl was compelled to take the cross, and to join himself to those who took his towns and butchered his people; and all the fault of this prince was, he would not destroy his subjects nor his neighbours, because pope Innocent thought fit to pronounce them heretics, and had inhumanity enough to decree their extirpation.

The subjects of that prince upon the same grounds had still a greater share in the fury of that prelate; for pope Innocent finding St. Dominic and his followers make no great progress in the conversion of the Albigenses, he taught his successors a new and quicker way of converting heretics; for sending his emissaries to preach up the crusade, an army computed at five hundred thousand men [b] was raised, and under the command of Simon earl of Montfort marched into Languedoc, then the country of the earl of Tholouse, where they took Beziers, one of the strongest cities of the Albigenses, by force, and put all to the sword; and above threescore thousand persons were sacrificed to their fury [c], according to the account which Mezeray gives of this affair: indeed Bzovius lessens this slaughter to seventeen thousand heretics [d].

And that posterity might not be deceived and think all this the effects of a warlike fury, pope Innocent took home the guilt of all this innocent blood to himself and to the court in which he presided; for this was done in pursuance of his instructions to his legates, to whom he had given it in charge, "that the Albigenses should be pursued with fire and sword [e], and treated with more severity than the Saracens themselves [f]." And to colour this horrible inhumanity under the pretence of religion, pardon of sins and the hopes of heaven were promised as the rewards thereof: so much more dangerous was it now become

[a] Bzovii Annal. ann. 1208. N. 4.
[b] Ejusd. ann. 1209. and Mezer. ann. 1209.
[c] Ibid.
[d] Bzovii Annal. ann. 1209. N. 10.
[e] Ejusd. ann. 1207. N. 5.
[f] Ibid.

to oppose the designs of the court of Rome, than to blaspheme Christ and His holy religion. And so far was this barbarous war carried on, that Simon earl of Montfort, general of the army, made himself master of the Albigenses, and of the county of Beziers and Carcassone; and the countries he had conquered were given to him by pope Innocent [a], as a reward for the blood and inhumanity of which he had been guilty. But that the world might not be at a loss to know from whence that detestable design had its beginning, who formed it and whose ends it was to serve, the earl was to hold the country he had thus over-run, "as a fee of the papacy, under the acknowledgment of a yearly tribute [b]."

About the same time that this vast army, entirely at the devotion of the court of Rome, was in the bowels of France, and king Philip by this formidable power prepared to receive the instructions of that court, pope Innocent excommunicated that prince for repudiating his wife. He humbled the king of Portugal for an affront offered to a bishop of his kingdom [c]; and upon the same foot he treated in like manner Frederic king of Sicily [d], and forced him to swear fealty to himself and his successors in the see of Rome [e]. He forced a prince upon Poland, and, with an air that might become a monarch of the world, commanded Henry emperor of Constantinople to revoke a law which he had made, as was pretended, prejudicial to the rights of the church [f]: and so much like a pupil did he treat that prince, that although he was the creature of pope Innocent, and it was in his power to unmake him again, yet he could not bear the insolence of that prelate, but sent his remonstrance to Rome, and told pope Innocent that St. Peter delivered it as a part of the religion of Christ, that all Christians ought to be subject to the ordinance of man for the Lord's sake; that the authority which Christ delivered to His church was only spiritual: and to bring this nearer to pope Innocent, in that rescript he tells him, that "he was the subject, and not the lord of the emperor; therefore he wondered at his presumption in treating him as he had done [g]." The king of Arragon too had a great share in the displeasure of that prelate, who let loose his holy warriors upon him; and that prince was

[a] Mezer. ann. 1209. N. 6.
[b] Bzovii Annal. ann. 1210.
[c] Ejusd. ann. 1206.
[d] Ibid.
[e] Ejusd. ann. 1211. N. 1.
[f] Ejusd. ann. 1210. N. 4.
[g] M. Goldast. Constit. Imp. tom. iii. p. 371.

forced to yield up a part of his dominions to reward the army of the papacy, which had ravaged one part of his country, and put himself and all the rest in danger.

That which is still more surprising, is, that whilst the court of Rome thus treated the princes of Christendom like slaves, or at the best like children and pupils, and dashed in pieces and broke the secular powers one against another, and gave such proofs, that that court thought of nothing less than to captivate and enslave all the rest; such was the infatuation, such the blindness, to which God was pleased to give up the western princes, that their wealth and their people were turned against them, and they were themselves made parties to their own dishonour, and helped forward the designs against the secular power, which the tamest and most bigoted princes in Christendom would resist with their blood, if the court of Rome should ever attempt to act them over again.

But having said this, partly to give the reader a view of the unchristian and bloody spirit which at this time animated the court of Rome, and to lay open the methods by which they enlarged their dominions and increased their power, and partly to cover the reproach and dishonour of the English nation and monarchy, by showing that our princes were not singular and alone in their fate, and only bore their part in the common vassalage of Europe, it will be time to return and pursue our story.

The aforesaid transactions abroad, and what they felt at home, could not but give king John and the whole English nation a formidable idea of the papal power; and this served to forward the arts which were every where set on foot, to raise an opinion, that it was in vain to resist it. And lest the posture and turn of affairs abroad should lose their effect upon the king, in several epistles written upon that occasion, pope Innocent took care to magnify the successes of the papacy, and to let the king know what ill success those princes had met with, who attempted to oppose it: and there was but too much ground for an insinuation of this kind. The conduct of the king was such as would lead one to think, he was willing to have it believed, that if not his honour, yet at least his indignation and resentment had raised him above impressions of this kind, and left no room for his fears; yet do all he could, the course of his actions gave such proof of the uneasiness and frightful apprehensions which he had of this affair, as will not permit one to doubt thereof.

But if the king took care of his own defence, pope Innocent did every thing that was thought needful to ruin and to undo him: in order whereto his emissaries used all endeavours to blacken the king and lessen his forces, and to magnify the interest and strength and conduct of the court of Rome. The king was represented as an apostate from religion; as one who had offered to renounce his faith to preserve his sovereignty; as an enemy to religion, to the liberties of the church, and to the rights of his people: and a wicked impostor, named Peter the Hermit, was set up to prophesy, that before Ascension next coming he should cease to be king, and none of his posterity ever come to the crown.

In short, there was nothing of this kind wanting, which might either encourage the enemies of the king, or discourage and withdraw his friends: and the wicked reports raised upon this occasion made such impressions and took such root, that our historians who wrote his story, have generally spoken of him as the vilest and most despicable miscreant in the world. But because it was not easy to libel and rail a prince out of his kingdom, who had a fleet and an army at his command, pope Innocent applied himself to that known method, which had now for near an age served all the purposes of the court of Rome, under the colour of destroying infidels and promoting the interest of Christ and His religion; and this was the Holy War; for with this art that court had frighted Philip king of France, and forced the king of Arragon to give up the rights of his crown; they had massacred the subjects of the earl of Tholouse, given away the possession of his country to the general of the army, and taken the sovereignty thereof to themselves, and subdued the Eastern empire to the Latins.

And now (1212) the time was come when the English nation was to have its turn, and to feel the dire effects of that fury which had before consumed its blood and treasure; for, seeing no other way to accomplish his wicked purposes, the pope sent his emissaries into France and Germany, to preach up the cross, and to persuade Europe to believe that it was a service to God and to religion, to enslave the king and kingdom of England.—But well knowing that considerations of this kind began to lose their force in France, by a bull directed to king Philip, pope Innocent entreated and conjured that prince, as he tendered the hopes of salvation, to take up arms and to drive the king of England from his throne; and besides the promises of heaven, he did by the same

bull grant to him, and his heirs, the kingdom of England as a reward for his services[a].

The French king, who wanted no ill-will to the king of England, and had lately dispossessed him of his dominions in France, was very inclinable to secure his late conquests at home, by carrying his arms into England. But the relation and strict alliance betwixt the emperor Otho and the king of England, and the league betwixt that prince and the king of Arragon, were a check upon him, and gave him reason to dread leaving his own dominions, whilst he had such neighbours to leave behind him. Nor were these ill-grounded jealousies; for the emperor Otho had a good army, and, as Æmilius saith, maintained at the charge of the king of England[b]; and which is more, that prince had declared that so soon as he had quieted his affairs in Germany, he would assist his uncle the king of England in the recovery of his dominions in France[c]. To remove these difficulties, pope Innocent, who had before forced Otho to promise obedience to him, did about this time depose him[d], and set up Frederic king of Sicily in his stead; and if the French historian be not mistaken, this was done at the instance of the French king[e]; and by thus finding the emperor work enough at home, he delivered the French king from the fears of that prince.

By giving new vigour to the holy warriors on the borders and in part of that kingdom, pope Innocent frustrated the expectations of the king of England from that of Arragon, and left France nothing to fear from thence: and if his designs upon England were not the views upon which pope Innocent acted in those instances, the perpetual jars there had been between that prelate and the French king; and the unhappy event of that expedition incline one to think that these great favours to France owe their beginning to a resolution the pope had taken to enslave the king of England, and to render his dominions a fee of the *papacy*, notwithstanding the fair promise which he had made to king Philip. However that matter be, the French king, being thus delivered from the fears of an invasion in his absence, appointed the meeting

[a] M. Par. ann. 1212.
[b] Æmil. de Gest. Franc. vit. Philip. Aug. fol. 130. Lutet. ann. 1551.
[c] Ibid. [d] Ibid. [e] Ibid.

of his great council, which assembled at Soissons [a], and being enlightened by pope Innocent and the emissaries whom he had sent to preach the cross, Ferdinand earl of Flanders only excepted, that assembly concluded it was an act of piety to sail with their forces into England, to restore the exiled bishops [b].

Nor was the resentment of pope Innocent bounded here, but he sent his letters and emissaries all over Europe [c], and all the great men were invited to attend the French king in the Holy War against the king of England: and the same methods that had given such success to the former undertakings of this kind were again set on foot. "The pardon of sins, the indulgences and protection of the holy see, and the privileges usually granted to those who engaged in the expeditions to the Holy Land, were the promised recompence [d]:" and this unchristian and wicked undertaking was called revenging the wrong done to the universal church [e]; and that they might be distinguished who engaged in this enterprise, they all wore the cross upon their breast, as they had done in the inhuman undertaking against the Albigenses. The French king having fallen in with the example of pope Innocent, and covered his ambition and revenge under the umbrage of religion, a numerous fleet and a powerful army were provided for the execution of this great design [f].

King John, who had for some years not only withstood but despised the censures of the court of Rome, and who had reason to expect the last efforts of its rage, was not a stranger to the preparations made against him: and as he could not but see that all this sprang from the designs of a court which never knew what mercy meant but when they gained by it; and that the execution was put into the hands of one who had given him abundant proof of the ill-will which he bore to him, he applied himself to the most likely methods to provide for his own security; and besides those whom he had in his pay, and five hundred men brought him from Ireland by John Gray bishop of Norwich, his lieutenant in that kingdom, he summoned all that held of him in knight's service, and drew together an army (as M. Paris saith) of threescore thousand men; and that he might not only stand the shock of the enemy, but keep him at a distance, he caused all the ships that could

[a] Æmil. de Gest. Franc. vit. Philip. Aug. fol. 130. Lutet. ann. 1551.
[b] Ibid. [c] M. Par. ann. 1212. [d] Ibid. [e] Ibid.
[f] Mezeray, Life of Philip, ann. 1212.

be met with to be drawn together, and manned out a fleet to dispute the passage of the French at sea.

Preparations being thus made on all sides, and every thing ready to decide this quarrel by the sword, Pandulphus the pope's legate, who was charged with a dark and secret errand, much against the will of the French, came over into England about the beginning of May, where he found the king at the head of his army near Dover waiting the coming of the French; and having made known his character, he delivered a letter to the king from pope Innocent, in which that prelate tells him, that "blessing and cursing were set before him," and that "it was yet in his power to choose," but that "if he did not submit to the terms he prescribed and had sent inclosed, he would deliver the church of England, as God did that of Israel out of Egypt, by a strong hand[a]:" and the better to give the impressions intended, he further minded the king, how he had humbled all the princes who had presumed to oppose him. In short, the whole letter carries an air of haughtiness and arrogance that might have become a pagan emperor, but it has not the least mark or taste of the Christian spirit.

The aforesaid letter and the message of the crafty nuncio having somewhat shocked the steadiness and resolution of the king, and awakened his fears, the legate applied himself to set such impressions upon him, as might best serve the purposes of the court which sent him: in order whereto he magnified the strength and the appointment of king Philip's army, and so artfully represented the assurances, which, as he pretended, that prince had received from the nobility of England, that they would come in to his assistance so soon as he landed, that he brought king John to believe, that his danger was no less from his own army than from that of king Philip, and that he had no other way to be safe than by throwing himself into the arms of the church.

As the insinuation of the dangers which might arise from the defection of his own army was one of the chief artifices on which the court of Rome founded their hopes, all possible care had been taken to cultivate and improve the king's jealousy and distrust of his people: and, besides an intimation of this kind, which Pandulph had let fall in his former conference with the king at Northampton, things were so ordered, that the king received letters from several hands to the same effect. And the truth is,

[a] Innoc. Epist. lib. xv. Epist. 233. p. 726.

the king had suffered himself to be so far transported by the successes of his arms against the Welsh and Irish, and by the natural levity and haughtiness of his temper, as to forget that the affections of his people were his best security; and some harsh and arbitrary treatments of them had given too much ground for the suspicions, which now proved fatal to him.

That unfortunate prince having brought himself into this strait, sunk under it, and promised upon oath (1213) to submit to an award of pope Innocent or his legate: and the award was such as might be expected from a court which for more than an age had been struggling to subdue princes, and to set up a monarchy that was to raise and humble them at pleasure, and to govern the nations upon earth, under the colour of *His* authority whose kingdom was not of this world.—The issue was accordingly; for the reason which had given beginning to and supported the controversy, which was the pretended vassalage of the English church, was the last thing considered, and the interest of the new monarchy the first. For in the agreement, the articles whereof were doubtless brought from Rome, the first article does, in all the accounts we have, run in this manner, viz. "That the king should surrender and yield up the kingdoms of England and Ireland, and for the time to come hold both as fees of the papacy; the former under the yearly tribute of seven hundred marks, the latter under the tribute of three hundred." This one article leaves it beyond all possibility of doubt that the court of Rome intended nothing less than to usurp the sovereign power of the kings of England, and to swallow up that authority at once which they had been struggling for a great while, under the specious name of ecclesiastic liberty: for to show that this article was not inserted only to add pomp and ceremony to the submission of the king, or that the power was imaginary, at which the designs of that court were levelled, the article was explained by the execution thereof; for in pursuance of this agreement the king surrendered his crown and his sceptre and other ensigns of the royal dignity to Pandulphus, and in the presence of his bishops and nobility did homage for his own kingdoms to the legate, who received it in the name of pope Innocent and of the church of Rome. And to make sure work, he also yielded up the patronage of all the churches in England which belonged to the crown, and by an oath, in such form as was usual from vassals and feudatory princes to their supreme lord, they bound his chains about his head: for in that oath the king

swore to be "faithful to God, to St. Peter, and the holy Roman church, and to his lord pope Innocent, and his catholic successors;" that "he would neither in deed, word, consent, or counsel, do any thing to the prejudice of his life or limbs, but do what in him lay to discover and prevent all harms and wrongs;" that "he would keep the secret which the popes by themselves or by their legates or letters should entrust to him;" that "he would defend the patrimony of St. Peter, especially the kingdoms of England and Ireland, against all opposers whatsoever."

This is the substance of the oath imposed on this unfortunate prince, as it is delivered down by M. Paris[a], the Annals of Waverley[b], and the Chronicle of Hemingford[c], and which differs so very little from that imposed by pope Gregory on some of the Western bishops[d], and comes so near the form called the new oath of fidelity[1], prescribed by the feudal law[e] to be imposed by absolute lords on their vassals and feudatories, as plainly shows that pope Gregory and his successors acted upon the same views, and intended nothing less than the vassalage of the Western nations. I shall add no more on this head, but the reflection which naturally occurs, and which Hemingford immediately subjoins to the aforesaid oath: "Thus," saith he, "of a freeman did the king become a slave."

To consummate the misfortunes of this prince, as if they had intended that neither his conscience nor his honour should survive his calamity, they obliged him by two distinct charters, one directed to pope Innocent, the other to all Christian people, to tell the world, that "all this was done, not by constraint or fear, but by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, and of his own free will, and with the common consent of his barons[f]."

But though the ambition and designs of the court of Rome were ever the first thing in the view of pope Innocent, and the compass of a year or two made it appear how little regard was had to the church, or to the clergy of England, or to their rights and privileges, which had served of late to make a noise and to cover the true secret of that court; yet for the present the clergy were compre-

[a] M. Par. ann. 1213. p. 237.
[b] Col. Gal. vol. ii. p. 177.
[c] Ejusd. p. 555.
[d] Baron. Annal. ann. 1079. N. 8.
[1] *Oath of fidelity.*] See Barrow *On the Pope's Supremacy*, or *Christian Institutes*, vol. iv. p. 126—9, and notes there.
[e] Feudor. lib. ii. tit. vii.
[f] Chart. Joh. Reg. Angl. Epist. Innoc. lib. xv. Epist. lxxvii. and lxxviii. p. 786, 787.

hended in this agreement, by which the king further stipulated to reverse the outlawry against the nobility, bishops, clergy and religious, to receive them into favour, and to make satisfaction for the losses the clergy and religious had sustained during the interdict. In particular the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishops of London, Ely, Hereford, Bath and Wells, and Lincoln, who seem least to have deserved it, were distinguished by greater measures of favour in this fatal agreement.

For, besides having their names inserted in the general agreement, they had letters patents directed to each of them from the king, in which he not only assures them, in his own name, that he would receive them to his favour, and entreats them to return to England, but in the body of their patents he tells them, that H. archbishop of Dublin, Peter bishop of Winchester, John bishop of Norwich, and twelve barons, had by oath engaged themselves to see this agreement performed.—But whilst pope Innocent was thus careful of the interest of the court of Rome, and of their immediate creatures and dependants, the French king was to be rewarded with the *merit* of the undertaking; and the holy warriors whom this occasion had drawn together, instead of the towns, honours and wealth which they expected, were to be paid with indulgences and rewards from heaven.—Thus was this affair concluded in England about the fifteenth of May in the year 1213, and the fourteenth of the reign of king John.

Matters being thus concerted in England, Pandulphus returned to carry the news to France, where he had a new and (it may be) a much greater difficulty to manage. To quiet the exiled clergy, he carried with him eight thousand pounds as a part of what they were to receive for the damage they had sustained, which, with the hopes of a far greater sum and an assurance of an honourable reception in their own country, did for the present make them easy under the late agreement.—But to manage the spirit of the French king required greater address; for that prince, whose views were of a different kind, and who could not bear the thoughts of being paid with a future glory, was out of all patience to see himself tricked in the face of the world, and his mighty hopes end in nothing else but the reproach of being a stale and a tool to the papacy. He could not but with great mortification reflect on his own ill conduct, who, as he told the legate, had spent above threescore thousand pounds in this affair, and all this to make an acces-

sion of two kingdoms [1] to the ecclesiastic monarchy, which under the conduct of pope Innocent was at this time the most formidable power in Europe.

Besides, the ill example which he had given might too soon return upon him, and what he had done at the instance of pope Innocent against the Albigenses, the king of England, and the emperor Otho the fourth, might, when the time came, serve to justify the like attempts against himself and his own crown. For as the pretence of the court of Rome to depose kings and give away crowns, was indefinite, and without any limitation but the pleasure of that court whose creature that pretence was; there is no doubt but that court had an equal title to the deposing of a French king, and might as well give away France as Germany and England, or the country of the Albigenses.

Nor was the French king the only person that was mortified and disappointed by this fatal league; for if the clergy, who did not yet penetrate the true secret of the court of Rome, or at least did not sufficiently consider the effects thereof, were for the present easy under it, their future conduct, and the ill treatment which the exiled clergy and religious so soon received from that court, put it out of doubt, so that they were very quickly and not without ground very uneasy under it, and could not but with great mortification behold the conjunction of those powers, which might in time render them an easy prey to either.—The truth is, God's time was now come to punish the wild bigotry of the English nation, which under the cover of zeal had been instrumental in letting in an enemy upon their country: for though this unfortunate prince was singled out, and in his fate the world was to see the imposture of the court of Rome in its full and true dimensions, yet to do right to the king it must be owned, that he fell a sacrifice to the imprudent and ill conduct of his subjects and ancestors, and to the superstition and ignorance of the past and present age, rather than to his own personal failings and miscarriages; for though his conduct is scarce capable of excuse, it is certain, he could not have been used as he was, if his hands had not been tied up and his authority fettered by the unwary concessions of his predecessors, in giving away so many of the ancient and essential rights of the crown of England.—And the punishment was answerable; not personal only, but a national and a public mischief.

[1] *Two kingdoms.*] England and Ireland.

But whilst all the other parties concerned in this affair were so equally mortified in the event thereof, that it is hard to say which of them was most uneasy under it, the joy and transports of pope Innocent and the court of Rome bore proportion to the importance of the interest which they served by it, and rose up to a pitch incapable of concealment from the public view; for the subjugating of two great and opulent kingdoms, and rendering them fiefs of the papacy, was such a step towards the monarchy they had been labouring for, that the whole air of pope Innocent and the turn of his epistles and rescripts make it very plain, that he now thought of nothing less than being another Melchisedech, and at once the great high-priest and the monarch of the world.

The style of that prelate was answerable to the idea which he had of his power; for in the bull by which he granted the kingdoms of England and Ireland to king John, he thus describes the present state of the papacy, and the duty and acknowledgment which that court expected: "Jesus Christ (saith he) the king of kings and lord of lords, and priest according to the order of Melchisedech, hath so united the royal and sacerdotal power in his church, that the kingdom is but a royal priesthood, and the priesthood the royal power [a]:" and the consequence he makes was fitted to the notion which gave beginning to it; for he infers from hence, that "as every knee in heaven bowed down to Christ, so every one should yield obedience to his vicar here upon earth [b]." And indeed this was the doctrine that the court of Rome did about this time scatter all over Europe; and with such zeal and sincerity did pope Innocent act up to this doctrine, that the Annals of Waverley tell us, that in his time "God subdued the three pestilent enemies of the church, the schismatics of the east, the heretics of the west, and the Saracens of the south." And in the fore-mentioned epistle to king John, pope Innocent saith, it has "pleased God so to order the affairs of the world, that those provinces which had been anciently subject to the Roman church in spirituals, were now become subject to it in temporals [c]." And that Germany as well as England might feel the effects of the new grandeur of the papacy, about this time or not long after, Frederic

[a] Rex regum et Dominus dominantium Jesus Christus, Sacerdos in æternum secundum ordinem Melchisedec, ita regnum et sacerdotium in ecclesia stabilivit, ut sacerdotale sit regnum et sacerdotium sit regale. Innoc. Epist. lib. xvi. Epist. cxxxi. p. 810.

[b] Innoc. Epist. lib. xvi. Epist. cxxxi. p. 810.

[c] Ibid.

the second, advanced to the imperial crown by pope Innocent, was prevailed upon by that court, by an imperial constitution, to revoke all laws prejudicial to the liberties of the church, and to exempt the clergy from the authority of the civil courts[a]. And lest charity and the late more modest pretensions of the bishops of Rome should lead posterity into a belief that the temporal monarchy of the bishops of Rome was not at the bottom of the aforesaid affair, but that the submission of king John was the effect of an unhappy turn of things, or owing to the rashness or despair of a sunk and dispirited prince; pope Innocent has set this matter in a true light, and in two epistles, the one to Stephen archbishop of Canterbury and the bishops and clergy of England[b], the other to the archbishop alone[c], has told the world that the agreement, of which the resigning his kingdoms and receiving them as a fee of the papacy and the oath of vassalage were a part, "was projected and with great deliberation formed at Rome."— But having said this to offer to the reader's view the spring by which pope Innocent moved in the long controversy with king John, it will be needful to return, and to observe the consequence of this surprising story.

The French king having now no more use for his fleet or army, the better to cover the disgrace which he had received, and take his revenge on the earl of Flanders, who had opposed his intended expedition to England, sent his fleet with some forces by sea, whilst the rest marched by land to invade Flanders. And this gave the king of England an opportunity to satiate his revenge on that prince; for the fleet of the king finding the French fleet in the harbour of Dam, the forces being landed cut their cables, and carried off all that were on float, and burnt those which lay upon the strand; in all about three hundred. By that one blow the king delivered himself from the fears of the invasion he had been threatened with; and as his spirit was naturally light, and exalted with every success, this made him move so heavily in the execution of his late agreement, that it was the middle of July (1213) before the exiled bishops and clergy returned to England. Not long after, they attended the king at Winchester, where the archbishop, somewhat more forward than pope Innocent intended[d], absolved the king from the personal excommunication he lay under, leaving the interdict in the state it was before.

[a] Constit. Fred. Corp. Jur. Civil. vol. ii. col. 561.
[b] Innoc. Epist. lxxx. p. 787. [c] Ibid. [d] Ibid. Epist. clxiv. p. 827.

Whilst this assembly continued at Winchester, the king appointed his bailiffs and officers to make a general enquiry into the losses sustained by the clergy and religious during the late controversy, and appointed the bishops, the religious, and nobility to consider that affair: in order whereto they met first at St. Alban's in August, and afterwards at St. Paul's in London. And as the accounts of the losses sustained were brought into these assemblies, so these meetings discovered the general dislike and uneasiness which the late conduct of the king had given to the nation. And the nobility and bishops here concerted measures for their future conduct; in order whereto, the great charter of Henry the first was brought into debate, and resolutions taken to have that charter and the laws of Edward the Confessor confirmed, and made the great standard of right and law.

However privately these matters were concerted, it was not long before the king was made sensible of the general discontent and uneasiness of his people; for that prince having obtained the aforesaid advantage over the French, pleased himself with the thoughts of recovering what they had gained from him in Normandy, and carrying home his revenge; and in order thereto had determined on an expedition to Poictiers in France: but the barons who had been summoned for that end, under the pretence that the interdict was not released, generally refused to attend the king; and when he would have punished their disobedience according to law, the archbishop of Canterbury, who knew the true secret of this affair, interposed with so much vigour as deterred the officers of the king.

This was so open a contempt of his authority as plainly showed the king, that he was still a great way from the settlement and peace which he promised himself from his late agreement. And though the king was thus ill used by his barons, yet it is so natural for men to be jealous of their liberties in the hands of a prince, who had made himself a vassal, and so reasonable to fear that he would not be just to their rights, who had betrayed and given away his own, that as the conduct of the barons is blameable, the provocation is not capable of an excuse.

Revolutions and great turns of states and kingdoms, as they commonly proceed from fierce and impetuous passions, very often partake of the nature of those passions from whence they proceed, and move with a force and rapidity that sometimes carry them farther than ever was designed by those who first projected

them; and sometimes by an unhappy crossness in the nature of things or men, or by the over-ruling hand of Providence, take a turn quite the wrong way, and bear down the interest which they were intended to support and gratify. This was in some measure the fate of the late revolution: it changed men, and shifted sides and characters; and as it brought the king and his adherents into the interest of the court they had before opposed, so on the other hand it took off the affections, and cooled the zeal, and changed the measures of those whose bigotry had before carried them too far to serve the papacy. And yet after all, the king, the barons and the clergy were all uneasy, and as well they who laboured to lessen the royal dignity, as they who strove to maintain it, with an equal dread beheld the consequences of the late agreement.—But as pope Innocent, who had yet no time to be informed that the affairs of England had taken a turn too much, continued under the transports his late success had given him, so he thought of nothing less than putting the last hand to the work which he had thus successfully begun.

He easily foresaw that the late resignation of king John would be resolved into force or fear, and if a voluntary, yet at most it would be esteemed but a personal act[1]; and he understood government too well to believe it any way in the power of a prince to change the course of law to enslave his people; for this was to assume an authority which the very nature of the royal trust and the great ends of government had precluded; and to pretend to create a right which the same law, by which the claimant held, had put out of his power. Therefore that prelate applied his thoughts to gain the consent of the nation, and in order thereto, under the pretence of giving the king time to satisfy those who had suffered under the interdict, and releasing it with the greater solemnity, he continued the interdict for more than a year after his agreement with king John. But to make a show of his readiness to release it, and lay the delay somewhere else, pope Innocent sent over Nicholas bishop of Tusculum with the character of legate, who arrived in England the latter end of September (1213); and the great council being called, met at St. Paul's in London in the beginning of October, and a new charter of resignation being drawn, was sealed by the king in the presence of the bishops and nobility; and to consecrate so impudent an imposture, the charter thus executed was offered

[1] *A personal act.*] See above, p. 22.

upon the altar; and this execrable sacrifice to the ambition of the church of Rome was called an offering to God and ascribed to the inspiration of the Holy Spirit. Stephen archbishop of Canterbury, William bishop of London, Peter bishop of Winchester, Eustace bishop of Ely, and Hugh bishop of Lincoln, together with several of the nobility, subscribed as witnesses to this second charter.

The resignation being thus renewed, and the charter delivered to the legate, the king received his kingdoms back again from the hands of the legate; and in order thereto did the second time, and in the presence of this great assembly, do his homage, and swear fealty to the church of Rome and to pope Innocent and to his lawful successors: for thus the charter and thus the oath of fealty ran, and not to the court of Rome as some men endeavour to distinguish. Whilst all this care was taken of the interest of the papacy, the interdict was still continued till June the year following.

Though the bishops and nobility were present at this solemnity, and some of them witnesses to the instruments which it produced, yet they were so far from being pleased with or consenting to them, that the archbishop of Canterbury, to do somewhat towards expiating the wrongs which he had before done to the monarchy, is said to have offered a protestation against the aforesaid charter of resignation [a]: and the turn of affairs which not long after ensued, would incline one to believe, that if any such protestation was made, it was agreeable to the sense of the whole English nation. However, the legate still flattered himself with the hopes of bringing the nation to consent to their own servitude, and, as has been said, continued the interdict on foot to the great prejudice of the king's affairs.

But pope Innocent and his court found themselves extremely mistaken in the whole conduct of this matter; for the true spirit and design of that court being laid open to the world by this attempt on the crown of England, it could be no longer a doubt but that it was the same spirit which animated pagan and christian Rome, and that subduing the world was the design of both. This forced open the eyes of those who before would not see, and gave such a shock to the designs of the papacy, as must necessarily have dashed and broken them to pieces, if, for reasons best known to Himself, God had not thought fit to prevent it.—But the

[a] M. Par. ann. 1231. p. 371. n. 10.

issue and consequence of this affair were such, as leave it evident, that the proceedings of that court in this particular shocked the whole English nation, and on a sudden gave a new turn to the unhappy controversy which first occasioned it.

For the same men who for six or seven years before had ventured their lives, at least their fortunes, to serve the interest of that court, did immediately after the resignation of the king shift sides, and fly in the face of the court which they had served before; and a general discontent covered the face of the nation. And the issue was answerable; for the king having of a free and independent prince thus made himself a vassal, his ill example taught his subjects to forget their duty, and a general defection ensued. Indeed it is so natural for men to form their judgments and govern their actions by what they see and feel, that it is next to impossible for princes to preserve their honour or their authority, when once they abandon the trust and duties which should support them; for duties which flow from the relations of men to each other do ever subsist, as relatives do, by being mutual.

The laws of England had provided for their kings as free and sovereign princes, and set out and stated the obedience which was due to them in that capacity; but the term of a vassal or feudatory prince was something with which the law and constitution of England were not acquainted; and no provision could be made for the honour and authority of such a prince, as our constitution had no knowledge of: so that by giving away the title of a free and sovereign prince, and by taking to himself that of a vassal to the papacy, the king had done all that lay in him towards removing the very foundations upon which the allegiance of his subjects was built, and, by giving away his own rights, led his people to believe he was unfit to be trusted with theirs: and the issue was, this untoward scene produced another no less unhappy, the war betwixt the king and his barons.

But though the seeds of war were thus sown, yet before it broke out there were several other causes which met together, and which prepared the way for it, by uniting the discontents of the nation, and bringing the clergy to side with the barons against the king and the papacy. For the court of Rome having, as has been said, determined to make their title to the crown of England as firm as it was possible to make it, and in order thereto, to have a second resignation in the presence and (if possible) with

the consent of the great council, great care was taken to keep the king steady. For that end pope Innocent gave directions to his new legate to gratify the king, in filling up all the vacant bishoprics and abbeys[a]; and the interest of the court of Rome lying now another way, after England and France had been set into flames, and all Europe deafened with the outcries of that court for the free elections of bishops and abbots, pope Innocent gave it as an instruction to his legate, that he should take particular care of the interest of the king, in filling up all the vacant preferments[b]; and that "if chapters should make any opposition to the persons the king desired, he should compel them to obedience by the censures of the church[c]." Being thus backed by the interest of that court, the king carried all before him, and filled up all the vacant churches and monasteries with men firm to his interest; and the legate pursued his instructions, and treated with haughtiness and insolence all the clergy that stood in the way.

The clergy, too many whereof had for some time been tools to the Roman court, and had helped to enslave their country to serve the interest thereof, could not persuade themselves on a sudden, that this usage was founded on the instructions of pope Innocent, but rather owing to some sinister ends of the legate; and were very angry at this proceeding, and complained and appealed to the court of Rome. But, alas! it was all in vain; for shifting sides had on a sudden made such a change of men, that at Rome king John and archbishop Langton had shifted characters; and Pandulphus, who but a few months before had treated king John with great insolence and contempt, and made it his business to represent him as an enemy to God and to his church, and upon that ground had laboured to engage his subjects in a rebellion against him, being now sent to Rome to oppose the appeals of the clergy against the proceedings of the king and the new legate in the matter of the aforesaid elections, he represented king John as a prince of extraordinary modesty and humility, and blackened the archbishop, of whose great piety and goodness and wisdom pope Innocent had for some years past made so much boast and noise all over Europe:—accordingly, these two great men shifted places in the esteem and favours of pope Innocent and his court.

And though the men, their principles, and their rights, were in

[a] M. Par. ann. 1213. p. 247. n. 30.
[b] Innoc. Epist. lib. xvi. epist. 138. p. 813. [c] Ibid.

the same state they had been in when the ecclesiastic liberty was so dear to that court, yet the merits of the English clergy vanished on a sudden; and Pandulphus, who had so often harangued them with the glory of their sufferings, and fed them with the hopes of a reward, did now represent them to the court of Rome as covetous and greedy, and unreasonable in their demands of satisfaction, and set them out as oppressors of the king and the just rights and liberties of the crown.—Thus sped the archbishop and the bishops.

Lest his former favours should turn back upon him, and the bulls and epistles which he had given out for the encouragement of the clergy under the interdict, should reproach his present conduct, pope Innocent took all possible care to extinguish the memory thereof; and in order thereto commanded his legate the bishop of Tusculum to require that all letters and decrees from him, relating to the king, should be brought to him, and that he should forthwith cause them to be torn to pieces or to be burnt[a]; by which means the clergy and religious were not only disappointed of the reward which they promised to themselves from their late sufferings, but in some measure they were deprived of the comforts, at least of the best proofs which they had of the merit of that cause in which they suffered; and these were those letters and rescripts which pope Innocent commanded to be burnt.

Thus did the all-wise providence of God return their bigotry upon their own heads. They had been fond of a foreign power, charmed with the sound of ecclesiastic liberty, compared their late condition to the Egyptian bondage, and the change to their deliverance from slavery; and the issue was, they who distinguished themselves by greater measures of zeal for the papal usurpation, had the first and the greatest share in the tyranny thereof. And instead of that liberty which they fondly promised to themselves, this unhappy affair, by putting it out of the power of the crown to defend them, gave the finishing stroke to the usurpation which the court of Rome had so long been contending for; and the clergy of England instead of liberty entered upon a state of servitude, which never ended till they finally threw off the yoke which they had fondly put about their own necks, and were by the Reformation restored again to their ancient state.

Whilst a ferment was thus raised, and a general discontent overspread the nation, the king (probably confiding in his new

[a] Innoc. Epist. lib. xvi. epist. 133.

friendship with the court of Rome) instead of applying proper remedies, by indulging his unwarrantable pleasures, by giving countenance to some arbitrary ministers, and by laying heavy impositions on his people to prosecute his war against the French, rather increased and inflamed the discontents of the nation, than did any thing towards a cure. And though his affairs at home were in this ill posture, he this year with an army went over into France, and attacked the country of Poictou, whilst his nephew Otho the emperor and the earl of Flanders attacked Philip king of France on the side of Flanders. In the mean time his absence gave opportunity to his discontented subjects to concert measures for that unhappy war which too soon ensued in England.

However, that he might not seem altogether careless, and unconcerned for the affections of his people, the king obtained an order from pope Innocent to his legate to release the interdict; and an assembly being convened to St. Paul's in London for that purpose, the interdict was with great pomp and solemnity released the twenty-ninth of June this year (1214), after it had lasted six years three months and fourteen days. This release gave great satisfaction to the common people, who are usually charmed with the pompous outside and appearances of religion: and some of the clergy and religious had upon another account great reason to be pleased with the issue of this assembly; especially the archbishop of Canterbury, and the bishops of Ely, Hereford, Bath, and Lincoln, and the monks of Canterbury; for upon adjusting the account betwixt them and the king at this meeting, it appeared that they had received seven-and-twenty thousand marks from the king, and had security given them for thirteen thousand more, for the losses which they had sustained under the interdict.

This example, together with the repeated assurances which they had formerly received from the legates, had raised a general expectation in the religious and lower ranks of secular clergy, that *their* losses should be considered: therefore, as M. Paris observes, an innumerable company of abbots, priors, templars, hospitalers, abbesses, monks, secular clergy, and laity, did at the time of releasing the interdict apply themselves to the legate, and demanded satisfaction for the losses which they had sustained during the continuance of it; but they were dismissed by the legate with this mortifying answer, that "he had no instructions concerning them," and that "it was not fit for him to act beyond his commission." However, that he might not drive

them into despair, he advised them to apply themselves to the pope: but it being now above a year since the agreement betwixt king John and Pandulphus, this answer appeared to be nothing else but artifice, and the art lay so open, that the clergy and religious easily saw what they were to expect, and returned home in great discontent, and, for aught appears to the contrary, without a thought of applying to pope Innocent for a remedy.

The nation continued in a mighty ferment, and the discontents every day spread farther and grew bolder. The clergy and religious universally ran into the party which opposed the king and the court of Rome. A general discontent having thus prepared the way, the earls and barons of England, under the colour of a pilgrimage, met together about the middle of October at St. Edmundsbury in Suffolk, where they bound themselves by an oath to demand of the king the grant of the laws and liberties which king Edward had formerly granted to the church and kingdom of England, and, in case of refusal, agreed to compel him to it by force of arms. And preparations being made accordingly, at Christmas following (1214), they appeared armed and very numerous at the court held at the New Temple in London, where they made their demand in such a manner as gave the king reason enough to be assured they were resolved not to be denied.

This demand was grounded upon a promise made by the king at Winchester in the year 1213, when the archbishop gave him absolution from the excommunication he had lain under for some time: for, taking that opportunity, the archbishop required a promise of the king, which was confirmed by his oath, that he would love, defend, and maintain the church and the clergy against all their adversaries; that he would restore the good laws of his ancestors, especially those of king Edward; and, in general, that he would govern justly. But the king, having answered that it was a matter of the first moment and required time, did by the mediation and security given by the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishop of Ely and William Mareschall, gain time till Easter following, to give his final answer to the demand of the barons.

But as this delay seems to have been designed by the king only to gain time, so it served also, by this appearance of duty and moderation, to give a colour and reputation to the pretences of the confederates. But Easter (1215) being come, the barons met at Stamford in Lincolnshire, and from thence proceeded in a

warlike manner towards Oxford, where the king then was; but coming as far as Brackley, they were met by the archbishop and some other commissioners from the king, appointed to receive their demands; which being carried to the king, he answered with great indignation, "Why did not the barons demand his kingdom?" and the second time denied their petition.

Things being come to this pass, both sides prepared for war; and the better to amuse the world and cover their pretensions, both parties took pattern from the court of Rome, and took sanctuary in a pretence of zeal for religion and the church. The king, who was much influenced by the counsels of the legates, fell directly into the steps the court of Rome had frequently tried with good success; and whilst he saw himself in no condition to defend his crown and country, as if he had been perfectly at leisure, and had had nothing to do at home, did with great solemnity take upon him the cross, and put himself under vows of going to Palestine: and, in truth, though he was much more likely to be driven out of his own country than to do any thing towards the recovery of the Holy Land, and in all probability had not so much as one thought of that kind, but, on the contrary, his hypocrisy and dissimulation lay open to every view; yet it is very likely that he was as sincere, and had as much religion at the bottom of this pretence as that court ever had, from whence he took the artifice. And as under this cover that prince pretended that his person and crown were under the immediate protection of the holy chair, so upon the same ground he reproached the other side under the title of apostates to religion[a], and, according to the new doctrine of the court of Rome, pretended "they had forfeited their lands," and invited "foreigners to his service with the promises of the forfeited estates[b]."

That the address might be equal on both sides, the barons set up the like pretensions to religion, and chose Robert Fitz-Walter as their general, under the title of the mareschal of the army of God, and of his holy church[c]. Thus did these unhappy nations behold a war begun upon such grounds, and conducted with such circumstances, as the world had never seen before. The king took part with his own vassalage, and drew his sword to continue himself a slave; and he who for some years before had with a becoming bravery and courage maintained the rights of his crown, now appeared no less resolute to give them away. On the other

[a] M. Par. ann. 1215. p. 255. n. 20. [b] Ibid.
[a] Ejusd. p. 254. n. 40.

hand, some of those men who had deserved eternal infamy by the part which they had acted before to enslave their country, now hazarded their lives (at least as they pretended) to redeem the honour of the nation. Thus did the tyranny of the court of Rome, begun in the most direful cruelties to the souls of men about the year one thousand two hundred and seven, end in the most inhuman and unnatural cruelties of a civil war in the year 1215.

However artfully both sides covered their pretensions, there seems no reason to doubt, but the resignation of the king was the true cause of this unhappy war. For though the Norman revolution had made some changes to the disadvantage of the liberty and gentleness of the ancient English government, and the present king had made choice of such ministers and judges as had given just occasion of offence and complaint, yet taking arms against their prince was a thing hitherto so entirely unknown to the English nation, that it is impossible to think that the nobility, clergy, and people, could so universally have run into a defection, if there had not been more at the bottom of this war, than some arbitrary proceedings of an unsteady prince.

But a free people and a vassal prince is a solecism in the very essence and being of a government; and a well-established liberty under the reign of a prince who had given away his own freedom, was so vain and so ill-grounded an expectance, that the slightest reflection on this unhappy war presently leads one to think, that the demands of the barons and clergy were a cover to something else. Certain it is, that their undutifulness, or at least their coldness in their services to the king, had done too much towards plunging him into the unhappy despair, which led him to enslave himself and his country; and without a manifest reproach to themselves, they could not avow that to be the cause of the war, which was in a great measure owing to themselves.

Besides, the interest of the king and the papacy were too powerful to be openly opposed, and there was nothing so likely to divide them as that which seemed to preserve their deference to the court of Rome, and had the appearance of right, and law, and religion on its side. But the archbishop who formed the design of the barons, having publicly protested against the resignation of the king, and secretly favoured the proceedings of the barons, the king and the pope easily penetrated into the true reason of the war, and were fully satisfied that whatever the barons pretended, the king's becoming a vassal to the church of Rome was at the

bottom of this affair. Accordingly, the king in his letter to pope Innocent gives him this account of the conduct of his barons: "Whereas (saith he) the earls and barons of England were loyal to us before we resigned ourself and our kingdom to your dominion, from that time and for that reason, as they publicly say, they have taken up arms against us[a]."

The account of pope Innocent in his bull of excommunication against the barons is to the same purpose. "They (saith he) assisted the king whilst he perversely offended against God and his church, but presume to take up arms against him after he was converted, and hath given satisfaction to God and his church[b]." And in his letter to archbishop Langton[c], and in his bull by which he afterwards declared void the charter of the king, and the agreement betwixt him and his barons which was founded thereon, he gives the same account of the beginning of this unhappy war[d]. And the original bull of that prelate, dated at Anagni the eighth of the calends of September, the eighteenth year of his pontificate, and yet remaining in the Cotton Library, is of the very same import. "In a perverse manner *they* rose up against the king after he had satisfied the church, who assisted him whilst he was disobedient to the church[e]."

Having laid these particulars together, to give the reader a just view of the true cause of this unhappy war, and of the arts made use of by both sides to give a popular turn to it, it will be time to return to observe the conduct thereof, and the effects which it produced.

A war being thus begun, the barons seized the city of London, and became so very powerful, that the king quickly saw himself under a necessity of complying with their demands: therefore consenting to a meeting with some of their party, to find out a temper to accommodate this affair, Runnymede, betwixt Staines

[a] Cum Comites et Barones Angliæ nobis devoti essent antequam nos et nostram terram Dominio vestro subjicere curassemus, extunc in nos specialiter ob hoc, sicut publice dicunt, violenter insurgunt. Prynn's Exact Hist. vol. iii. p. 33; et Rimeri, tom. i. p. 207.

[b] Cum ipse Rex quasi perversus Deum et Ecclesiam offendebat, illi assistebant eidem; cum autem conversus Deo et Ecclesiæ satisfecit, ipsum impugnare præsumunt. Prynn's Exact Hist. vol. iii. p. 28.

[c] Prynn's Exact Hist. vol. iii. p. 26.

[d] Brady's Append. Hist. vol. i. p. 155.

[e] Ordine perverso in illum insurgunt postquam conversus Ecclesiæ satisfecit, qui assistebant eidem quando Ecclesiam offendebat. Cotton. Cleopat. E. i.

and Windsor, was the place agreed upon, and the fifteenth of June (1215) the day appointed.

This great assembly being met, an agreement was made, and contained in the two great charters known to this day by the name of Magna Charta and the Charta de Foresta, which still remain as the great standards of right and law, and continue the foundation and barriers to that happy government, which is the distinguishing blessing and glory of the English nation.—Thus did the wise providence of God bring good out of evil, and raise a lasting monument to his own glory, from the miseries and confusion which seem to have threatened the ruin of our country and our government. For though a charter was granted by Henry the first, and the first article of the great charter, which declares that the church is free, appears some ages before in the charter of Wightred king of Kent, and the articles of the great charter were not altogether new concessions from the crown, but rather the ancient maxims and rules of law drawn into a body; yet there is reason to think that it was the unhappy conduct of the king, which by giving the nation grounds to fear that they might too soon follow him into vassalage, and that their right could not long be safe when those of the crown were given away, that first gave beginning to that resolution which never ended, till it had settled the English government upon the bottom on which it remains to this day.

But as reflections of this kind give a sensible pleasure to those who know how to put a just value upon the happiness of that form of government which God has placed us under, so it is no little mortification to give up so agreeable a thought, and turn to see every thing on a sudden hurried into a new confusion. Yet this was the case: for whether it was that the fickle and unconstant spirit of the king could not bear the confinement of stated rules of government; or whether it was that the agreement betwixt the king and his people broke all the measures of that court, which had taken so much pains to enslave him, and could promise themselves no great advantage from his resignation, whilst his people continued safe and untouched under stated rules of law; or whatever occasioned it, so it was that the king, who seems to have been influenced and governed by the ministers of pope Innocent, before the month was over, repented of the favours which he had granted to his people, and revoked his charters; and the unhappy civil war broke out again, before the nation had time to reap any advantage from the late agreement betwixt the king and his barons.

The king having thus changed his measures, sent away Pandulphus, legate of pope Innocent, to Rome, to be absolved from the oath with which he had confirmed the charters which he had lately granted to the barons, and to have those charters declared void; and sent Walter Gray bishop of Worcester, his chancellor, John bishop of Norwich, and some other ambassadors, abroad, to give an account of this affair, and to procure forces to assist him; and sent his directions to his governors of castles and forts in England, to provide for their defence; and the better to secure his person till he could bring a foreign force to his assistance, he retired himself to the Isle of Wight. In the mean time the barons who were in possession of London, entertained themselves with tilts and tournaments, but were so far puffed up by their late success, that they seemed to despise the preparations of the king, rather than to provide against them.

Whilst things passed in this manner in England, the ambassadors of the king arrived at Rome, where pope Innocent, who was ever watchful over the interest of that court, and could not but see the secret springs which set this affair into motion, upon the first hearing of it, immediately answered in great anger, "What? do the barons of England endeavour to dethrone a king, who has taken upon him the cross and is under the protection of the apostolic see, and to transfer the dominion of the Roman church to another?" and then swore by St. Peter, "This injury should not pass unpunished [a]."

As he judged truly, that the interest of the court of Rome was bound up in that of the king, so he met the desires of his ambassadors with all the zeal and ardour the importance of the embassy required, and by a bull declared the aforesaid charters void; and by another commanded the barons to lay down their arms and to return to their duty, and pronounced them excommunicate in case of refusal. And when this would not do, he issued a third bull excommunicating the barons by name, and sent his command to the archbishop of Canterbury to appoint the publication of that sentence through his province every Sunday. And before the end of the year, in the council held in the Lateran, he again confirmed his sentence against the barons [b]: and in all the transactions upon this subject, pope Innocent acted up to his new character of lord of England and Ireland, with a pride and haughtiness equalled only by the ambition and wickedness with which he had aspired to it, and upon every occasion wrote and spake of king

[a] M. Par. ann. 1215. p. 266. [b] Concil. tom. ii. par. i. p. 237. ed. Lab.

John as his vassal, and the kingdoms of England and Ireland as fees of the papacy[1].

Things having passed thus at Rome (1215), the necessity of the king's affairs made his ambassadors hasten away to England: and Peter bishop of Winchester, being joined in the commission with Pandulphus, they immediately applied themselves to execute the aforesaid bulls; and in order thereto addressed the archbishop of Canterbury, to cause them to be published through his province. But that prelate, under pretence that he was going to Rome, desired to be excused, till by personal conference with pope Innocent he might lay the matter rightly before him[a]. But the king, who had by this time drawn a considerable force together, by the terror of his arms easily obtained what the archbishop had denied, and the sentence of excommunication against the barons, and their abettors and adherents, was generally pronounced, and except in London, where the barons chiefly resided, was as generally obeyed. Besides this, the king besieged and took the castle

[1] *Fees of the papacy.*] "When you tell me that we are indebted to the Roman Catholic religion for Magna Charta, had you forgotten, Sir, that the pope, as he whom God had appointed over nations and kingdoms, reprobated and condemned that charter; pronounced it, in all its clauses, null and void; forbade the king to observe it; inhibited the barons (who, being instigated by the devil, he said, had extorted these concessions in degradation of the crown), from requiring its execution, and suspended the primate Langton for refusing to excommunicate them on this account? To Langton, indeed, we are deeply indebted for the noble part which he took in obtaining the charter from the king, and in his yet nobler conduct in maintaining it against the pope. But to the Roman Catholic religion, as acting under its acknowledged head, *these* are our *obligations* on the score of Magna Charta!

"Where, Sir, was your memory, when you claimed our gratitude to the papal church for this great charter of our liberties; or where did you suppose was mine? Had you forgotten that another pope, in the plenitude of his power, absolved another king of England from his solemn engagement to observe that charter, pronouncing that, if the king had sworn to observe it, he had sworn, *previously*, to maintain the rights of the crown;—to those rights the charter was derogatory, and to that *prior* oath regard must *first* be paid; and therefore pope Clement V. released Edward I. from all promises prejudicial to his ancient prerogative? I have usually to thank you, Sir, when you send me to my books.—*These*, I repeat it, are our obligations to the Romish religion on the score of Magna Charta!—And it is worth noting by the way, you have here the opinion of the pope *ex cathedrâ*, that the king's coronation oath is paramount to all other engagements and considerations."—Southey's *Vindiciæ Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ;* Letters to Charles Butler, Esq. p 369, 70.

[a] M. Par. ann. 1215. p. 271. n. 50.

of Dover, and the barons having no army sufficient to oppose him, he every where laid their towns and villages waste, and before the end of this year had a fair prospect of reducing them to his obedience by force.

Meanwhile the court of Rome had an affair of the greatest importance on their hands; and this was to give the finishing stroke to that ecclesiastic monarchy which they had been raising by degrees. Pope Innocent had been exceedingly fortunate in the steps which he had made, and had carried the grandeur of that court to such a height, that one may be allowed to say, the glories of the papacy did never shine so bright as under the pontificate of that prelate. And as he judged truly of the present state of the papacy, so he hastened to put the last hand to it, by triumphing at once over the whole Christian church, which he and his predecessors had despoiled and broken by degrees. In order hereto he called a council, known by the name of the fourth Lateran Council, which met this year (1215), and was held in Rome in November under pope Innocent. Concerting measures for carrying on the war in Palestine, and the reformation of the church, were the pretended reasons for calling this assembly together. But when pope Innocent in his sermon at the opening of the council thought fit to speak out, he tells them, that if occasion was, "he was ready to die for the ecclesiastic liberty," and (according to his mysterious and allegorical way of speaking) that "though to live was Christ and to die was gain, yet it was his desire to continue in the flesh, till the work should be consummated which was begun[a]." And if perfecting the ecclesiastic monarchy was not this work, and the true secret which lay at the bottom of this council, one who considers the history, the canons, and the methods of proceeding therein, will find it very difficult to be of another opinion.

For if we take the whole together, this council is one of the most surprising scenes that the world ever produced; and whatever was designed by it, this assembly has drawn the ecclesiastic monarchy in its brightest glory and lustre, and gives us such a view of the power and grandeur of the papacy as is no where else to be found: and which I am more concerned to consider, it gives so much light to the affairs of the English church, that one cannot forbear to observe the occasion, the conduct, and the issue of this council.

Besides the general uneasiness which the Holy War occasioned,

[a] M. Par. ann. 1215. col. 131.

there was scarce a nation in Europe that had not about this time some particular embroil. That of England is too well known to need repeating: France was engaged in a war with Flanders and the emperor Otho; Spain torn to pieces by the Moors and Saracens; the parties of Otho and Frederic divided and embroiled the empire; and the late violent revolution in the eastern empire had occasioned such convulsions therein, as were never cured till the empire itself became a prey to the Turks. Such was the state of Europe when the council, which met this year, was summoned in the year 1213; and if a change was made before the council met, or the present state of Europe was any ways different from what it was two years since, the change was rather for the worse, and the affairs thereof still more embroiled. And as if these had not been calamities sufficient, the court of Rome was every where employing their arts and authority to raise men and money, for the succour of the east, as was pretended.

Whilst Europe then was in this posture, pope Innocent summoned a general council by his own authority: for which end he sent his monitions to the eastern and western emperors, to the kings of England, France, Spain, Arragon, Hungary, and Sicily, to oblige them to send ambassadors to that assembly. The like summons was sent to the four eastern patriarchs, as well as to the metropolitans of the western churches: and the conduct of this council was answerable to the majesty with which it was convened.

That prelate thus assumed to himself this great branch of the imperial and royal authority, by which all general and national councils had been called for above a thousand years after Christ; and instead of receiving a summons from the emperor, as all his predecessors had done to the eight first general councils, he sent his monitions to all Christian princes.—And it could not be expected, that he should use their clergy better than he had used their masters: and indeed the style, and canons, and form of passing them, plainly show, that he esteemed the bishops and clergy who came to this council, no otherwise than as his subjects and his counsel, and not as the representatives of the Christian church; whereas the learned writer of the history of the councils has well observed, that in all the ancient councils the method was first to consider and debate, and then each bishop having written his suffrage with his own hand[a], the matter under consideration was determined by the majority of voices, and the decree ran in the name of the council. And this, as that author saith, was a

[a] Richer. Hist. Concil. lib. i. p. 766.

method well suited to that aristocracy which Christ had established in his church, and the method which had been continued in such assemblies, from the first council of the apostles till the time of Gregory the seventh[a].

But as that learned writer has abundantly proved, that the court of Rome broke down the primitive constitution of the Christian church, and set up an ecclesiastic monarchy instead of that form which Christ had erected, and by which the apostles and first ages of the church had ever acted; so he makes it appear, that the proceedings of this council were answerable to the change which the ambition and artifices of the court of Rome had introduced. "For (saith he) pope Innocent neither suffered the bishops to debate, or to give their votes, or the decrees to run in the name, or to pass by the authority of the council; but he by his own creatures first prepared the decrees, and then published them, not as the acts of the council, but by his own proper authority[b]." And a late learned and excellent writer of the same communion follows him in that opinion, and saith, "It is certain, that the aforesaid canons were not made by the council, but by pope Innocent the third, who presented them to the council ready drawn up, and ordered them to be read; and that the prelates did not enter into debate upon them[c]." And indeed the aforesaid learned writer of the history of the councils has truly observed, that this was the case of all the papal councils from the pontificate of Gregory the seventh: they were so far from being free, that they were entirely governed by the particular interests of the court of Rome, and the canons thereof delivered as the edicts of an absolute monarch[d].

But whatever was the case of other councils, it is so evident that this was the case of the aforesaid council under pope Innocent, that if there had been no other proof, the turn and the style, and the spirit that every where appear in the canons thereof, are enough to lead one to the method and form in which they were conceived and published. For whereas the constant style of the ancient councils was, "decernimus et synodi autoritate roboramus[e]," we decree and confirm by the authority of the synod; Gregory the seventh, who projected the change in the government of the church, first began, and pope Innocent followed him in this

[a] Richer. Hist. Concil. lib. i. p. 769.
[b] Ejusd. p. 766.
[c] Du Pin, Eccles. Hist. vol. xi. p. 95.
[d] Richer. Hist. Concil. lib. i. p. 766.
[e] Ejusd. p. 769.

form, "nos sacro approbante concilio decernimus," we decree with the approbation of the synod. But very often the canons run in his own name, and ascribe the decreeing power to himself, without mentioning the authority of the council: and in that decree, by which he charged the whole clergy with the payment of a twentieth part of their yearly revenues for the space of three years, towards defraying the charges of the war in Palestine, he pretends no further than that it was with the approbation of the council[a]. In short, some things are ascribed to the advice, and others to the persuasions of the council[b], whilst the haughty monarch arrogates the decreeing power to himself.

As he thus treated this assembly, and under the cover thereof imposed his own maxims on the world, the persons of the clergy and religious were, if it was possible, used worse than their authority. For having under the colour of this council drawn them to Rome, he put his own price upon them, and before he would suffer them to depart, he made them take up money from the merchants of Rome, whom he had appointed to furnish them to supply his wants[c]. Among the rest, William abbot of St. Albans had an hundred marks extorted from him[d], and the new archbishop of York was charged with ten thousand marks: and if we have not the particular charges on the other prelates, our historian is positive that by this method pope Innocent raised infinite sums of money[e]; or, to speak more properly, by a treachery and violence beyond all example, he robbed those whom he had first deceived into the snare under the pretence of religion. This horrible practice will, it may be, give us the best account of that mighty zeal with which this assembly was convened, and such numbers drawn together at a time when all Christendom was in a ferment, and the presence of the clergy and religious so necessary at home. But if this circumstance, and the interest the court of Rome served by it, be not enough to set the reason of this assembly in a true light, it will be in vain to look to the canons themselves, or to the controversies or heresies of the age for our guide.

But whatever occasioned the convening of this council, one who observes the air of majesty and authority which every where appears, in the monitions sent by pope Innocent to the emperors and other Christian princes of Europe, and to the bishops as well

[a] Concil. tom. xi. par. i. col. 228. [b] Ibid.
[c] M. Par. ann. 1215. p. 274. n. 10.
[d] M. Par. vit. Abbat. S. Alban. p. 117. [e] Ibid.

of the eastern as the western churches; with what assurance that prelate, without the consent of the princes and states of Europe, forbade the raising of money for the time to come on the estates of the clergy and religious by the secular power, without the consent of the bishops of Rome, whilst at the same time he laid an imposition of a twentieth part on the whole estate of the church; how magisterially he commanded every city to send or to pay a number of men for the Holy War, and declared it the right of the papacy to give away the dominions of princes; with what assurance that prelate put the doctrine of deposing princes upon the world, under the pretended authority of an assembly, wherein the ambassadors of most of the princes of Europe were present; how arbitrarily he extorted vast sums of money from the clergy and religious who met in this council; and, which is more still, how tamely they suffered their persons to be ill treated, and their authority abused, to serve all the purposes of the ambitious court which convened them; has a view and an example of such blindness and infatuation on the one side, and of such ambition and exorbitant power on the other, as the world could have no idea of before the reign of pope Innocent.

The archbishop of Canterbury was at Rome whilst this council was held there, and if he did not make his peace with pope Innocent, yet it seems very probable, he obtained the recalling of his suspension, partly by giving security to abide by the judgment of that court, and partly by the same methods by which that court served their ends on the rest of the assembly. But the barons of England fell irrevocably under his displeasure, and were in this council excommunicated by pope Innocent, with all their adherents and abettors, and with all that should attempt to seize or invade the kingdom of England: and the reason that prelate gives, is, "because (as he speaks) the illustrious king of England had taken upon him the cross, and was the vassal of the Roman church[a]."

Having thus long insisted on the transactions of this council, partly to show the reader what the court of Rome meant by the ecclesiastic liberty; and partly to show to what a height they had by this time carried their usurpation, by offering to his view the triumphs of that court over the Christian and secular authority in this great assembly, which is said to consist of four hundred and twelve bishops; and partly to enable the reader, by this view of the papacy, to conceive how it came to pass, that the weight of

[a] Concil. tom. xi. par. i. p. 237. ed. Lab.

that court first turned the scale against king John and then for him, and to give him light enough to judge truly of the reason of the ill success with which the succeeding kings of England made so many laws to restrain and set bounds to the papal usurpation; it is but time to return, and to observe how the transactions of this assembly operated in England.

King John, having drawn together a pretty good army, the latter end of the last year (1215) made such use of it, that before the year was done the barons were reduced to such circumstances, that they who had carried all before them in the beginning of the year, before it was ended saw themselves in no condition to resist the forces of the king: and this threw them into despair, and gave a new turn to this unhappy war, and brought the dishonour and guilt upon the barons, which they had before charged upon the king and the court of Rome. For having drawn the sword against their prince, they took sanctuary in the maxim which advises to throw away the scabbard; and seeing their party likely to be overwhelmed, they sent their agents to Philip king of France, with the tender of the crown and kingdom of England to his son prince Lewis: and to give all assurance of their sincerity and endeavours to assist that prince, some of the sons of the greatest of the barons were sent as hostages into France.

Having thus given security for the performance of what they had promised to the French king, his son Lewis, whose heat and ambition outstripped the precaution and slower methods of his father, immediately engaged in this war, and had all the assistance his father could give; and a body of men was in the beginning of this year sent to England to the aid of the barons.

This league was not transacted so privately, but the king of England and the court of Rome easily saw into it, and omitted no endeavours that appeared likely to frustrate and disappoint it. In order whereto, the king not only set himself to secure the sea-coast, and to provide a fleet, but sent his ambassadors to France, with such offers to the French king as he thought most likely to divert the storm. Pope Innocent, who well saw that the interest of the court of Rome was bound up in that of the king, laid out all his zeal and endeavours for his security: and as his commissioners in England issued out his thunders against the barons, and in the cathedral and conventual churches did every Sunday repeat their anathema and excommunication against them; so by

his legate in France he endeavoured to withdraw the French king from this undertaking, and to engage him to keep his son at home.

In order hereto Walo[1], who was the legate sent to France, remonstrated against the intended expedition to England, and represented it as "no less injurious to the Romish church than to the king of England; for (saith he) the king of England has sworn fidelity to the bishop and church of Rome, and holds his kingdoms by an annual tribute of the church of Rome, they being the patrimony of St. Peter."

But king Philip, who about four years before was so thoroughly convinced of the right of the papacy to give away the crown of England, that he himself took a title from the holy chair, and was at the head of an army to make good his pretence by force, by a new turn of interest now lost all his former quickness and penetration of mind, and notwithstanding the change which the resignation of king John had made to the great advantage of the papacy, that prince could not bear the aforesaid pretence of the legate with common patience, but replied in anger to what the legate had said of England being a fief of the papacy, "that England never was, nor is, nor ever shall be, the patrimony of St. Peter[a]."

Therefore, though he pretended the most profound veneration for the holy see, and sent his ambassador to Rome to set this matter right, and to prevent the thunders which might come from thence, and seemed not to allow the intended expedition of his son; yet at the same time he furnished him with a fleet and an army, and gave him his blessing when he set out for England.—Every thing being ready for that design, prince Louis set forward about the middle of May, (1216,) and arrived the one-and-twentieth. King John thought fit to retire, and Lewis landed without any opposition at Sandwich, and not long after came to London, where he was received with great joy by the barons; and as king of England he received their homage, and swore to observe the laws of England.

And that posterity might not be deceived in judging of the party by which this interest was managed, before he left London,

[1] *In order hereto Walo.*] Guala, of the noble family of the Bicchieri of Vercelli, of which place he was bishop. He was legate in France and England (he crowned Henry III.): he was a great patron of learning, and founded the monastery at Vercelli, where his library (a rich one for the time) still exists.

[a] M. Par. ann. 1216. p. 280. n. 40.

king Lewis appointed Simon Langton, late archbishop elect of York, and brother to the archbishop of Canterbury, for his chancellor.

Not long after the arrival of prince Lewis, Walo legate to pope Innocent came into England, and went to king John, who was retired to Gloucester with his army. His presence gave new life to the affairs of the king; for as he excommunicated prince Lewis and the barons, with the solemnity of tolling the bells and lighting of torches, and thereby made such impressions on the Commons of England as were of some use to the king; so by crying up the merit of assisting him and the holy Roman church, and by the assurances which he gave of the blessing and assistances of the holy chair, he prevented the general desertion that prince had some reason to fear, and gave so much vigour to the army of the king, that he soon saw himself in a capacity to reduce a great part of the west of England to his obedience.

On the other hand, prince Lewis and the barons, having concerted measures, did with their forces leave London about the middle of June, and, excepting the castles of Dover and Windsor, did in a little time reduce all the south of England. And the armies on both sides being so near equal, that neither party thought fit to attempt to force the other to a decision by a battle, the nation was the common subject of their fury; for whilst each party applied itself to reduce the cities and castles to their obedience, their animosities and revenge were so much alike, that desolation and blood attended them wheresoever they went, and all the miseries of an intestine war overspread the nation.

But whilst one leaves this melancholy scene to the relation of those to whom it more properly belongs, the design of this undertaking will, I hope, permit me to carry the reader back to that unhappy affair of the church, which gave beginning to it: and this was the election of Stephen Langton archbishop of Canterbury, or, to speak more properly, the attempt of pope Innocent and the court of Rome to force an archbishop[1] upon the kingdom (1206); for it was that pretence which gave beginning to the war. When it was first started, the nation seemed to have no apprehensions of the consequences which in time ensued: but that usurpation which at the first appearance of it was like the prophet's cloud, no bigger than one's hand, like that too grew up into a darkness which covered the face of the whole kingdom; and in the dire events

[1] *To force an archbishop.*] See above, p. 79. and below, p. 121. n.

thereof has shown us, how dangerous it is to break in upon the legal and ancient constitutions of a kingdom, and to make subjects too great to obey, or princes too little to govern.

For if one may be allowed to judge and to speak freely, one cannot forbear to say, this was too much our case. The clergy fondly flattered themselves with a belief, that the power snatched from the king would fall into their own hands, and that they should gain all that the king lost, by taking the patronage of bishoprics from the crown[1]. The nobility were jealous of the king,

[1] *From the crown.*] I venture to introduce here a note of great length from Inett; but I hope the importance of the topics, and the ability with which they are handled, will justify the insertion.

"The aforesaid disappointment of the clergy and religious made a great addition to the prevailing discontents of the nation; and it is not unlikely, but that it made some impressions on the king and the legate, and gave the first thought to a charter made by him, and confirmed by pope Innocent, the latter end of this or the beginning of the following year (1214); that is, to that charter by which king John granted a general freedom of elections to all cathedrals and convents. And if this and some other concessions of this kind by the predecessors of this prince were not the best grounds upon which the sole rights of capitular elections were founded, yet certainly the claims founded upon antiquity and the usage of the primitive church, and much more those said to be built on the commission of Christ, and a pretence that princes have nothing to do in the affairs of the church and religion, are attended with so many difficulties, as would tempt one to think that they are mistaken who embark in bottoms of this kind.

"The grant of the king makes no difference betwixt the claims of the secular canons and the monastics, and upon this foot this affair was finally settled in the Western church by the council of Basil. But however reasonable it might appear to allow the colleges of presbyters a great part in the choice of bishops in the first ages, yet the very reason on which that usage was founded, overturns the pretence of the cathedral monks; for a right of a body of laymen founded on the usage of the college of presbyters has so little foundation in truth and reason, that there is much better ground to affirm those institutions a reproach and contradiction to the sense and practice of the ancient church, rather than any way countenanced by them. And if the primitive bishops had lived to see themselves deprived of the counsel and assistance of their presbyters, and beheld their cathedrals exempted from their jurisdiction, and those who possessed them withdrawn from their obedience, their authority denied, their counsels frustrated, their very order lessened; in short, had they but tasted of those troubles which those bodies drew down upon their successors, it would have set fire to their zeal, shocked all their patience, and their practice and their canons would have had so different a turn, as would have left no colour for the claims which were in time pretended to be supported by them.

"The claim of the *secular canons* has in the first view a much better colour;

and had the vanity to hope, that their liberties would be safer, if the interest of the crown was made less. And the nomination of

for as they were colleges of presbyters, and so came much nearer the primitive institutions of those bodies, their claim was in proportion so much better grounded. But when it is considered, that the primitive church allowed the bishops of the province, and the people as well as the clergy, a share in the choice of bishops; it will seem unreasonable to found a right upon a practice which opposes and contradicts the claims that are built upon it, or to conclude solely in favour of capitular elections, from an usage which equally proves the right of the bishops and the people and the clergy of the diocese.

"Besides, whatever veneration is due to the example of the best ages, usages which are not founded upon a divine right, must ever stand or fall with the reasons that support them. Thus the feasts of charity, the holy kiss, the orders of deaconesses, and many other usages of the first ages, did by degrees run into desuetude, and were finally banished with the reasons that gave them a beginning. So that however reasonable it might appear to allow the clergy and people a share in the choice, whilst the districts of the bishops were chiefly confined to cities, and the presbyters residing with them at the Mother Church were in a manner the whole clergy of the diocese; yet the case at this time was so very different, when dioceses were extended to bounds much wider than some kingdoms under the Saxon heptarchy, and the clergy spread as far as the diocese, that if the usage of the ancient church prove any thing at all, it proves too much to serve the interest of the present claims, and entitles the whole clergy and people of the diocese to the choice of bishops.

"But because the right which the kings of England had long enjoyed, and which was about this time (1214) given away by king John, has been resumed by the crown, and the honour of the church and nation seems very much concerned in the disputes upon this subject; it may not be amiss to observe, that the question at this time was not, whether Christ had founded a church, or vested a power in the apostles and their successors to set apart men to minister in holy things; whether this designation was necessary, or whether they who were entrusted with the conveyance of a power to preach the gospel, might not judge finally of the abilities and sufficiency of the persons to whom this trust was committed. These were disputes reserved as a judgment on the later ages, wherein Erastianism, profaneness, and enthusiasm have attempted the foundations of the church of Christ, but were not so much as thought of at this time. And it is very evident, that when the claim of the kings of England was carried to the greatest lengths, they never pretended to convey a spiritual power; but on the contrary, the law which establishes the patronage of the crown, does in the very letter as well as in the reason of it allow the original right of the church of Christ; and by limiting the right of the crown to a legal and preparatory designation of persons, and conferring a right to the wealth, the powers, and privileges derived from the state, whilst it requires bishops to confer the character, the law itself amounts to a recognition of the inherent right and power of the church.

persons to vacant bishoprics, which till within a few years had been enjoyed unquestioned by the kings of England, was one of

"This was all that was contended for at the election of the present archbishop (Langton): it was the choice of the person who was to receive the character of a bishop, not the right to convey it, which was the subject of dispute. And the several claims turned upon the same foot: the pretence of the monks was founded on their relation to the Mother Church of the diocese of Canterbury; that of the bishops on their relation to the province, and not on their order as bishops; and that of the king on the patronage of the crown, whilst the sole right of bishops to confer the *order* was allowed on all sides; and since it is the order which makes the bishop, and not the previous choice, these different claims seem equally reconcileable to the inherent power of the church to confer the character. They who do not or will not see the difference, but confound these two things, or throw them together in the divine commission, and tell us that the choice as well as the consecration of bishops is one of the inherent rights of the church, do at once overturn all the claims of the secular power: but at the same time they shock the pretence to capitular elections, for which themselves so earnestly contend; they give up the canons and usages; and, which is more, they reproach the practice of the whole Christian church; and more especially of the cathedral monks, who, generally speaking, were nothing else but bodies of laymen through the whole western kingdoms: for if a claim of this extent lie within the bounds of the divine commission, it ought certainly to be placed amongst the rights of that order of men, to whom Christ has principally committed the care of his church.—Besides, this will put an end to all the rights of patronage allowed by the whole Christian world; for the extent or narrow limits of a cure of souls cannot alter the nature of the trust, and make that a sin in one case, which is a matter of common right in another: and the distinction of order can in reason make no difference in the case; for he who presents a priest to take care of a parish, and he who nominates a bishop to govern a diocese, do equally choose a minister of Christ, and equally invade the right of the holy order of bishops, if they only have a right to choose the person whose only right it is to confer the character. And therefore the second council of Nice (can. 3), which applies that to the *choice* which the first council of Nice had said of the *consecration* of bishops, and upon this ground appoints that bishops should only have the choice of bishops, does also in the same canon determine, that they only should have the choice of priests. But, after all, this council is so far from fixing this upon the divine commission, that the council of Constantinople in the year 869 (which is, if I mistake not, the only council which pursues the steps of the second council of Nice, and limits the elections of patriarchs, metropolitans, and bishops, to the college of the church, can. 28) grounds the canon relating to this subject on preventing confusion and strife, and the indecency of seculars intermeddling in affairs of this kind: and the council of Laodicea, probably on the same ground, had some ages before determined, that the election of bishops should not be wholly left to the people (can. 12): but neither of these

the most considerable rights of the crown: therefore when this right was invaded, and pope Innocent had imposed an archbishop

councils give us the least intimation of the divine right, for which some later writers contend.

"The council of Arles is the reverse of the aforesaid councils of Nice and Constantinople, and at once fixes the choice in the bishops and the people, but forbids their nomination by bishops (can. 35). The council of Orleans, in the year 533, kept up to the ancient practice, and required that metropolitans should be chosen by the bishops, the clergy, and people of the province (can. 7): and that of Clermont, about two years after, allows the right of the bishops, the clergy, and people (can. 2). But a later council of Orleans, about the year 549, requires the consent of the king (can. 10). That of Paris, in the year 557, establishes the right of the people, and determines that no bishop should be put upon a city without the consent of the people (can. 8): and that of Cabilon directs the choice of bishops by the bishops of the province, the clergy, and people (can. 10).—But all this, while there is not a syllable to be found of capitular elections, unless what is said of the college of the church by the council of Constantinople, can be interpreted in favour of that pretence.

"We may add to this, that the apostles put the choice of deacons into the hands of the people, and upon the death of Judas empowered the disciples to choose two men out of their number, to fill up the vacancy in the apostolic college; and that these examples were the guides to the future ages of the church. If all this was encroachment on the divine commission, the blame will lie upon those who best understood the rights of the Christian church, and who were never blamed for betraying it: and yet so we must call this practice of the apostles and of the whole Christian world, if the choice of the person as well as conveying the character of a bishop be equally limited to the divine commission. For they who can discharge the apostles and primitive bishops, must acquit their successors too, and whilst they justify the favours which the former allowed to the people, can never reasonably condemn the latter for submitting to the claim of princes; unless they turn their reasoning another way, and, instead of an encroachment on the rights of the church, think fit to call it an usurpation on the rights of the people.

"But if the canons and practice of the whole Christian church, founded on that of the apostles, can no otherwise be justified but upon a supposition of a prudential power in the church, to adjust and settle rules for the choice of bishops; whatever can be said on the side of the people, will equally justify the rights of princes. And in a national church, where the extent of dioceses has rendered the choice by the clergy and people utterly impracticable, and the people have by their representatives yielded up their claims, and civil rights and a political capacity are to accompany the character of a bishop; it seems as reasonable that princes should name the persons, as it is to allow them to dispose their own favours, and provide for the good government of their people.

"They who give too much liberty to an intemperate and misguided zeal, and think fit to call this disfranchising the church, and speak of churches under

on the kingdom, and the king, with the resolution that became him, set himself to defend the rights of his crown, some of his

these circumstances as in a worse condition than under persecution, might upon as good ground and with equal hopes of success persuade Christians to believe, that it is the interest of the gospel to dissolve national churches, renounce the protection of princes, and return to the primitive state of persecution.—But if those holy bishops who, by sad experience, knew what *that* meant, had lived to see their persons guarded by the civil power, their churches endowed from the bounty, their censures enforced by the sanctions of the state, the religion of Christ shining in the lives of princes and attended by all encouragements of law, they would have blessed God for the change, and thought churches safe and happy under the patronage of princes; and whilst they sacredly preserved to themselves the right to convey the character, would have prevented their wishes in allowing them that interest in the choice of bishops, which they had voluntarily and unasked for put into the hands of the lower clergy and the people.—And this was all that was contended for by the king of England, and no more than his ancestors had long enjoyed.

"If it be said, that a power of this kind may be abused; one must be a stranger to human nature who doubts the truth, and to the world who does not allow the weight of this objection. But he who argues against a right from the possibility of abusing it, may upon the same ground overturn all the natural and legal rights of mankind: and even the spiritual power which Christ has committed to His church, must sink under the weight of this argument, if this be a just way of reasoning; for it is evident, past all contradiction, that this is capable of being abused, to serve purposes for which the holy Jesus never designed it.

"But to go no further for an instance than the subject now before us: one who looks backward and finds above twenty schisms in the western church, occasioned chiefly by the elections of the bishops of Rome; that the controversies on this head cost a great deal of blood, brought great scandal and reproach upon religion, and very much served the interest of paganism; will see cause enough to believe, that princes are not the only persons who may abuse a trust of this kind. Or if we look at home and go no further than the election just now before us, and observe that the sub-prior was chosen in the night, the bishop of Norwich at the instance of king John, Stephen Langton by the menaces of pope Innocent; there will need no other proof that capitular bodies are subject to practice. And one who observes the whole course of that affair whilst the power of elections continued in such bodies, and the consequences thereof, will find little reason to complain of the change.

"If it be thought that things of this nature would be better managed were that usage restored again, he that will observe what a scene of intrigue and politics attends the election of every new bishop of Rome, may possibly see ground enough to change his mind. And one who will think fit to consider, that disengaging the bishops of Rome from their dependence on the emperors, by taking out of their hands the power to nominate or confirm the bishops of that see, was the first step and indeed the foundation upon which

nobility left him to himself, at least they were very cold and indifferent; others did secretly favour his enemies, and by their cold-

Gregory the seventh raised the usurpation, so fatal to the doctrine and government of the whole Christian church; that the same method let the clergy loose from their dependence on the western princes, and made the bishops of Rome masters of all capitular elections, and in consequence thereof of synods and councils; and what ill use those prelates made of that power in the west; may possibly find matter enough to balance all that learned men have said of the abuses of the regale in the east. And which is more, they who will reflect on the fatal consequences of the expeditions of the Latins against the eastern empire, and consider by whom they were set on foot, by whom they were managed and whose interest they served, will find a plainer way of accounting for the destruction of the Greek church than some learned writers have lately done, and may upon better grounds charge it on that usurpation which raised itself upon the ruins of the regalia, rather than on the abuses of that important trust.

"But whatever was the ground, and whatever was the effect of that claim abroad, it is certain, the nomination to bishoprics had long been esteemed a branch of the royal patronage of the kings of England; that the church had flourished whilst the just power of the crown was preserved, and was divided, distracted and oppressed, when that languished and decayed.—But I am sensible that I have wronged the patience of the reader and must ask his pardon, and lead him to observe, when and by whom it was given away. And we shall be called too soon to behold the ill effects of this concession: however, for the reason before mentioned, king John gave up his right to the patronage of bishoprics and abbeys about this time, and pope Innocent thought fit to confirm the grant." Inett, p. 457—62.—Compare Inett, vol. ii. p. 94—100. and 365,6.

Long as this note is, we must still add further to it, by extracts of considerable length from Hooker, and from Twisden.

First, from Hooker.—"Touching the advancement of prelates unto their rooms by the king; whereas it seemeth in the eyes of many a thing very strange, that prelates, the officers of God's own sanctuary, than which nothing is more sacred, should be made by persons secular, there are that will not have kings to be altogether of the laity, but to participate that sanctified power which God hath endowed his clergy with; and that in such respect they are anointed with oil,—a shift vain and needless. Forasmuch as, if we speak properly, we cannot say kings do *make*, but they only do *place*, bishops. For in a bishop there are these three things to be considered;—the *power* whereby he is distinguished from other pastors; the *special portion* of the clergy and people over whom he is to exercise that bishoply power; and the *place* of his seat or throne, together with the profits, pre-eminences, honours, thereunto belonging. The first every bishop hath by consecration; the second his election investeth him with; the third he receiveth of the king alone.

"With *consecration* the king intermeddleth not further than only by his letters to *present* such an elect bishop as shall be consecrated. Seeing therefore that none but bishops do consecrate, it followeth that none but they only

ness and backwardness and intrigues did so much towards the king's resignation of the crown, that their agents at Rome thought fit to tell pope Innocent, it was they who forced him to it [a].

do give unto every bishop *his being*. The manner of uniting bishops as heads under the flock and clergy under them, hath often altered. For, if some be not deceived, this thing was sometime done even without any *election* at all. 'At the first' (saith he to whom the name of Ambrose is given) 'the first created in the college of presbyters was still the bishop. He dying, the next senior did succeed him.' . . . .

"In *elections*, at the beginning, the clergy and the people both had to do, although not both after one sort. The people gave their testimony, and showed their affection, either of desire or dislike, concerning the party which was to be chosen: but the choice was wholly in the sacred college of presbyters. . . . .

"That difference, which is between the form of electing bishops at this day with *us*, and that which was usual in former ages, riseth from the ground of that right which the kings of this land do claim in furnishing the *place* where bishops, elected and consecrated, are to reside as bishops. For considering the huge charges which the ancient famous princes of this land have been at, as well in *erecting* episcopal sees, as also in *endowing* them with ample possessions, sure, out of their religious magnificence and bounty, we cannot but think them to have been most deservedly honoured with those royal prerogatives, of taking the benefit which groweth out of them in their *vacancy*, and of advancing alone unto such dignities *what persons they* judge most fit for the same. A thing over and besides even therefore the more reasonable, for that as the king most justly hath pre-eminence to make *lords temporal* which are not such by right of birth, so the like pre-eminence of bestowing where pleaseth him the honour of *spiritual* nobility also, cannot seem hard, bishops being peers of the realm, and by law itself so reckoned.

"Now, whether we grant so much unto kings in this respect, or in the former consideration whereupon the laws have annexed it unto the crown, it must of necessity, being granted, both make void whatsoever interests the *people* aforetime hath had towards the choice of their own bishop, and also restrain the very act of *canonical election* usually made by the *dean and chapter*: as with *us*, in such sort it doth that they neither can proceed in any election *till leave be granted*, nor elect any *person* but that who is named unto them. If they might do the one, it would be in them to defeat the king of his profits; if the other, then were the king's pre-eminences of granting those dignities nothing. And therefore, were it not for certain canons requiring canonical election to be before consecration, I see no cause but that *the king's letters patents* alone might suffice well enough to that purpose; as by law they do, in case those electors should happen not to satisfy the king's pleasure. *Their* election is now but a matter of form: it is the *king's* mere *grant* which *placeth*, and the *bishop's consecration* which *maketh*, bishops.

"Neither do the kings of this land use herein any other than such pre-

[a] Prynn's Exact Hist. vol. iii. p. 29.

Though this was said to serve a turn, yet it is very probable that if the barons and clergy had been just to the rights of the

rogatives as foreign nations have been accustomed unto . . . " Hooker, B. viii. c. vii. § 1—4. Vol. iii. p. 524—9. Keble's edit.

We now come to Twisden.

"Before I enter into the dispute of the rights the kings of England did exercise in the regimen of the church, I hold it not unnecessary to see in *what* divines hold that ecclesiastic authority doth consist.

"Bellarmine, Turrecremata, and others, divide spiritual power into (1) *Ordinis*, which they refer to the administration of the sacraments; and (2) *Jurisdictionis:* which latter they hold to be double; (1) *internal*, where the divine by persuasions, wholesome instructions, ghostly counsel, and the like, so convinces the inward conscience, that it is wholly obedient to his dictates (such as those of St. Peter were in Acts ii. 37): and (2) *external;* where the church, *in foro exteriori*, compels the Christian's obedience.

"Now for the *first* and *second* of these *our* king did not take upon him at all to meddle. For he neither assumed to himself a power of preaching, teaching, binding or loosing *in foro animæ*, administering the holy sacraments, *conferring orders*, nor any particular that is properly annexed to them. Only he took upon himself such things as are of the *outward* policy of the church: such as, that God may be truly served; they that transgress the received lawful constitutions, even of the church, may be fitly punished, &c.: these, and the like, by the rights of his crown, and the continued practice of his ancestors, he could not doubt but he might deal in; causing all, be they clerks or others that offend, to suffer condign punishment." *Vindication*, p. 93. 4to. 1675.

When he comes to enumerate *at large* the *particulars* in which our kings exercised this species of jurisdiction, he mentions as the 12th; "Bestowed bishoprics on such as they liked, and translated bishops from one see to another." p. 109.

We close the whole finally with Hooker's observations on *parochial* patronage and presentations.

"Now when the power (of orders) so received (from the bishop) is once to have any *certain subject whereon it may work*, and whereunto it is to be tied, here cometh in the *people's consent*, and not before. The power of order I may lawfully *receive* without any asking leave of any multitude; but that power I cannot *exercise* upon any one certain people utterly against their wills; neither is there in the church of England any man by order of law possessed with pastoral charge over any parish, *but the people in effect do choose him thereunto*. For albeit they choose not by giving every man personally his particular voice, yet can they not say that they have their pastors violently obtruded upon them, inasmuch as their *ancient* and *original interest* therein hath been by orderly means derived into the *patron*, who chooseth for them. And if any man be desirous to know *how patrons came to have such interest*, we are to consider, that at the first erection of churches, it seemed but reasonable in the eyes of the whole Christian world to pass that right to them and their successors, on whose soil and at whose charge the same were founded. This all men gladly and willingly did, both in honour of so great piety, and

crown, and had given the king such assistances against the court of Rome as they ought to have done, they had prevented those things which the greatest partiality to one's country and ancestors will not suffer one to speak of in softer terms than as the blemish of the English name and nation, as well as of this unhappy prince's reign.

For if the king gave away the rights of his crown, pope Innocent led him to it by giving away his kingdom to Philip king of France; and the barons followed the example in their turn, and gave away the kingdom to prince Lewis his son.

Thus, in the compass of about four years, the kingdom of England was three times given away; a misfortune, if I mistake not, peculiar to this nation: and which is worse, our ancestors helped to undo themselves, and had too great a share in the guilt that occasioned both the dishonour and the misery which fell upon their country. For though this wild doctrine of deposing kings and giving away countries had been broached by pope Gregory some time before, yet these nations had probably never felt the effects thereof, if the resentment and some sinister ends of the barons had not led them to give too much countenance to the imposture, when pope Innocent pretended to give away the kingdom to Philip king of France.

But that wrong step being once made, it is no wonder if the rights of the subject fell and perished with those of the crown; for the texture and frame of every well-ordered government is so nice and delicate, and the rights of the prince and people are so riveted into one another, that, like wheels to the same machine, they never move right but in conjunction and under a well-proportioned balance. But whatever the cause was, it is certain, the effects were deplorable; for they who agreed in nothing else, united in desolation and blood, and each side had its turn to lay waste the kingdom.

Whilst the nation was thus groaning under the miseries of a bloody and unnatural war, God opened the way to a deliverance by the death of pope Innocent and king John, who died both within the compass of this year (1216); the first in July, the latter in October following: men so very different in their characters and

for encouragement of many others unto the like, who peradventure else would have been as slow to *erect* churches *or* to *endow* them, as we are forward both to spoil them, and to pull them down." B. vii. c. xiv. § 12. Vol. iii. p. 287. Keble's edit.

conduct, that it is not easy to determine whether pope Innocent did more towards raising the ecclesiastic monarchy, or king John towards lessening the monarchy of England.

As for the former, such was his conduct and success, that he who will take the height of the papal grandeur, must make his view in the reign of pope Innocent: for as the learned and judicious M. Du Pin well observes, the popes have ever since taken their measures from the polity of his reign [a]; so he observes too, that the publishing the decretals, containing a body of laws suited to the present state of the papal monarchy, gave "the last blow towards the entire ruin of the ancient law, and the establishing the absolute and unlimited power of the pope [b]." And though the collection and publication of those decretals be owing to pope Gregory the ninth, and not to Innocent; yet it is evident that Gregory was immediate successor to Honorius the third, and came to the papacy within eleven or twelve years after the death of pope Innocent, and that the papacy made no considerable advance in that interval of time. Besides, he who looks to the decretals of pope Innocent, as they are for the most part published by Baluzius in the first volume of his Epistles, or as they are scattered in the decretals of Gregory; and considers how much of that work is taken from thence and from his Epistles; will see reason to affirm, not only that pope Innocent carried the papacy to its greatest height, but also that it was he who laid the foundation of that law, which (as M. Du Pin saith) gave the last hand [1] to the papal usurpation.

[a] Eccles. Hist. vol. xi. p. 11. [b] Eccles. Hist. Cent. xi. chap. x. p. 55.

[1] *The last hand.*] Further on the introduction of the canon law into England, see *Inett*, vol. ii. p. 194–7.

Of its character, history, &c. in general, of the extent to which it is binding in England, &c., the reader may consult bishop Stillingfleet's *Ecclesiastical Cases*, vol. i. 227—74, and vol. ii. 1—60; Gibson's *Codex*, vol. i. Preface, xxvii—ix; Ridley's *View of the Civil Law*.

The following account of the publication of the decretals, and of the other portions of which the huge volume of the *Corpus Juris Canonici*, &c. is composed, may perhaps be not unsatisfactory.

"Justinian the emperor, about the year 533, did so contract the civil law, as he brought it from almost 2000 books into 50; besides some others, which he added of his own. Howbeit shortly after it grew out of use in Italy, by reason of the incursions of sundry barbarous nations, who, neglecting the imperial laws, did practise their own: till after almost 600 years, that Lotharius Saxo the emperor, about the year 1136, did revive again in that country, and in other places also, the ancient use and authority of it.

But so dark and unsearchable are the methods of the divine providence, that notwithstanding the great share which pope Inno-

Which course of the emperour did not much content (as it seemeth) the bishops of Rome; because it revived the memory of the ancient honour and dignity of the empire. Whereupon, very shortly after, Eugenius the third set Gratian in hand to compile a body of canon law, by contracting, into one book, the ancient constitutions ecclesiastical, and canons of councils; that the state of the *papacy* might not, *in that behalf*, be *inferiour* to the *empire*. Which work the said Gratian performed, and published in the days of Stephen king of England, about the year 1151, terming the same 'concordia discordantium canonum,' a concord of disagreeing canons. Of whose great pains therein, so by him taken, a learned man saith thus: 'Gratianus ille jus pontificale dilaniavit, atque confudit:' that fellow Gratian did tear in pieces the pontifical law, and confound it; the same being, in our libraries, sincere and perfect. But (this testimony, or any thing else to the contrary, that might truly be objected against that book notwithstanding) the author's chief purpose being to magnifie and extol the court of Rome, his said book got (we know not how) this glorious title, 'Decretum Aureum Divi Gratiani,' the Golden Decree of St. Gratian; and he himself (as it appeareth) became, for the time, a saint for his pains.

"Indeed he brake the ice to those that came after him, by devising the method, which since hath been pursued, for the enlarging and growth of the said body, by some of the popes themselves. Gregory the ninth, about the year 1236, and in the time of king Henry the third, after sundry draughts made by Innocentius the third, and others, of a second volume of the canon law, caused the same to be perused, enlarged, and by his authority to be published; and being divided into five books, it is intituled 'The *Decretals* of Gregory the Ninth.' Boniface the eighth, the great Augustus (as before we have shewed), commanded likewise another collection to be made of such constitutions and decrees, as had either been omitted by Gregory, or were made afterward by other succeeding bishops and councils; and this collection is called 'Sextus Liber Decretalium,' the Sixth Book of the Decretals; and was set out to the world in the year 1298, in the reign of king Edward the first. Clement the fifth, in like manner, having bestowed great travel upon a fourth work, comprehending five books, died before he could finish it: but his successour, John the twenty-second, did, in the year 1317, and in the time of king Edward the second, make perfect, and publish the same work of Clement, and gave it the name of 'The Clementines.' Afterward, also, came out another volume, termed 'The Extravagants;' because it did not only comprehend certain decrees of the said John the twenty-second, but likewise sundry other constitutions, made by other popes, both before and after him; which flew abroad uncertainly in many men's hands, and were therefore swept up, and put together about the year 1478 into one bundle, called 'Extravagant Decretals,' which came to light 'post sextum,' after the sixth. By which title the compiler of this work would gladly (as it seemeth) have had it accounted the seventh book of the Decretals: but it never attaining that credit, the same, by Sixtus Quintus's assent, is attributed to a collection of

cent had in that usurpation, with which God was pleased to punish the Christian church; notwithstanding the unspeakable miseries which his ambition had drawn upon the world, and the scenes of cruelty and the seeds of mischief which he had prepared for after-ages; God thought fit to let him go down to the grave by the common course of nature.

On the other hand, the death of king John, like the paths of the dead, is still in the dark, and will in all probability remain a subject of doubt till the revolution of the great day. Some of our writers say, that he was poisoned by a monk of Swinshead abbey in Lincolnshire; whereas those of the Romish church pretend that this is all malice, and designed as a reproach on that order of men on whom it is laid, and have the confidence to tell the world, it is a fiction owing to the Reformation. But if it be a fiction, it is certainly older than the Reformation; and if this be a made tale, it is not owing to the reformers, but ought to be laid at the door of those who ought to be ashamed of it. For if the monks of Swinshead had not the guilt of that prince's death, they suffered a wild bigotry so far to have prevailed over truth and religion, as to take the guilt thereof to themselves, by appointing and continuing priests to say mass for the monk, who was supposed to be the doer thereof: and thus they propagated their own infamy to succeeding ages. But whatever gave beginning to this report, if it be omitted by M. Paris, the chronicles of Wikes[a] and Hemingford[b], written before the Reformation, relate at large all the circumstances of that story.

Thus did this unfortunate prince end his life and his reign, and reproach and dishonour dwell for ever upon his memory. But though no eloquence is sufficient to brighten his character, or to excuse his conduct, especially that unworthy submission to the

certain other constitutions made by Peter Matthew, of divers popes, from the time of Sixtus the fourth, who died in the year 1484. To all these books mentioned, there have been lately added three great volumes of 'Decretal Epistles,' from St. Clement to Gregory the seventh's days; also a huge heap of the 'Pope's Bulls,' from the said Gregory's time to Pius Quintus; and lastly, no short summ of 'Papal Constitutions,' set forth a little before the said seventh book of the Decretals.—So as all these volumes being put together, they exceed as far the body of the *civil law*, as the usurped dignity of the *papacy* exceedeth the mean estate of the *empire*." Bishop Overall's *Convocation Book*, of A.D. 1606. p. 320—2. A.D. 1690. 4to.

[a] Chron. Wikes, Col. Gal. vol. ii. p. 38.

[b] Chron. Hemingf. Col. Gal. vol. ii. p. 559.

papal tyranny, which will remain the eternal and indelible blemish of his reign; yet it must be owned, that the stand which he made against the court of Rome in the defence of the monarchy, was bold and generous, and such as deserved a better issue: and one may be allowed to say, that even his fatal miscarriage was chiefly owing to the bigotry of the English nation, and to the unhappy circumstances wherein he received the crown. And it is very hard to blame a prince for not maintaining the dignity of a crown, which descends to him in chains and fetters; or that he only should bear the dishonour which falls upon his country, when his people will not suffer him to defend it; and much more when they take part with the enemy, and choose to be instruments in their own undoing;—and this was but too much the case at this time.

Besides, it should not be forgotten, that the last part of this prince's life was spent in the defence of the royal line of England; and all circumstances considered, it seems probable, that he owed his death to the same cause. And if the conduct of this prince in these instances be not enough to atone for his past miscarriages, they will at least deserve to be remembered by all that love their country and the monarchy, that have the least taste of liberty, or that have any sense of those miseries which the papal tyranny let in upon the church and kingdom.

However, the revolutions under this prince are very dishonourable to the English nation, and such as naturally lead one to a frightful idea of the reign under which they happened: and they who do not carefully attend to the springs by which these great turns were set into motion, are very apt to resolve them into the ill conduct of king John, rather than into those mischievous principles and the wicked artifices of that court which attempted to enslave all Christendom under pretences of religion, and into the great steps which they had made towards it in England before this prince came to the crown.

I shall now ask the reader's leave to repeat some things which I have observed before, and shall put an end to this work, with giving him a short view of the ancient and the present state of the English church and monarchy, and of the springs and causes, as well as of the effects and consequences of those changes, which make up the subject of the present history.

INTRODUCTION.

PAPAL USURPATIONS IN CHURCH AND STATE; ORIGIN AND PROGRESS OF.—GENERAL RECAPITULATION [1].

The Britons had been converted in all probability before Christianity was settled in Rome, and the British church continued on the same foot on which it was originally founded, till the conquest by the English. And though that revolution forced the British people into a narrower compass, and put the English-Saxons in possession of the greatest and best parts of their country, yet a Christian church was still preserved together with the remains of the British nation. And this church was as free and independent [2] as the people; who were so far from being influenced with the after-conversions of some of the English by the missionaries from Rome, that the rites which they received from thence, set them at a greater distance from the English, added a new article of controversy, and made the breach wider. Their metropolitans never received a pall from Rome; their bishops were chosen and consecrated, and all ecclesiastical affairs determined finally within themselves, and their clergy generally married. In short, there is no mark of any dependence of the British church on that of Rome, nor any proof of a settled intercourse or communion betwixt them to be found, till the conquest of Wales by king Henry the first united the British to the English church, and did thereby expose it to the hard fate of that church, to which it was united.

The case of the English was different from that of the Britons. Some of them had received their conversion from Rome, and

[1] *General recapitulation.*] From Inett's *Origines Anglicanæ*, vol. ii. p. 488—503.

[2] *Free and independent.*] See above, p. 4—6; 18, 19, and note.

they who had been originally converted by the Scots from Ireland, had for some ages before the Norman revolution held communion with the church of Rome. And the better to preserve a friendship and give proof of the communion betwixt the English and the Roman church, the English archbishops did frequently go to Rome and receive palls[1] from thence, and a great deference was ever paid to the bishops thereof.

But whilst the English church thus maintained a communion with that of Rome, the authority and government thereof were continued on the same foot, on which the canons of the universal church had originally placed national churches.

The English metropolitans convened and presided in their provincial councils, and their authority therein was final, unless in such cases wherein appeals to the king were allowed: but as no canon of the English church before the conquest ever allowed any appeal to the bishops of Rome, the histories thereof afford no instance of a practice of that kind.

The English bishops had their proper diocesan synods, and all the clergy and religious as well as the laity within their several dioceses were the subjects of their care. If there were any exemptions from their authority, they were owing to the secular power; and these, if I mistake not, never extended further than exempting some of the religious from the charges of receiving and providing for them in their visitations, rather than discharging their persons from the authority of their diocesans.

The bishops of England were nominated to those trusts by our kings, confirmed and consecrated by their proper metropolitans, subjected to no canons but such as were either received or formed with their own suffrage and consent. They convened and presided in their proper diocesan synods, and their authority therein was final, except in such cases wherein appeals lay to the courts of the archbishop of the province, or of the king.

The case of the lower clergy was much the same with that of the bishops. They were subject to no ecclesiastic authority but that of their proper ordinaries: the canons were the measures of their duty, and the laws of their country the standard of their secular rights and of their subjection to the civil power.

[1] *Receive palls.*] See *Inett,* vol. ii. p.17—20; Twisden's *Vindication,* p. 41—7 (a very elaborate discussion); and Salmasius's learned edition of Tertullian's Treatise *De Pallio, Lug. Bat.* 1656.

The revenues of the church were subject only to the same laws and to the same authority by which the clergy and religious were governed: but as they were originally derived from the bounty of the kings of England, or the charity and munificence of the English nation, they were also subject to the laws of their country, and in cases of necessity contributed to the support thereof. In short, there is not any canon, any law, or any standing allowed practice to be found, which carries the least mark of any vassalage or subjection to a foreign power; but by all that appears, the English church had preserved and was in full possession of a free, entire, and independent authority, at the time of the Norman revolution: in other words, the English church was as absolute, free, and independent on any foreign ecclesiastic power, as the monarchy and nation were from any secular authority.

But if we look a little forward, the English church has another face, and appears so unlike itself, that one can hardly say whether the change was more surprising, or the effects thereof more pitiable and to be lamented.

William the first, to serve the Norman interest, called in the papal power, and made use of the legates of pope Alexander to cover his violence to the English bishops: but when he had served his purpose, he laid by his tools, and left the church and the monarchy in the same state wherein he found them, the change which the Norman revolution produced only excepted.

Such too was the state of the church during the reign of William the second: but the struggle for the patronage of the church, or the dispute about the right of investitures [1] which began in his reign, was, by the address of the court of Rome, gained from his successor king Henry the first, and unhappily surrendered by that prince in the year one thousand one hundred and seven.

This was the first shock to the authority of the English church, and which opened the way to all the ensuing usurpations. For by yielding up to the bishops of Rome a power to put the archbishops and bishops of England into the possession of their bishoprics, they were made judges of their sufficiency and personal abilities: and thus the bishops of England, who had never been subjected to any authority but that of their metropolitans

[1] *Of investitures.*] See above, p. 33, and n. or Index, under *Bishops, their investiture.*

and the government under which they lived, and our metropolitans, who had had no superiors but the kings of England, were involved in the same common fate, and by that one unhappy concession were made subjects to a foreign power. And the bishops of Rome having thus thrust out the kings of England, easily advanced themselves to the reputation of being the supreme ordinaries, and having first prepared their way by desiring assistance from the clergy, in the reigns of king Stephen, Henry the second, and king Richard, under the colour of the Holy War; in the succeeding reign of king John, pope Innocent did by his own authority lay several impositions on the clergy and religious, and in time the bishops of Rome pretended to the sole right to lay taxes[1] upon the clergy and religious, and actually laid the heaviest impositions upon them; and this, too, not to serve the purposes of religion, but to carry on their wars against the emperors and other Christian princes, to oblige them to become their tributaries and vassals, to enlarge their own dominions and secular power, to reduce the Greek church to their obedience by force of arms, to extirpate and give away the countries of all those who opposed their usurpation, and who were for that reason called heretics. In short, they made use of the power which they gained over the revenues of the English church, to serve all the purposes of ambition, wantonness, and folly.

But to set this particular in a just light, I must ask the reader's leave to look a little forward to the next reign, that of Henry the third, where the aforesaid concession was carried so far before the death of that prince, that the court of Rome at one time demanded, that benefices should be provided for three hundred Italians[a]; at another time, that two prebends in each cathedral church, and the provision for two monks in every monastery, should be annexed to the papacy[b]. They disposed and made void at pleasure the bishoprics and ecclesiastical promotions of England, overturned all the rights of patronage and elections, and gave so many preferments to Italians[2], that in the letter of the nobility

[1] *To lay taxes.*] For an elaborate enquiry into the origin and progress of the papal pecuniary exactions from the clergy of England, see Twisden's *Historical Vindication of the Church of England,* p. 74—92. See also *Inett,* vol. ii. p. 383—7.

[a] M. Par. ann. 1240. p. 532. n. 40. [b] Ejusd. ann. 1226. p. 328. n. 10.

[2] *Preferments to Italians.*] See Index, under *Benefices in the hands of Foreigners.* See also Twisden's *Historical Vindication,* p. 60—2.

and commons of England to pope Innocent the fourth, about the year 1245, they tell that prelate, that "the number of Italians preferred in England was infinite," and that "the money carried to them amounted to threescore thousand marks[a]; a sum," as they further add, "greater than the revenues of the crown;" and all this, besides the vast sums which by Peter-pence[1] and tenths, and many other ways, were extorted from the English nation.

The success of the court of Rome in the controversy about the right of investitures, by which they gained this mighty influence over the persons of the English bishops and the revenues of the church, gave fire to their ambition to break the power, and to possess themselves of the authority by which it had been governed; and this was done by advancing the power of their own legates.

The English church was at first settled on the institution of Christ and the canons of the catholic church, and thus continued to be governed from the foundation thereof till the beginning of the eleventh century; and this with so little interruption, that there is not so much as one English canon which allows the least authority to the bishops of Rome or their legates, nor so much as any instance of any authority exercised by them, or of any legates called into England in the space of above four hundred years, but when king Offa called over legates to give a colour to the violence which he had first offered to the province of Canterbury, and William the first invited in the legates of pope Alexander to serve the ends of the Norman revolution. On the contrary, whilst the canons and history of the English church are thus silent, the laws of England considered the legates or ambassadors of the bishops of Rome, no otherwise than the law of nations considers those of all other foreign princes; and did not allow them so much as to enter England but when called for and invited, or at least had the permission and leave of the kings thereof.

In this posture this affair was continued till the latter end of the eleventh century, when pope Gregory the seventh formed the design to erect the papal monarchy on the spoils of the civil power, and the ruins of that government which Christ and his apostles had first erected, and which for a thousand years had prevailed through the whole Christian church.

[a] M. Paris, ann. 1245. p. 667.

[1] *By Peter-pence.*] See Index, under *Peter-pence.* See also Twisden's *Historical Vindication,* p. 74—8.

In pursuance of this design, the court of Rome applied itself to break the authority of national churches, by usurping a power to themselves to convene and preside in synods and councils by their legates: but as this was a direct violence to the authority of Christ, and to the canons and usages of the whole Christian church, it was a great while before the western churches were brought to submit to it. From the pontificate of Gregory the seventh, many attempts were made upon the English church. King William the first, who was contemporary with that prelate, saw his designs and kept him at a distance. And thus things continued during the succeeding reign of William the second.

The court of Rome renewed their efforts with greater vigour under Henry the first; but though they gained their point as to the dispute about investitures, yet king Henry suffered not their legates to come into England; and if they did, it was no otherwise than as the envoys of a foreign prince, till about the twenty-fifth year of his reign, when that prince permitted a papal legate to preside in the council of London. But as this usurpation was very evident, it was so resented by the whole nation, that this matter proceeded no further till the year following, when William de Corboil, then archbishop of Canterbury, by the address of that court, was prevailed upon to accept the character of legate to the bishop of Rome. And by this fatal oversight the regular authority of that prelate made way for the usurpation, which the court of Rome had been labouring to introduce; for the legatine power being thus let in, was so strengthened by the confusions of the succeeding reign of king Stephen, and by the advantages which the court of Rome gained under Henry the second, that the right of the English church and nation was yielded up [1], and that usurpation allowed and settled by the agreement betwixt that

[1] *Was yielded up.*] The history and progress of this usurpation is learnedly illustrated by Sir Roger Twisden in his *Vindication;* see p. 14—16. 18—28. 38—41.

The following shorter extracts are given from that work, because they comprise the *principal* points. They supply also an apt illustration of the *progressive* expedients to which the popes were in the habit of resorting, according to the exigencies of a case, and of the appropriate mischiefs which regularly ensued.

"Of these and the like cases, exercised without scruple in the church of England, and no control from Rome, it would not be easy to dispossess the archbishop of Canterbury by strong hand; the way, therefore, of making him the pope's legate was invented, by which those particulars he *did* before without interruption *of his own right*, he, whom it was not easy to bar of *doing*

prince and the court of Rome in the year 1172, in that general article[1] by which the king surrendered all customs prejudicial to the liberties of the church; that is, in other words, everything that stood in the way of the papal usurpation.

The authority and government of the national church being thus overwhelmed and torn to pieces, and the rights of our metropolitans made a sacrifice to the ambition and designs of the court of Rome, the way lay open to the third step[2] made by that court; and this was to render useless the authority of our diocesan bishops, at least to put it out of their power to give a stop to the designs formed at Rome. This work was done already in some measure, by subjecting them to the legatine power; for thus they were bound to attend synods which were not convened by their proper metropolitans, and forced to yield obedience to canons which had never passed with their own consent and suffrage, and were called out of their provinces to be judged: in short, the most ancient and distinguishing rights of our diocesan bishops sank with and were buried under the ruins of the metropolitical power. But to prostrate them still lower, and render them as little and contemptible in the face of their people and their clergy, and in their own consistories, as they were in the councils and synods,

them, might be said to act *as the pope's agent*."—Twisden, p. 26. This was about the year 1126.

"In the year 1144, the bishop of Winchester was dismissed from his legatine commission; and the pope, finding with how great difficulty the ecclesiastic affairs of this kingdom could be managed by any legate without the archbishop of Canterbury, thought of a very subtle invention to conserve his own authority, and not have any crossing with that prelate; which was, to create him and his successors *legati nati*; by which, such things as he did before, and had a face of interfering with the papal plenitude, and were not so easy to divest the archbishop of exercising, he might be said to do by a legatine power..... Certain it is, hereby the papal authority was not a little increased; there being none of the clergy now to question any thing that came from Rome, the archbishop, on whom the rest depended, himself operating but as a delegate from thence." *Ibid.* p. 38, 9.

Lastly, "The popes having gained an entrance, found means to reduce the grant of *legatus natus* to no more than stood *with their own liking*; by inventing a new sort of legate, styled *legatus a latere*, by reason of his near dependence on the pope's person, who being employed in matters of concernment, at *his* being here the power of the former slept." *Ibid.* p. 40.

On the general history of this question, compare also *Inett*, vol. ii. 187, 8. 190—3. 194, 5.

[1] *That general article.*] See above, p. 55.

[2] *The third step.*] See above, p. 36—43 51—8.

great numbers of the religious were exempted from their jurisdictions; and by gaining to themselves a power to receive causes by appeals from the concession of Henry the second, the court of Rome put it into every one's power who had a will to contend, to affront and insult their bishops, and to render useless the little remains of the episcopal authority, which had escaped the common deluge that swept away all the rest.

The change in the state and circumstances of the lower clergy, betwixt the Norman conquest and the death of king John, was answerable to that of their superiors. Their persons were taken from the protection of the civil power, discharged from the laws of their country, and subjected to a foreign power, and to canons that denied the liberty which God and his gospel, which nature and the ancient English church had ever allowed them. A great part of the provision which the charity of the English nation had made for them was by appropriations of benefices, and the exemptions of some new orders of the religious from payment of tithes, snatched out of their hands; and that which was left to them, was laid open to the rapine and oppressions of men whose greediness had no bounds. Their titles were made litigious, and the remedy which their predecessors had ever found at their own doors, became, by being carried to Rome by appeals, a grievous and insupportable burthen: and which is sadder still, the same causes which brought all these mischiefs upon the clergy, put it out of the power of their rightful governors to protect or to support, and much more to deliver them from the oppression.

The religious of England were the only persons who seemed to reap any advantage from that usurpation, which was attended with so many mischiefs to the church and nation; for in the compass of about one hundred and fifty years, they saw more new orders erected, and made greater accessions[1] to their wealth and to their numbers, and to what they for a time called privileges, than all the preceding ages had ever produced; and yet, to look no further, the same period of time in which they were thus increased and enriched, and even whilst they valued themselves as the darlings and peculiar favourites of the court of Rome, they had the mortification to see themselves the subjects of that tyranny which they had helped to advance, and had more impositions and heavier burdens laid upon their estates, and greater

[1] *Greater accessions*] Of the origin, progress, rapid increase of the numbers of the monasteries and regular clergy, the nature of their *rule*, &c. &c. see *Inett*, vol. ii. 207—12. 218—22.

violences offered to their just rights, than all their predecessors had ever felt under their lawful superiors. And in the examples of the two brothers, Stephen and Simon Langton, and in the treatment which they received from pope Innocent the third, under the reign of king John, cathedral and conventual churches were made sensible, that the freedom of elections, and the exemptions from the authority of their kings and bishops, for which they had been taught to contend, were nothing else but artifices of the court of Rome, designed to separate them from the interests of the crown and the national church, and at once to bind oppression and sorrow about their heads, and to put it out of the power of their rightful superiors to relieve or help them.

Such was the state of the English church at the death of king John in the year 1216, and the changes in the church which a little time produced. In short, the English church, which had continued free and independent from the foundations thereof till after the Norman revolution, was in the compass of one hundred and fifty years last past, captivated, enslaved, and subjugated to a foreign power. And in this miserable state I must leave it, to stop the reader with that which will render the fate of the church still more melancholy and surprising; and that is, some reflections on the ancient and present state of the English monarchy [1].

The dark steps by which our constitution grew up to that state in which it now appears, the ancient forms of the legislature, or of the administration of civil justice, come not into the compass of my present enquiry; but the interest which the civil government had in the affairs of the church and religion, the ancient and undoubted rights of the kings of England, and the outrages offered to their authority by the papal usurpations, what the power was which they once possessed and what they lost; or, in other words, the ancient and present state of the English monarchy with respect to ecclesiastical affairs, are the subject now before us.

Our histories and our laws put it beyond all doubt, that the church, the clergy, and the religious of England, had a great share in the cares of the ancient English government. The kings of England convened national councils and synods, presided in them, and, with the advice of their bishops and nobility, made laws for the good government of all orders and ranks of their people, and punished every disobedience. And as they were ever reputed the fountain of power and law, so their courts were the last resort of

[1] *The English monarchy.*] Compare above, p. 59—76.

justice, and causes as well ecclesiastical as civil were, as occasion required, carried thither by appeals, and finally determined there. The kings of England had founded and endowed the bishoprics, and for the most part the cathedrals and greater monasteries, and from the foundation of the English church had not only nominated their bishops, but as supreme ordinaries they had ever put them in possession of their bishoprics, by the ceremony well known by the name of investiture, the delivery of a staff and a ring, and in return had ever received their fealty and homage.

And as they endowed the church, they did also with the advice of their great council lay impositions on the revenues thereof, when the necessities of the state called for help. In short, the kings of England were free, independent, sovereign princes, and next under God supreme governors in all their dominions, and in all causes, and over all persons, as well ecclesiastical as civil. Such was the state of the monarchy at the time of the Norman conquest.

From this prospect of the English monarchy, I must turn and lead the reader to a more melancholy reflection, and offer to his view the mighty changes which a little time produced.

William the first being seated on the throne of England, pope Gregory the seventh, about the twelfth year of that prince's reign, advanced a pretence that England was a fee of the papacy: but as this pretence was all vapour and imagination, groundless and impudent beyond example, so it signified nothing but to lay open the designs which that haughty prelate had lately formed, and to give the king a just occasion to treat him with contempt, and not to suffer the court of Rome to intermeddle either in the affairs of church or state.—And thus things continued during the reign of his successor, king William the second.

But the attempt which miscarried in these two reigns proved more successful in that of Henry the first; for the surrender which he made of his right to investitures did at once take away the patronage of the kings of England, together with one of the greatest branches of the supremacy, and by subjecting the bishops and the revenues of the church to a foreign power, gave such a shock to the monarchy of England, that it is very hard to determine whether the church or the nation suffered most by it.

The legatine power was no less fatal to the kings of England than to the authority of our metropolitans and to the national church: and this too was one of the blemishes of the same prince's

reign: for this prince, who despised and rejected, and for more than twenty years kept this usurpation at a distance, did at last give way to it; and the confusions of the succeeding reign, that of king Stephen, so strengthened and improved it, that it was challenged as a right of the papacy, and finally owned as such by king Henry the second in the unhappy agreement betwixt that prince and the court of Rome, which ensued upon the death of archbishop Becket. Thus a power of convening national synods, which had ever been esteemed the sole right of the kings of England, was divided betwixt them and the bishops of Rome; and a way was thereby opened to a sort of legislature, or a power of making canons, which in time put a restraint upon our kings and their great councils, and in many instances rendered useless, and even insulted and affronted their legislative power.

The gaining a power to receive ecclesiastical causes by appeals was still more fatal to the authority of the crown; for by carrying to Rome the last resort in causes ecclesiastical, a great branch of the supremacy, which all the by-past ages had thought sacred and inalienable, was torn from the kings of England; and yet these errors in politics, which threatened the very being of the monarchy, grew up together, and were the blemishes of the same reigns. H. Huntingdon, who lived at that time, as well as Gervasius, says, the use of appeals was begun by Henry bishop of Winchester, and brother to king Stephen: and the instances of that kind are too many under the government of that prince. But as these were then esteemed no otherwise than as encroachments on the rights of the crown, so in the recognition of the ecclesiastical laws in the council of Clarendon, the last resort in causes ecclesiastical was declared the sole right of the crown: and thus it continued till the year 1172, when the same prince who had declared and asserted the rights of the crown in the council of Clarendon, did very unworthily give them away, and in his agreement with pope Alexander consented that appeals should freely be made to the bishops of Rome.

Nor was this the only blemish of that prince's reign, but he stands accountable to posterity for a breach of trust of much greater importance to the monarchy; and this was, the exemption of the clergy and religious from the secular power. This pretence was first set on foot in the preceding reign, that of king Stephen, and some steps were made towards it. However, his successor king Henry the second put a stop to it, and resumed the rights

of the crown, and by his judges punished a great many of the clergy, who but too well deserved it. And when that court, which was restless and impatient to advance themselves to the head of the English clergy, had flattered and deceived some of them into their interest, and this pretence was revived again; the king, with the nobility and the whole body of the bishops, Becket only excepted, opposed it with such a resolution and unanimity and weight of reason, as were every way answerable to the consequence of that affair. Yet, after all, the same thing which was thought of the last importance, and asserted accordingly in the beginning of king Henry the second's reign, was yielded up and given away by that prince before his reign was done; for in the agreement between the king and the legate of the bishop of Rome in the year 1176, it was agreed[1], that the clergy and religious should not be carried before any secular judge for any crime whatsoever, unless for abuses of the king's forests, or for such services as they were obliged to by their particular tenure.

The kings of England were thus stripped of their supremacy over ecclesiastical *persons*, as they were about the same time of the last resort in *causes* ecclesiastical; and the sovereignty of the English monarchs, which before extended to all persons and to all causes, was by these concessions limited and restrained to *secular* persons and affairs. Thus the bishops of Rome were placed at the head of the church and the clergy of England, and the numbers and the wealth of the clergy and religious, together with the influence which they had upon the nation, being considered, it will not be easy to determine, whether the kings of England or the bishops of Rome had the greater share in the government, when king John came to the crown.

To render these mischiefs incurable, the same men and the very same methods which raised the bishops of Rome to a power over ecclesiastical persons and causes, raised them also to a sort of sovereignty over the wealth and revenues of the English church, and put them in a condition to support the authority which they had first usurped, and to perpetuate their tyranny over the church at the charge of the nation. For the revenues of the church, instead of contributing to the necessities of the government, were made a fund, which in time served all the purposes of those who had first ravished and despoiled the monarchy; and the charity and munificence of the preceding kings of England were made use

[1] *It was agreed.*] See above, p. 59.

of to break the measures and to control the power of their successors; to weaken their hands; to intimidate their people; to put it out of their power to protect their good subjects from rapine and oppression; or to force the disobedient to their duty: in short, to insult their authority, to render them little and contemptible, and to frustrate all the ends of government. And the mischievous effects of these changes, owing to the two preceding reigns, appeared so soon, that king Richard, the immediate successor to Henry the second, exceedingly lamented the state of the monarchy, and with the utmost mortification pronounced himself the shadow of a king [a]. And he had but too much ground for that melancholy reflection; for the patronage of the crown was lost with the right of investitures; the power to convene national synods swallowed up by that of the papal legates; the supremacy in causes ecclesiastical was carried to Rome, by the concession which yielded up the right to appeals; the authority over the persons and the estates of the clergy and religious was given away, by that grant which discharged the clergy from the secular power; and the clergy was thereby rendered a body separate and independent upon the state, their interests distinguished and set at such a distance from one another, that the privileges and liberties of the church were numbered from the spoils of the civil government, and then only thought bright and shining, when they cast a shade upon the monarchy.

The crown of England was thus robbed of a great part of its wealth, its subjects, and its power, when it fell into the hands of king John; so that in truth there remained nothing more to consummate the dishonour of the kings of England, but to shift names, and give up their title in exchange for that of vassals. And there could be nothing more to engage the wishes, or to deserve the ambition of those prelates, who had already possessed themselves of the wealth and power of the clergy and religious, and of the supremacy in causes ecclesiastical, but to assume the title and the name of kings of England, and to take to themselves the remains of the royal power, which they had fettered and chained, and in many cases rendered incapable of serving the great ends of government. And the issue was such as might be expected: the court of Rome finished the usurpation which they had been labouring for in the preceding reigns, by forcing king John to resign his kingdoms, and to receive them again as a fee

[a] Gervas. Chron. ann. 1196. X. Script. col. 1595.

of the papacy, and of a free sovereign prince to take upon himself the title of a feudatory or a vassal to the bishop of Rome: and he did his homage accordingly, and consented to pay a yearly tribute for his own kingdoms. And lest the world should ever be induced to believe, that all this was owing to the personal failings of king John, his innocent son king Henry the third was forced to tread in the steps of his father, and to take his kingdoms as he had done before him, as a fee of the papacy; and he swore fealty and did homage accordingly to the bishop of Rome.

Such mighty changes did the compass of about one hundred and fifty years produce in these nations; and although some brave efforts were made by our succeeding kings to regain the rights and liberties of the church and of the crown; and the statutes of Mortmain[1], Provisors, and Præmunire, the remonstrances of our parliaments and synods, the struggles of some of our bishops and clergy, and the outcries of the whole nation against the tyranny and oppressions of the court of Rome, show us what sense our ancestors had of the papal usurpation, and put it beyond a doubt, that the use which was made thereof was every way answerable to the wicked practices by which it at first had been gained, and that our forefathers groaned under the yoke, and passionately desired to be delivered from it. Yet all was in vain, and without the prospect of a remedy; for God, who in his just displeasure had given up these nations to that infatuation and blindness which had brought all those mischiefs upon them, suffered our ancestors to languish under the miseries which they had drawn down upon themselves, and never entirely delivered them from the yoke of bondage, till in his great mercy he had opened their eyes, and by

[1] *The statutes of Mortmain,* &c.] See Kennett *on Impropriations,* p. 25. (Mortmain, Remonstrances, &c.); Twisden's *Vindication,* 62—4. (Provisors, &c.); 1 Fox's Acts, 548. edit. 1641 (Præmunire). See also Blackstone's *Commentaries,* bk. i. c. 18 (Mortmain), and bk. ii. c. 18. § 2. (ditto); also bk. iv. c. 8 (Præmunire).

In the statutes of *Provisors* (25 Edw. III. c. vi., 27 Edw. III. c. i. § 1. and 38 Edw. III. c. i. § 4., and c. ii. § 1—4.) it is enacted that the bishop of Rome shall not present or collate to any bishopric or ecclesiastical benefice in England; and that, whoever disturbs any patron in the presentation to a living, by virtue of a papal provision, such provisor shall pay fine and ransom to the king at his will; and be imprisoned till he renounces such provision. And the same punishment is enacted against such as cite the king, or any of his subjects, to answer in the court of Rome.—Blackstone's *Commentaries,* book iv. c. 8.

the reformation of religion had first made them sensible of the imposture which had thus fatally ensnared and betrayed them.

Thus did the all-wise providence of God unite the monarchy, the nation, the church and the religion of England, in the same sufferings and deliverance. They went hand in hand into vassalage. The same men and the very same arts which despoiled the monarchy, enslaved our country, corrupted our religion, and usurped the rights of the English church; and the same reformation which restored our religion to its ancient purity, restored the rights of the church and of the monarchy, and resettled the liberties of the English nation. These methods of the Divine providence seemed designed on purpose to endear our church and our country and the monarchy to each other, and to show us plainly that their interests are inseparable, and can never be safe but in conjunction; whilst at the same time they teach us by sad experience, that popery is the common enemy to every thing that is, or that ought to be, dear to the princes and to the people of England.

I have suffered myself to be led into this long and melancholy digression, that I might at once offer to the reader's view, the ancient and present state of the church and monarchy, together with the steps by which the changes were advanced, and the intolerable mischiefs which from thence ensued:—and having done this, I shall leave the reader to adore the goodness which so happily delivered the church and the nation, and which has hitherto preserved us from the snare; and conclude with beseeching God, that we may be all duly sensible of the mercies which we now enjoy under the best of churches and the best of governments, and know no more of those miseries which attended the PAPAL USURPATION, but from our by-past story.

INTRODUCTION.

DOCTRINAL CORRUPTIONS OF POPERY[1].

We are now arrived at a full and adequate interpretation of our text[2]. For we are not, as οἱ πολλοὶ the many, the major part of the world; καπηλεύοντες, which adulterate and negociate the word of God for our own lucre and advantage; but as of sincerity, but as of God, in the sight of God speak we in Christ. And hereby we have made the nearer advances to a clear view and just character of popery: we will allow them to be the οἱ πολλοὶ, the most of Christians; nor at present will contend with them about their boasted titles of catholic and universal: for it was never yet so well with mankind, that the major part was the better. And then for the other mark καπηλεύοντες, I shall now trace and expose their corruptions and cauponations of the gospel: that they are true Χριστέμποροι, real Χριστοκάπηλοι; have perverted and abused the divine institution to the base ends of worldly profit and power; have consociated Jesus with Belial, Christianity with atheism: every part of their system, which our pious reformers renounced and exploded, being founded upon mere politic; built up and supported by the known methods of subtlety and force.

And yet I would not be thought to charge every single member of that communion with this heavy imputation. I question not, but great numbers think and act in godly sincerity: every age

[1] *Of popery.*] From "*A Sermon upon Popery, preached before the University of Cambridge, Nov.* 5, 1715, *by Richard Bentley, D.D., Master of Trinity College, and Chaplain to His Majesty.* 1715." 8vo. p. 9—28.

[2] *Our text.*] 2 Cor. ii. 17.

has produced among them some shining examples of piety and sanctity. We do not now consider individuals, but the collective body of popery; not private lives and secret opinions, but the public avowed doctrines, and the general practice of the managers. There was one pious family even in Sodom, and without doubt many wicked ones even in Jerusalem. Not every single person within the limits of the reformation is as good, as his profession requires; nor every papist as bad, as the popish system permits.

And now, τί πρῶτον, τί δ' ἔπειτα; What can I better begin with, than what our text suggests; their enhancing the authority of the vulgar Latin above the Greek original? so that we must search for St. Paul's meaning here, not in the notion of καπηλεύοντες, but of *adulterantes;* not of οἱ πολλοὶ, but of *multi* without its article; an original defect in the Latin tongue. Now can anything be more absurd, more shocking to common sense, than that the stream should rise above the fountain? That a verbal translation, which, were the author of it inspired, must yet from the very nature of language have several defects and ambiguities; that such a translation, I say, by a private unknown person not pretending to inspiration, should be raised and advanced above the inspired Greek? Is it possible, those that enacted this, could believe it themselves? Nor could they suggest, that the first Greek exemplar had been more injured by the transcribers and notaries, than that of their version. More ancient manuscripts were preserved of this, than they could show for the Latin. There were more, and more learned commentators to guard it: no age of the eastern empire without eminent scholars; while the west lay sunk many centuries under ignorance and barbarity. And yet in defiance of all this, the Latin is to be the umpire and standard; and the apostles to speak more authentically in that conveyance, than in their own words. Nay, a particular edition shall be legitimated and consecrated, with condemnation of all various readings; and two popes, with equal pretence to infallibility, shall each sanctify a different copy with ten thousand variations. These things are unaccountable, in the way of sincerity: but if you view them on the foot of politic, as an acquist of power, authority, and pre-eminence;—the council of Trent knew then what they did.

But though this itself is but a translation, yet no secondary translation must be made from it for the instruction of the people. They must hear the public liturgies in a language unknown to

them; and jabber their credos and pater-nosters at home without understanding[1]. But was not this Latin version at first

[1] *Without understanding.*] "It is a thing plainly repugnant to the word of God, and the custom of the primitive church, to have public prayer in the church, or to minister the sacraments in a tongue not understanded of the people." Art. xxiv. of the Church of England.

"Amalarius, in the begynnge of his seconde booke *De Ordine Romanæ Ecclesiæ*, doth shewe the cause why of olde tyme emonges the Romanes the lessons were reade in Greke and also in Latine, as it is at this day used," saith he, "at Constantinople: for two causes. *One*, for that there were present Grecians, to whom *was unknowen the Latine tongue*, and also for that the Romanes were present, to whom *was unknowen the Greke tongue. Another* cause was *to expresse the unitie of both nations.* So that the sayde Amalarius may be witnesse, that in the olde tyme the lessons of the Scriptures were so reade in the churche, as by the readyng the people *myght understande* to their edification." Archbishop Parker, in the anonymous *Defence of Priests' Marriages*, p. 337.

But let us hear what could be said in defence of the service in an unknown tongue; and how it is argued, that it comes to be *better not to understand* the divine service.

"Manye," says Christopherson, one of the most learned and most respectable of the Romish party, in his *Exhortation against Rebellion*, in the reign of queen Mary, A.D. 1554, "grudge and are offended, that the masse, and all other divine service, is in Latyn, so that when they be in the church, they do not understande what the priest sayeth. I woulde gladly aske one question of such, why they come to the church; whether to heare or to pray? They will answer, I doubte not, to do bothe. For there they both learne theyr duetye by hearyng of sermons, and also practise it by diligente and fervente praying. Nowe then seeinge that to *do* our duetie is much better then to *learne* our duetie, because that every manne learneth to this end that he may practise, although both twayne be good and necessarye, yet the one farre passeth the other. And the one maye be gotten in shorte space with small travayle, but the other asketh longe tyme, and much payne to get it. As concerninge which purpose we reade a notable storye of one Pambo." The notable story into which the good bishop diverges, we will leave, as less likely to bring conviction to our readers, even than his *reasons*, to which he thus returns: "Wherefore I have oftentymes much marvayled at us Englishemen of late, that we came to the church, at the tyme of our Englishe service, to heare only, and not to pray ourselfes. By meanes whereof many folkes are so inured, that they can hardlye frame them selfes as yet to praye in the churche, which, as our Saviour sayth, is the house of prayer. And moste mete were it for folkes coming to the churche, to pray earnestly them selfes, and both to thinke upon theyr synnes, wherewith they have offended their Lorde God, and to be sory for them; yea, and beside to gyve hym harty thankes for all his benefites bestowed upon them, and to beseche hym to assiste them with hys grace agaynst the assaultes of their adversary the devil. For thus ought men to spende the holy daye, and thus ought they to bestow

the common language of the country? Was it not first made, and received into public use, because the Greek was unknown there? If a Christian congregation may be duly edified, may pay acceptable devotions in a language unknown; the Greek original might have reigned alone and universal, and its Latin rival had never existed.—Why then is popery so cruel and importune, to withhold this common blessing? to continue the public worship in Latin, after it has ceased to be a living language, against the very reason that first introduced Latin?—Seek not a good account for this in Scripture, not even in the Latin Bible: but seek it in the vile arts of politic, and the principles of atheism. Their authority was secured by it over an ignorant populace; it gave a prerogative to the clergy; like the ἱερὰ γράμματα, the sacred and secret writings to the Egyptian priests;

their tyme in the churche of God, when they come thyther. . . . The Evangelist telleth not that Anna in the temple was occupied in *hearynge*, but that she was occupied in *praying*. Many heare, and eyther they shortly forget what they have hearde, or elles, if they remember it, yet they do not practise it; and one houre spente in practisynge is more worthe to us than twentye spent in hearynge: therefore when they come to church, and heare the priestes, who sayeth common prayer for all the whole multitude, albeit they understand them not, yet yf they be occupied in godlye prayer them selfes, it is sufficient for them. And lette theym not so greatly passe for understandynge what the priestes say, but travayle them selfes in fervent praying, and so shall they hyghly please God. Yea, and experience hath playnlye taught us, that it is *much better for them not to understande the common service of the Church, than to understande it*, because that, when they heare *other* prayinge with a lowde voice, in the language that they understande, they are letted from prayer *themselfe*, and so come they to such a slacknes and negligence in prayinge, that they at lengthe (as wee have well sene of late dayes), in maner pray not at al. And then let them first thynke thys, (for it is undoubtedly true,) that the divine service here in Englande hath ever bene in Latyn synce the first tyme that the fayth was among us receaved, save only this six or seven yeares laste passed: and then how godly the people all that while were disposed, how many vertuous and holy men and women have beene within this realme, and howe God dyd in all thinges prosper us. . . . . And eyther muste we graunte thys, that there never was any godly men in thys realme, never any sowle saved, never any grace of God among us, never the assistance of the Holye Gooste wyth us, (whych no good nor reasonable manne either can, or wyll graunte,) yf thys be not the true fayth and belefe (whereby men's soules shall be saved) that nowe is amonges us." Signat. x. Compare also *Mirror of our Lady*, fol. 22.—Commendation of those who attend the divine services without understanding them.

See Index, under *Service Divine in an unknown tongue.*

or the Sibylline oracles to the Roman pontifices, which nobody else was to know.

No sooner had Christianity spread itself over the world, but superstition mixed and grew up along with it; a weed natural to human soil, complexionally inherent in the weaker sex, and adventitious to most of our own. Vast multitudes of all nations withdrew from the world; renounced human society and all commerce with their own species; abandoned the cities and villages for the solitude of woods, deserts, and caves; under a false notion of pleasing God better, by such devotion and mortification. But all this was at first pure and simple superstition; no mixture of avarice and craft in it, no tincture of politic and worldly advantage: their known poverty and perpetual austerities wholly quit them of that suspicion.—But how did popery manage this foible of mankind to its lucre and interest? Under a pretence of a like retirement from the world in a life of prayer and contemplation, they began their monasteries, abbeys, nunneries, &c. which by degrees so vastly multiplied, that, instead of their first pretence of retreating from the world, the very world was filled with them; instead of the old heremitical poverty, they had drained the riches of kingdoms, had engrossed the fattest of the lands; nay, had appropriated and devoured the very ministerial wages, the bread and sustenance of the parochial clergy; who were impoverished, made vile and contemptible, to feed these vassals of the popes in their laziness and luxury.

In the early ages of the gospel, there was a high and just veneration for the sepulchres and remains of holy men, for the memorials of them in statue or picture, for the places of their abode; and especially for the land of Palestine, which the patriarchs, the prophets, the Son of God and His apostles, had made sacred by their birth and habitation. This at first was within due bounds: but superstition was soon engrafted on it and grew to excess: the remains and relics were supposed to work miracles; the images had not value only, but worship and adoration; long journeys were taken, to the great detriment of families, to visit holy places, and kiss the footsteps of saints and martyrs.—These bigotries, though even then reprehended by the best fathers of those ages, were yet without any mixture of craft and knavery. But popery soon saw, that here was a proper fund, to be improved and managed to great advantage. Instead of coercion and restraint, they advised, encouraged, commanded those superstí-

tions, with such scandalous καπηλεία, such abominable traffic, as even paganism would blush at. All the graves and catacombs were exhausted to furnish relics: not a bone, not the least scrap of raiment of any saint, that was not removed into the holy wardrobe to raise money to the showers. Where the monuments were dubious and blended, the names and bodies of pagan slaves were taken into the church calendar and treasury: disputes and quarrels arose among the numerous pretenders to one and the same relic, which could never be decided; but the victory was various and alternate, according to the fruitful inventions and ingenious lies of the contending impostors. Even statues and pictures of the same saint were made to rival each other: and the Blessed Virgin, like Juno Lucina and Juno Sospita, had as many numina[1] and specific powers, as she had pictures and statues; one celebrated for one virtue, another for another. No piety was thought acceptable, no life religiously spent, without a pilgrimage to some foreign saint; where vows and rich offerings must be paid at the shrine. But, above all, the endeavour to gain the Holy Land[2] by driving out the Saracens was the most promising project, the very masterpiece of popery. What arts were used, or what not used, to inveigle the princes and nobility of Europe into that romantic expedition! Every hour of grief or sickness, every hour of mirth and wine, were a snare and trepan to them. If in any of those softer moments they once rashly took the cross on their garments, the vow was irrevocable: to break it was thought attended with all misfortunes in this world, and damnation in the other. In the mean time salvation, like soldier's pay, was promised and insured to all that embarked: the heavenly Jerusalem to be their certain acquisition, though they failed and perished in fighting for the earthly.—Now while the world by these artifices was made mad and infatuate; while princes abandoned their own realms, and left the regency in weak or treacherous hands; while for several generations all Europe was exhausted of its strength and its wealth; and the remainder overrun with superstition and leprosy; the contrivers of all this were not wanting to their own interest. It was then in the absence of so many kings, and the distracted condition at home, that popery made its most plentiful harvest: then cities with their large territories were extorted out of the owners' hands, and made the patri-

[1] *As many numina.*] See Index, under *Walsingham, our Lady of.*

[2] *Holy Land.*] See Index, under *Crusade.*

mony of the church: then investitures, faculties, dispensations, bulls, the whole shop and warehouse of profit and power, were extended and exerted over all persons and employments: then, in a word, was mankind enslaved, and popery trod upon the necks of princes.—And well was it for Palestine that the Saracens kept possession of it. If popery had succeeded in its attempt on that country, what a new revenue from pilgrimages! what an inexhaustible store of religious merchandise! Every stone there would have been a sacred relique. If we may guess from some histories, the very soil[1] would have been dug up and exported by this time; and customers invited to the purchase by a new legend of miracles. Not a church in Europe would have been counted holy; not a palace or seat lucky or prosperous; not an estate, not a field or close, fertile to the owner; that had not some of the holy earth to bless and to sanctify it.

When the empire was first Christian, though the bishops of Rome had no more under their inspection than the suburbicarian regions; yet the great city imperial, the metropolis of the Western world, gave them a just pre-eminence above those of inferior and municipal towns. And so, those of Constantinople

[1] *The very soil.*] At times there seems to have been a wild spirit extensively prevalent, which hardly admits even of a representation like this, being regarded as a mere rant and rodomontade.

"I am bold to say," affirms Richard Bristow, in his famous book *Motives to the Catholic Faith*, written in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, in the year 1574, "and prove it well I can, that whereas Christian people of those first ages are counted, as they were indeed, far more godly and more holy, and more devout than we, *for no other cause it was*, but only because they practised the things afore-named and such like, much more often, more religiouslie, and, as the heretics would have it falsely called and counted, much more superstitiously, than we do: *more going a pilgrimage*, more *kissing of reliques* and *kneeling* unto them, more *crying out to saints*, and *all other things* much more in those days than in these: and *therefore*, I say, people then were more devout and religious than now. Such going then a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, that S. Hierome sayeth of the holie places of our Saviour's nativitie, crosse, resurrection, and ascension, 'ad quæ de toto orbe concurritur,' (in Isai. xix.); unto which holy places there is concourse of people out of all the world. *Even the verie holie earth* of our Saviour's sepulcher brought home by pilgrims, and given to their friends, and used to hang in their chamber, to save them from evill; yea, so reverenced that they would not keepe it in their chambers, but build churches to lay it in, for people at it to serve God, to come to it a pilgrimage, and *that with following of great miracles;* all which S. Augustine writeth of his owne time, being himselfe a partie therein. (De Civit. Dei, lib. xxii. cap. 8.)" fol. 53, 4. edit. 1599.

had a due deference paid them by the other bishops of the east, as βασιλεύτεροι ἄλλων, as presiding over a diocese the most numerous and the most potent. A fit regard always was and ought to be had to their advice, concurrence, and assistance; since their example must needs have the greatest influence on the peace of the whole church.—Now how did popery make use of this advantage of situation, to make spiritual Rome as much the empress of the church as ever civil Rome had been of the state? In long tract of time they reduced all under their power; not by our Saviour's declaration, ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῇ πέτρᾳ, "upon this rock I will build my church;" as if that was the Tarpeian rock, and the cliff of the Roman capital: but by the subtlest arts of politic continued from age to age with indefatigable address; by sowing factions among all other bishops, and then promoting appeals to the arbitration of popes, who always decided for those that owned their authority; by creating new bishops against those in possession, the event whereof was both ways the certain increase of papal power: for either the pope's new title prevailed; or the former bishop, after long charge and vexation, was content for quietness' sake to keep his own, as the gift of the pope[1] by an

[1] *As the gift of the pope.*] "The wisdom of the court of Rome," says Twisden shrewdly, "is to *give*, what it can neither *sell*, nor *keep*." *Vindication*, &c. p. 176.

Again, "Things done by princes of their own right, popes finding no means to stop, would, in former ages, as in later, by privilege *continue* unto them. 'Nicholaus Papa hoc domino meo privilegium, quod *ex paterno jure* susceperat, præbuit,' said the emperor's advocate. (*Baronii Annal.* ann. 1059. n. 22.) And the same pope, finding *our* kings to express one part of their office to be 'regere populum Domini et ecclesiam ejus,' wrote to Edward the Confessor, 'Vobis et posteris vestris regibus Angliæ *committimus* advocationem ejusdem loci et omnium totius Angliæ ecclesiarum, et, ut, *vice nostra*, cum consilio episcoporum et abbatum constituatis ubique quæ justa sunt.' . . . . . Besides, kings did many times ask as grants those things of the pope, which they well understood themselves to have the power of doing without him. Henry V. demanded of Martin V. five particulars; to which the king's ambassadors, finding him not so ready to assent, told him 'se in mandatis habere, ut coram eo profiteantur, regem in iis singulis *jure suo* usurum, utpote quæ *non necessitatis, sed honoris causa petat;* et ut publicam de ea re coram universo cardinalium cœtu protestationem interponant.' And to the same purpose there are sundry examples yet remaining on record (Rot. Parl. 17 Ed. iii. &c.), where the king, on petition of the Commons for redress, in some things amiss of ecclesiastical cognisance, first chooses to write to the pope; but on his delay or failing to give satisfaction, doth either

after-act of confirmation. And as they then managed with the bishops, so in time they dealt with princes: fomented rebellions of their subjects: set brother up against brother in pretence to the crown; who was to own it when obtained, as a donation from Rome; and the contract for it, that all the ecclesiastical dignities should be in the pope's collation. By these methods, continued through many successions, the result at last was, that he was the spiritual monarch of the universe, the acknowledged patron of all church preferments: that all bishops held their jurisdiction not from Christ, but from him: that kings themselves were no kings, till accepted and confirmed by him: that they might be resisted, deposed, or murdered; if they did not govern by his dictates and directions: that he, as visible head of the church, was superior to general councils: that he, perhaps at first some ignorant monk, after he was once chosen pope, though without the suffrage either of clergy or people, by a mercenary conclave and nocturnal cabal of cardinals—a new order contrived by popery to depress and subdue the bishops—was immediately gifted with infallibility.—O horrible profanation of a Divine attribute! O audacious and ridiculous claim! which though no pope can ever believe of himself; and the cardinals his electors, like the haruspices of old, may laugh at when they see each other; yet it is a useful pretence in the way of politic, and of great moment among the adoring crowds to support and establish his usurped spiritual empire.

As the Christians in the first ages were all educated in the midst of paganism, and the most of them made converts out of it; so it could not be avoided, but that many must assume or transfer some pagan notions into the system of Christianity. Besides the One supreme God the pagans had vast numbers of inferior deities, who had every one shares of the common devotion. This begot

himself by statute redress the inconvenience, or commands the archbishop to see it done." *Ibid.* 17, 18. Twisden's *Vindication,* &c.

This valuable book, Twisden's *Vindication,* &c. written twenty years before the author's death, was not published till three years after it, and then came forth without a word of explanation or narrative from the editor. It is greatly to be regretted, that it is printed so incorrectly as to be not unfrequently quite unintelligible. It is much to be wished, therefore, if the family are in possession of any better manuscript and additional materials, that this should be known, and that the book should appear in a new edition, as well to the benefit of the public, as in justice to the memory of a very eminent and excellent person.—Some particulars respecting him may be found in Hasted's *Hist. of Kent,* vol. ii. 275, 6.

in many Christians a like worship of angels and saints, as mediators and intercessors between them and the heavenly Father. The *Dii Manes* of the pagans, and the parentations to their dead ancestors, produced a near resemblance to them among some Christians, that offered solemn prayers and expiations for the souls of their deceased relations. The Platonic notion, that the ἰάσιμα ἁμαρτήματα, the curable sins, the delible stains, of departed souls were scoured and purged off by proportionate punishments;

> ——— aliæ panduntur inanes
> Suspensæ ad ventos; aliis sub gurgite vasto
> Infectum eluitur scelus, aut exuritur igni;

must naturally raise among some Christians a like persuasion about a future purgatory. These notions and practices, though quite repugnant to the Holy Scriptures, were not discouraged nor forbid by popery; but propagated, enjoined, and enacted: being a most sure and ample fund to increase the church's treasure. In course of time the whole calendar was crowded with saints; not a day in the year without its red letter: every trade and profession had its saint tutelar and peculiar; who must be retained and engaged with presents and oblations. Horses, cows, and sheep, every animal domestic, the fields and the vineyards, the very furniture of houses, must be annually blessed and sanctified, at a set price for the blessing. And if the old set of saints should by long time grow cheap and vulgar; there still was a reserve in popery to enhance and quicken the low market by making new and fresh ones in acts of canonization. And then by their prayers and the masses for the dead, to ease and shorten the pains of purgatory; what a spacious door was opened, for a perpetual flow of money! what family was not daily pillaged of some part of its substance! What heart could bear, that his dead father should fry in the flames of purgatory; when a moderate sum might buy him out of them? or who would not secure himself by a timely legacy for masses for his soul, without leaving it to the conscience and courtesy of his heir?

But what do we speak of this popish traffic for the sins of the dead; when the very sins of the living, the wages of damnation, were negotiated and trucked, indulged or pardoned, by the wicked politic of popery!—As in common life we daily see, that an officer shall permit and license those very frauds for money, which his office itself constitutes him and commands him to prevent;

so has popery done in that great affair of a Christian life and the duties of the Gospel. To engross which profitable trade, it was first necessary, that Rome should challenge the sole custody of the keys of heaven and hell, should claim the sole power of loosing and binding, should possess the sole mint of all spiritual licences and pardons. When this was once arrogated and obtained, what an impious καπηλεία, what an extensive traffic was opened! As the other schemes drew in the superstitious and the bigots, so this was to wheedle and pillage the profane, the impure, the villains of the world. The common sale was soon proclaimed for indulgences and pardons for all crimes past or to come, already committed or hereafter designed; the price raised and enhanced according to the deeper dye and blackness of the guilt. The stated market at Rome was not sufficient for the commerce; the princes only and the nobles could afford to send thither for them: so that, for the ease and benefit of trade, blank instruments were issued out for all the countries of Europe, and retailed by the spiritual pedlars at the public markets and at the private doors: such a cheap pardon cried aloud for the more common sins of lying, swearing, drunkenness, or fornication; a higher price in private for robbery or murder; a higher still for sodomy or incest. Thus were the grace of God, the remission of sins, all the privileges of the gospel, trucked and cauponated by popery, for sordid and detestable lucre, upon the open scheme and the bare foot of atheism.

It is true, indeed, that when the light of the reformation broke out, and good letters revived and spread around; even the popish provinces grew too wise and sagacious for this gross imposture: such wretched wares were thenceforth chiefly vended among the poor ignorants of America.—But there soon arose a new set of loose and profligate casuists[1]; who, to engage on their side the libertine part of mankind, since impunity in sins would no longer be bought with money, should distribute it gratis, and instruct them to be wicked without remorse and with assurance. These are they, who (contrary to St. Paul, Rom. iii. 8) "are *not* slanderously reported to say, Let us do evil, that good may come:" who excuse and patronize the vilest corruptions, the foulest cheats, forgeries, and extortions in common dealing: who teach that no faith promised or sworn to heretics or enemies is of any obligation: who defend common perjury and perfidiousness by the

[1] *Profligate casuits.*] See Index, under *Jesuits.*

scandalous shifts of equivocals and mental restrictions: who have glossed and warped all the severe rules of the gospel about chastity, charity, and forgiveness, to the worldly and wicked notions of gallantry and point of honour: who sanctify the horridest villanies; murders, plots, assassinations, massacres, (like the intended one of this day,[1]) if designed for the service of the church: who, in a word, have given such vicious systems of moral, such a licence to corrupt nature, as a heathen stoic, Platonic, or academic, nay an Epicurean, though in himself never so wicked, durst not have polluted his pages with, out of reverence to his sect.

I might proceed, would the time permit me, to discover all the rest of their politic arts, the mysteries of their spiritual trade: for such are all their peculiar tenets, that were discarded at the Reformation. What availed it to the clergy, that the Scriptures expressly said, "Marriage is honourable in all: let a bishop, let a presbyter be the husband of one wife; one that ruleth well in his own house; having faithful children, kept in subjection with all gravity?" This did not suit with popish politic: this tied and attached the clergy to the common interest of mankind: their affection to their own children made their country also dear to them; made them love and pity the abused laity: they were not vassals devoted enough to the service of a foreign master: the riches of the church did not flow in one channel, nor all revert at last to that one fountain and receptacle. And for these pious reasons, in spite of plain Scripture, of the authority of ages before, of all the lusts and impurities that must necessarily follow, a chaste legitimate marriage shall be forbidden to the clergy; and an adulterous celibacy shall be enjoined universal.

But what can plain Scripture avail against the avarice and pride of popery; when both common sense internal, and the joint testimony of all our outward senses, must submit to its decrees, when it is to advance its profit or power? That due respect ever paid to τὰ ἅγια, the consecrated bread and wine at the holy communion, was easily raised by superstition and ignorance to the highest excess, to notions improbable and impossible. This fair handle was not neglected by popery: by slow degrees transubstantiation was enacted into an article of faith, and a very beneficial one to the priests; since it made them the makers of God, and a sort of gods among the people.—But we must think better and juster of the contrivers of it, than that they them-

[1] *Of this day.*] November 5.

selves believed it: they did or could believe it no more, than a proposition made up of the most disparate ideas, that "sound may be turned into colour, a syllogism into a stone." It was not ignorance, nor stupidity; but the most subtle and crafty politic that produced transubstantiation. Thence the awful pomp, the august cavalcades in the processions of the host: as if they would outdo the pagan ones of Cybele,

> Ingratos animos atque impia pectora vulgi
> Conterrere metu quæ possint numine Divæ:

thence the presence of God continually resident, corporeal at the high altar: thence to exhibit it perpetually there, the wafer, *panis ἄζυμος*, unleavened, unfermented bread, was taken into the solemnity; both against ancient practice, and the perpetual custom of the Greek church: because common bread would soon have grown mouldy, and not pass with the palate of the multitude for the body of God. Thence at last in the thirteenth century was the cup denied to the laity; not for not seeing the plain words of the Scripture, "Drink ye *all* of this"; not for the dearness or scarcity of wine, which is cheap and common in those climates; not for the then pretended reason, that the mustaches or whiskers in the mode of that age used to dip into the holy cup; but because it was inconsistent with the rest of the show. So small a quantity of wine even after consecration would soon grow dead and vapid; would discover its true nature, if tasted after long standing. The wine therefore, because it interferes with the standing ceremony and continued pageantry of transubstantiation, has not the honour to be reposited with the wafer on the altar, nor to accompany it in the solemn processions.

I might now go on to show you a more dismal scene of impostures, their *judicia Dei*, the judgments of God, as they blasphemously called them, when no human evidence could be found: their trials by ordeal; by taking a red hot iron in the hand; by putting the naked arm into hot boiling water; by sinking or swimming in pools and rivers, when bound fast hand and foot: all of them borrowed or copied from pagan knavery and superstition; and so manageable by arts and slights, that the party could be found guilty or innocent, just as the priests pleased, who were always the triers.—What bribes were hereby procured! what false legacies extorted! what malice and revenge executed!—on all which if we should fully dilate and expatiate, the intended

tragedy of this day, which now calls for our consideration, would scarce appear extraordinary.—Dreadful indeed it was; astonishing to the imagination: all the ideas assembled in it of terror and horror. Yet when I look on it with a philosophical eye, I am apt to felicitate those appointed for that sudden blast of rapid destruction; and to pity those miserables that were out of it, the designed victims to slow cruelty, the intended objects of lingering persecution. For since the whole plot (which will ever be the plot of popery) was to subdue and enslave the nation; who would not choose and prefer a short and despatching death, quick as that by thunder and lightning, which prevents pain and perception; before the anguish of mock trials, before the legal accommodations of jails and dungeons, before the peaceful executions by fire and fagot? who would not rather be placed, direct above the infernal mine, than pass through the pitiless mercies, the salutary torments of a popish inquisition; that last accursed contrivance of atheistical and devilish politic? If the other schemes have appeared to be the shop, the warehouse of popery, this may be justly called its slaughterhouse and its shambles. Hither are haled poor creatures (I should have said rich; for that gives the frequentest suspicion of heresy) without any accuser, without allegation of any fault. They must inform against themselves, and make confession of something heretical; or else undergo the discipline of the various tortures: a regular system of ingenious cruelty, composed by the united skill and long successive experience of the best engineers and artificers of torment. That savage saying of Caligula's, horrible to speak or hear, and fit only to be writ in blood, *Ita feri, ut se mori sentiat*, is here heightened and improved: *Ita se mori sentiat, ut ne moriatur*, say these merciful inquisitors. The force, the effect of every rack, every agony, are exactly understood: this stretch, that strangulation is the utmost nature can bear; the least addition will overpower it: this posture keeps the weary soul hanging upon the lip; ready to leave the carcase, and yet not suffered to take its wing: this extends and prolongs the very moment of expiration; continues the pangs of dying without the ease and benefit of death.—O pious and proper methods for the propagation of faith! O true and genuine vicar of Christ, the God of mercy, and the Lord of peace!

And now, after this short but true sketch and faithful landscape of popery, I presume there is but little want of advice or applica-

tion. If this first character in the text belongs to popery; let us secure the other to ourselves, "that we handle the word in sincerity, as of God, as in the sight of God in Christ." The Reformation without this must forfeit its name; and the church of England must lose its nature. "Let every one therefore that thinks he stands take heed least he fall." Our very text informs us, that in the apostle's own days, when the church was in its greatest purity and simplicity; there were even then many κάπηλοι, fraudulent dealers, among its members: though the traffic must needs run low, when the whole community was so poor. But when the emperors became Christian, and the immense revenues of the pagan priesthood were (as indeed they ought to be) all confiscated and distributed; without doubt the spoil and the plunder attracted crowds of new converts; and the courtiers found it useful to declare themselves good Christians. Even the Reformation itself did not make the slower progress, for the vast riches of the monasteries, that were to be dissolved; nor had it been less honour to it, if as the lands and manors of the abbeys were justly restored to the laity; so their impropriations had reverted to the parochial clergy, from whom they had been robbed. To say the truth, the spirit of popery is near as old as the human race; it is in all ages and places; and even then exerts itself when it demolishes popery. The generality of men, οἱ πολλοὶ, were always κάπηλοι, traders in a profession. The Epicureans of old, though they denied and derided the heathen gods, would yet gladly accept of a fat benefice, "opimum sacerdotium;" and to gain an ample revenue, would officiate at those altars which they silently laughed at.—Think not therefore, that all the priests were the vilest of men; but that some of the vilest of men got in to be priests. They saw the opportunity of enslaving and pillaging mankind, if they could but manage the priesthood upon atheistical principles. This was the temptation, this gave the original to popery; and nothing to be accused for it but human nature in common.—What profession, what conjunction of laymen, if not continually watched, if not curbed and regulated by authority, have not abused the like advantage and ascendant in their several ways, to their private emolument and the oppression of the public? Let us watch therefore against this fatal degeneration incident to all things. He that aims *malis artibus* to arrive at church preferment, by sinful or servile compliance, by turbulency and faction; what is he but κάπηλος, a trafficker for sordid

lucre? He that zealously vends his novelties, or revives dead and buried heresies to the disturbance of the community; what is he but a trader for the fame of singularity? He that labours to dig up all the fences of the church; to throw down her articles and canons, her liturgy and ceremonies; to extinguish her nurseries of learning; and when he has made her a mere waste and a common, shall call that a *comprehension;* what is he but a vile factor to libertinism and sacrilege? He that propagates suspected doctrines, such as praying for the dead, auricular confession, and the like, whose sole tendency is the gain and power of the priest; what is he but a negotiator for his partisans abroad? what does he but sow the seeds of popery in the very soil of the reformation?

But if we are to watch against the silent tide of popery in the small rivulets at home; much more against its inundation and deluge from abroad: which always meditates, and now threatens[1] to overwhelm us. If foreign popery once return and regain all the provinces that it lost at the Reformation,—O the terrible storm of persecution at its first regress! O the dark prospect of slavery and ignorance for the ages behind! In tract of time it will rise again to as full a measure of usurped hierarchy, as when the hero Luther first proclaimed war against it. For then was popery in its meridian height: it was not raised up all at once, but by the slow work of many centuries. In all the steps and advances of its progress, the good men of the several ages opposed it, but in vain: they were overborne by a majority; were silenced by the strong arguments of processes and prisons. For it first subdued its own priests, before it brought the laity under its yoke. Good letters became a crime even in the clergy. Or heresy or magic, according to the different turn of men's studies, was a certain imputation upon all that dared to excel. And though popery, since the Reformation, has even in its own quarters permitted learning and humanity; and prudently withdrawn some of its most scandalous trumpery: yet if once again it sees itself universal, the whole warehouse, now kept under key, will again be set wide open: the old tyranny will ride triumphant upon the necks of enslaved mankind, with certain provision against a future revolt. The two instruments, the two parents of the Reformation, ancient learning, and the art of printing, both coming providentially at one juncture of time, will be made the first martyrs, the earliest sacrifice to popish

[1] *Now threatens.*] A.D. 1715.

politic. The dead languages, as they are now called, will then die in good earnest. All the old authors of Greece and Italy, as the conveyers of hurtful knowledge, as inspirers of dangerous liberty, will be condemned to the flames; an enterprise of no difficulty, when the pope shall once again be the general dictator. All these writings must then perish together: no old records shall survive, to bear witness against popery; nor any new be permitted to give it disturbance. The press will then be kept under custody in a citadel, like the mint and the coinage: nothing but mass books and rosaries, nothing but dry postills and fabulous legends, shall then be the staple commodities, even in an university.

For the double festivity therefore of this candid and joyful day; for the double deliverance obtained in it, the one from the conspiracy of popery, the other from its tyranny; for the happy preservation of our religion, laws, and liberties under the protection of pious and gracious princes; for the flourishing estate of learning and the prosperity of our nursing mother, be all thanks, praise and glory to God for ever and ever. Amen.

JOHN WICKLIFFE.

The Popish emissaries boast that Popery is as ancient as Christianity. So far is this from being true, that during the first six hundred years after Christ there was no such thing as Popery in the world. Nay, Doctor Wickliffe maintained, that it had no being until after the loosing of Satan in *the second millenary*. JOHN LEWIS.

As for JOHN WICKLIFFE, JOHN HUSS, VALDO, and the rest, for aught I know, and I believe, setting malice aside, for aught you know, they were godly men. Their greatest heresie was this, that they complained of the dissolute and vicious lives of the clergy, of worshipping images, of fained miracles, of the tyrannical pride of the pope, of monks, friers, pardons, pilgrimages, and purgatory, and other like deceiving and mocking of the people; and that they wished a reformation of the church. BISHOP JEWEL.

JOHN WICKLIFFE[1].

After al these heretofore recited[2], by whom (as ye have heard) it pleased the Lord something to worke against the bishop of Rome, and to weaken the pernicious superstition of the friers; it now remaineth consequently, following the course of yeares, orderly to enter into the storie and tractation of John Wickliffe our countriman, and other more of his time, and same countrie, whom the Lord (with the like zeale and power of spirit) raised up here in England, to detect more fully and amplie the poison of the pope's doctrine, and false religion set up by the friers. In whose opinions and assertions, albeit some blemishes perhaps may be noted; yet such blemishes they be which rather declare him to be a man that might erre, than which directly did fight against Christ our saviour, as the pope's proceedings and the friers did. —And what doctor or learned man hath been from the prime age of the church, so perfect, so absolutely sure, in whom no opinion hath sometime swerved awrie? And yet be the said articles of his, neither in number so many, nor yet so grosse in

[1] *John Wickliffe.*] On the history of Wickliffe and his opinions, the reader may consult Harpsfield's *Historia Hæresis Wicleviancæ*, fol. 1622. James's *Apologie for John Wickliffe, shewing his conformitie with the now Church of England*, 4to. 1608; Tanner's *Bibliotheca*, p. 767—772; Wharton's Appendix to *Cave's Historia Literaria*, vol. ii. p. 60—65; Lewis's *History of the Life and Sufferings of John Wickliffe*, 8vo. 1723, and 1820: and the *Life of Reynold Pecock, Bishop of St. Asaph*, 8vo. 1744, and 1820, by the same author.

[2] *Heretofore recited.*] Robert Grosthed, bishop of Lincoln; Richard Fitzralph, archbishop of Armagh; Nicolas Orem; the author of the Prayer and Complaint of the Plowman and others.

themselves and so cardinall, as those cardinall enemies of Christ perchance do give them out to be; if his books, which they abolished [3], were remaining to be conferred with those blemishes, which they have wrested to the worst, as *evil will never said the best.*

This is certaine, that he being the publike reader of divinitie [4] in the universitie of Oxford, was for the rude time wherein he lived, famously reputed for a great clerke, a deepe schooleman, and no lesse expert in all kind of philosophie. The which doth not only appeare by his owne most famous and learned writings and monuments, but also by the confession of Walden, his most cruell and bitter enemie; who, in a certaine epistle written unto

[3] *His books, which they abolished.*] These endeavours to abolish were by a constitution of archbishop Arundel (A.D. 1408), and by other expedients of a like nature, of which we shall hear more in the course of this life. Bishop Burnet having, in his History of the Reformation, made a reflection similar to this of Fox, is animadverted upon by the severe pen of Henry Wharton, in the following terms:

"It seems the historian knew not any certain means of gaining information of Wickliffe's true opinions; but when he would include all others in the same ignorance of them, we must desire to be excused. We have as many of the works of Wickliffe yet extant, as, if printed together, would make four or five volumes in folio. And whether so many books be not sufficient to teach us his opinions, let the reader judge."—*Specimen of Errors and Defects in the History of the Reformation*, by Anth. Harmer. P. 16.

Nor is there indeed *now* much occasion that we should have recourse even to *manuscripts*, to enable us to distinguish the real from the imputed doctrines of Wickliffe. The following works have been printed: *Dialogorum*, lib. 4. 1525 and 1753; Wickliffe's *Wicket*, 1546, &c.; Prologue to the Bible, under the title, *Pathway to perfect Knowledge* (if this be indeed Wickliffe's), 1550; *Aphorismi Wicleviani*, 1554; *Complaint to the King and Parliament, with a Treatise against the Friars*, 1608; *Translation of the New Testament*, 1731, fol. These, with the addition of the books mentioned in note (1), p. 167, and the third volume of *Wilkins's Concilia*, leave no longer much room to complain of deficiency of materials for information, respecting the sentiments which he entertained in the principal heads of religion. Still, it is greatly to be wished, that much more of works, at once both so extraordinarily valuable and so curious, might be given to the world, carefully printed, from manuscripts still extant: and that, from among his Latin works, particularly the extensive treatise, "*De Veritate Scripturæ*," so often referred to by Dr. Thomas James in his *Apology* for Wickliffe, might be one of the first. Of this work, a copy, perhaps the only perfect one, exists in the library of Trinity College, Dublin.

[4] *Reader of divinitie.*] Wickliffe was born, probably, about the year 1324; and he began to deliver Theological Lectures in 1372, in the reign of Edward III. Lewis's History, p. 1 and 18.

pope Martin the fift[5], saith that "he was wonderfully astonished at his most strong arguments, with the places of authoritie which he had gathered, and with the vehemencie and force of his reasons .

It appeareth by such as have observed the order and course of times, that this Wickliffe flourished about the yeare of our Lord 1371, Edward the third raigning in England: for thus we do find in the chronicles of Caxton: "In the yeare of our Lord 1371, Edward the third, king of England, in his parliament, was against the pope's clergie. He willingly harkened and gave eare to the voices and tales of heretikes, with certaine of his counsell, conceiving and following sinister opinions against the clergie. Wherefore, afterward, he tasted and suffered much adversity and trouble. And not long after, in the yeare of our Lord 1372, he wrote unto the bishop of Rome, that he should not by any meanes intermeddle any more within his kingdome, as touching the reserva-

[5] *Martin the fift.*] Thomas Netter, called *Waldenus* from his native place in Essex, who dedicated to Martin V. his work, called *Doctrinale Antiquitatum Fidei Ecclesiæ Catholicæ*. It has been printed at Paris, in 1521—3, and 1532; at Salamanca, in 1556; and at Venice, in 1571.

[6] *Of his reasons.*] The following extract I borrow from a short Life of Wickliffe, subjoined to James's *Apology for John Wickliffe, shewing his conformity with the now Church of England.* 1608. 4to.

"He was beloved of all good men for his good life, and greatly admired of his greatest adversaries, for his learning and knowledge, both in divinity and humanity. He writ so many large volumes in both, as it is almost incredible. He seemed to follow, in the whole course of his studies, the method of the schoolmen: and amongst them he was a professed follower of Ocham; by reading of whose learned books, and sundry others which lived about the same time, or not long before; such as were Bradwardine, Marsilius, Guido de Sancto Amore, Abelardus, Armachanus, and that true great clerk Robert Grosthead, God gave him grace to see the truth of his gospel, and by seeing of it to loathe all superstition and popery. Of Ocham and Marsilius he was informed of the pope's intrusions and usurpations upon kings, their crowns and dignities: of G. de S. Amore and Armachanus he learned the sundry abuses of monks and friers in upholding this usurped power: by Abelard and others he was grounded in the right faith of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper: by Bradwardine, in the nature of a true soul-justifying faith against merit-mongers and pardoners: finally, by reading Grosthead's works, in whom he seemed to be most conversant, he descried the pope to be open antichrist, by *letting* the gospel to be preached, and by placing unable and unfit men in the church of God. He passed through all degrees in this famous university very commendably."

tion, or distribution of benefices[7]: and that all such bishops as were under his dominion, should injoy their former and ancient libertie, and be confirmed of their metropolitanes, as hath been accustomed in times past." Thus much writeth Caxton in chap. ccxxxvi. of the Cronicles of England, printed in 1480. But as touching the just number of the yeare and time, we will not be very curious or carefull about it at this present. This is out of all doubt, that at what time all the world was in most desperate and vile estate, and that the lamentable ignorance and darknesse of God's truth had overshadowed the whole earth; this man, Wickliffe, stepped forth like a valiant champion, unto whom it may justly be applied that is spoken in the booke called Ecclesiasticus[8], of one Simon the sonne of Onias: "Even as the morning star being in the middest of a cloud, and as the moone being full in her course, and as the bright beames of the sunne; so doth he shine and glister in the temple and church of God."

[7] *The reservation ... of benefices.*] This refers to a power gradually usurped by the popes to a very great extent; whereby, before any ecclesiastical promotion became vacant, the see of Rome *reserved* the future nomination to itself, *provided* a successor to the bishopric or benefice, and declared that if any presentation was made, it should be null and void.

In one of these letters of the king and his parliament to pope Clement VI. they thus solemnly expostulate against this grievous evil.

"We have thought meet to signifie unto your holiness, that divers reservations, provisions, and collations, by your predecessours apostolike of Rome, and by you, most holy father, in your time have been granted (and that more largely than they have beene accustomed to be) unto divers persons, as wel strangers and of sundry nations, as unto some such as are our enemies; having no understanding at all of the tongue and conditions of them, of whom they have the government and cure: whereby a great number of soules are in perill, a great many of their parishioners in danger, the service of God destroyed, the almes and devotion of all men diminished, the hospitals perished, the churches with their appurtenances decayed, charitie withdrawne, the good and honest persons of our realme unadvanced, the charge and government of soules not regarded, the devotion of the people restrained, many poore scholars unpreferred, and the treasure of the realme carried out, against the minds and intents of the founders. All which errors, defaults, and slanders, most holy father, wee neither can nor ought to suffer or endure." Fox's Acts, p. 353. Edit. 1610. This was in the year 1343. An act was passed in parliament the year following to annul these reservations; but the effect produced was slight. The dispute was several times revived. About the year 1376, they were, on agreement, relinquished formally by the pope: but even this seems not to have been effectual. Wilkins's *Concilia,* vol. iii. p. 97.

[8] *Called Ecclesiasticus.*] Chap. l. ver. 6.

Thus doth almighty God continually succor and help, when all things are in despaire: being alwaies (according to the prophecie of the psalme [9]) "a helper in time of need [1]."—The which thing never more plainly appeared, than in these latter daies and extreame age of the church; when the whole state and condition, not only of worldly things, but also of religion, was so depraved and corrupted, that like as the disease named *lethargus* among the physitions, even so the state of religion amongst the divines, was past all man's remedie. The onely name of Christ remained amongst Christians, but his true and lively doctrine was as farre unknowne unto the most part, as his name was common unto all men. As touching faith, consolation, the end and use of the law, the office of Christ, of our impotencie and weakenesse, of the Holy Ghost, of the greatnesse and strength of sinne, of true works, of grace and free justification by faith, of libertie of a Christian man, things wherein consisteth and resteth the summe and matter of our profession; there was no mention, nor any word almost spoken. Scripture-learning and divinitie was knowne but unto a few, and that in the scholes onely, and there also turned and converted almost all into sophistry. In stead of Peter and Paul, men occupied their time in studying Aquinas and Scotus, and the Master of the Sentences [2]. The world forsaking the lively power of God's spirituall word and doctrine, was altogether led and blinded with outward ceremonies and human traditions, wherein the whole scope, in a manner, of all Christian perfection did consist and depend. In these was all the hope of obtaining salvation fullie fixed; hereunto all things were attributed. Insomuch, that scarcely any other thing was seene in the temples or churches, taught or spoken of in sermons, or finallie intended or gone about in their whole life, but only heaping up of certaine shadowed ceremonies upon ceremonies; neither was there any end of their heaping.

The people were taught to worship no other thing but that

[9] *The Psalme.*] Psalme ix. v. 9, &c.

[1] *In time of need.*] On the Causes and Necessity of the Reformation, see Hermanni von der Hardt *Historia Literaria Reformationis*, Parts i—iv. A.D. 1717; Hottingeri *Historia Ecclesiastica*, vol. v—vii.; Gibson's *Preservative against Popery*, tit. i. p. 1—132; Casaubon's Dedication to King James I. of his *Exercitations against Baronius*.

[2] *Of the Sentences.*] Peter Lombard.

which they did see, and did see almost nothing which they did not worship.

The church being degenerated from the true apostolicke institution above all measure, (reserving only the name of the apostolicke church, but far from the truth thereof in very deed) did fall into all kind of extreame tyrannie: whereas the povertie and simplicitie of Christ was changed into crueltie and abomination of life. In stead of the apostolicke gifts, and their continuall labors and travels, slothfulnes and ambition was crept in amongst the priests. Besides all this, there arose and sprung up a thousand sorts and fashions of strange religions [3], being the onely roote and

[3] *Sorts and fashions of strange religions.*] That is, the various sects and orders of monks and friars.

Amid so many corruptions, it is not to be wondered that the contagion spread from the heart and from manners, and invaded the *popular language*. Of this very baneful species of degeneracy, the instances are by no means infrequent. We have an example before us in the use of this term *religion*; a word, to the participation of which, with its corresponding epithet *religious*, the *laity* seem to have been allowed to make hardly any pretension. They were almost exclusively appropriated to the clergy, and especially to one division of them, the several orders of monks and friars. Thus we read, in the *Complaint and Prayer of the Ploughman*, the work of a professed reformer: "The pope clepith *(calleth)* himselfe father of fathers, and maketh many *religions*. But whether is love and charity encreased by these fathers and by their *religions*, or else ymade lesse? For a frier ne loveth not a monke, ne a secular man neither; nor yet one frier another that is not of the order. Ah Lord! me thinketh that there is little perfection in these *religions!* The service that thou desirest is keeping of thine hests *(commandments)*; and then a lewd man *(lay-man)* may serve God, as well as a man of *religion*; though that the ploughman he may not have so much silver for his prayer, as men of *religion*."—Fox, p. 368. Whytford's *Pype of Perfection*, printed A.D. 1532, is an elaborate apology for monachism. This curious book furnishes us with many examples of the same abuse of the term *religion*. "*Religyon* is made and standeth principally in the three essencial vowes, obedience, wilfull povertie, and chastitie. For these thre ben the substanciall partes of *religyon*." Fol. 2.—"The great heretyke Luther, with all his discyples, done deprave and utterly condempne all maner of *religyons*, except onely (as *they call hit*) the *religyon* of *Christe*. Wherefore I thought necessarye (unto the comforte of all suche persones as have or done purpose or intende to entre *religyon*) somewhat, after my poore understanding, to speke thereof." Fol. 3.—"A state appertaynynge unto monkes and solitarie persones, whiche state is now called onely *religyon*. And suche persones as ben bounden unto that state, and done lyve in *religion bene alone called religious persones*, and *none other persones ben so named communly, but onely they*." Fol. 232. The first quotation

well-head of all superstition. How great abuses and depravations were crept into the sacraments, at what time men were compelled to worship similitudes and signes of things, for the very things themselves; and to adore such things as were instituted and ordained only for memorials! Finally, what thing was there, in the whole state of Christian religion so sincere, so sound and pure, which was not defiled and spotted with some kind of superstition? Besides this, with how many bonds and snares of dailie new fangled ceremonies were the sillie consciences of men, redeemed by Christ to liberty, snared and snarled! Insomuch, that there could be no great difference almost perceived betweene Christianitie and Jewishnesse, save only the name of Christ: so that the state and condition of the Jewes, might seeme somewhat more tolerable then ours. The Christian people were wholly carried away as it were by the noses, with meere decrees and constitutions of men, even whither it pleased the bishops to lead them, and not as Christ's will did direct them. All the whole world was filled and overwhelmed with errors and darkenesse. And no great marvell; for why, the simple and unlearned people being farre from all knowledge of the holy scripture, thought it sufficient for them, to know onlie these things which were delivered them by their pastors and shepheards [4]; and they on the other part taught in a maner nothing else, but such things as came forth of the court of Rome: whereof the most part

in this note supplies another apt instance of the corruption which we are remarking upon, in the use of the word *lewd;* which, as it should appear, denoting in its primitive signification, in the Anglo-Saxon, *ignorant*, was about the age of Wickliffe, perpetually used simply for *layman*, without being designed to convey any particular reproach; and at other times, in a worse sense, to which it is now exclusively appropriated. Under this example, the presumptuous revilings of the Pharisee can hardly fail of recurring to the mind of my readers. "This *people* who *knoweth not* the law, are *cursed*." John vii. 49. The only remaining instance of a corruption in language, which I shall adduce, is one nearly allied to those above referred to—the use of the term *Holy Church*. "When *men speken* of *holy churche* (says Wickliffe), they understonden anoon prelates and priests, monks, cannons and freres, and all men that have crowns *(the tonsure)*, tho they liven never so cursedly agenst God's law; and clepen not ne holden secular men of *holy church*, tho they liven never so duly after God's law, and enden in perfect charity."—Lewis's *History*, p. 126. Compare Tindall's *Works*, p. 249, A.D. 1571.

[4] *Pastors and shepheards.*] Of whom, according to Wickliffe, were "maney that kunnen not the ten commandements, ne read their Sauter, ne understond a verse of it."—*Great Sentence of Curse expounded;* Lewis's Life, &c. p. 40.

tended to the profit of their order, more than to the glorie of Christ.

The Christian faith was esteemed or counted none other thing then, but that everie man should know that Christ once suffered, that is to say, that all men should know and understand that thing which the divels themselves also knew. Hypocrisie was counted for wonderfull holinesse. All men were so addict unto outward shewes, that even they themselves which professed the most absolute and singular knowledge of the Scriptures, scarsly did understand or know any other thing. And this evidently did appeare, not onely in the common sort of doctors and teachers, but also in the very heads and captaines of the church; whose whole religion and holinesse consisted in a maner in the observing of daies, meats and garments, and such like rhetoricall circumstances, as of place, time, person, &c. Hereof sprang so many sorts and fashions of vestures and garments[5]: so many

[5] *Vestures and garments.*] As *Black* Friars, *White* Friars, *Grey*, &c. &c.— "What, be these Benedictines, Cistertians, Carmelites, Carthusians, Dominicans, Franciscans, with others like, an huge numbre, but names of popishe schismes and sectes? who, all forsakyng the religion and name of Christe, common to all true Christians, have chosen to be called *religious*, as by a special name of a severall religion; and to be named after men, their fathers on earth, forsakyng the heavenly father, and continuing and accomplishinge the schisme first begunne in S. Paules time, after the example of those who sayd 'I am of Paule, I of Cephas, I of Apollos;' saying, 'I am of Dominike, I of Benedicte, I of Francisce,' who also may directly answer S. Paule askyng, 'Was Paule or any other, savyng only Christe crucified for you?' 'Yea,' may the Franciscans say, 'S. Francisce was crucified for *us* of his familie, and beholde the woundes in his side, handes, and feete.'

"And leste all these sectes should not be knowen sufficiently by onely diversitie of *names*, thei have by other infinite wayes and meanes travelled to sever their sectes asundre, studyinge for division as for the best, and flyinge all shewe of unitie as the worste of all thinges. Wherefore to their diversitie of *names*, they have joyned diversitie of *fashions*, and diversitie of *colours* in their apparell; diversitie of girdels, hose, and shooes; diversitie of shavynge, diversitie of goyng, beckyng and bowyng, diversitie of diete and meates, diversitie of readyng, singinge, and tunynge, diversitie of churche service, and diversitie of rules of life. All times would fayle me, if I should, or coulde rehearse all their diversities, which is the very propertie of schismes and sectes. These be those schismatikes, and sectaries, with an infinite multitude whereof, of late Englande was repleanished; of the whiche now, thankes be to God, the realme is well ridde: so that if you meete a thousande men and women one after an other severally, and aske of them, 'of what religion be you?' they shall all and every one answere you, 'I am a Christian; we be all

differences of colours and meates: with so many pilgrimages to severall places, as though S. James at Compostella[6] could doe that, which Christ could not doe at Canturburie: or else that God were not of like power and strength in every place, or could not be found but being sought for by running and gadding hither and thither. Thus the holinesse of the whole yeare was transported and put off unto the Lent season[7]. No countrie or

Christians:' there shal not one answere to you (as was wonte), 'I am of the religion of S. Francisce, a Franciscane: an other, I am a Dominicaine: the thirde, I am a Carmelite. Et sic de singulis.' One woman shall not answere you: 'I am a Brigittyne: an other, I am a Clarane: the thirde, I am an Eugubine, whiche are all names of abominable sectes and schismes, not onely dividyng, but deniyng, but forgettyng, but rejectinge the religion and name of Jesus Christe."—*A Reproof, written by Alexander Nowell, of a book entitled, A Proof of certain Articles in Religion denied by Master Jewell, set forth by Thomas Dorman, B.D.* 1565. 4to. fol. p. 55.

See also the ninth section of *Warton's History of English Poetry*, 8vo. Lond. 1824. vol. ii. p. 123.

[6] *S. James at Compostella.*] The pilgrimage to Compostella in Spain, famous throughout Europe, was accounted one of the most meritorious, and amongst the most highly favoured by supposed miraculous interpositions. A part of its celebrity, we are told, was owing to the length of the way, and the dangers of the journey. "A short pilgrimage (says Weever), is not worth a pin: neither is an image in so much honour and respect in that country where it is, as in far countries. For example, the Italians, yea those who dwell near Rome, will mock and scoff at our English and other pilgrims, who go to see the pope's holiness, and St. Peter's chair; and yet they themselves will run to see the relics of St. James of Compostella, in the kingdom of Gallicia in Spain, which is above twelve hundred English miles." Weever's *Funeral Monuments*. Disc. P. clxiii. Edit. 1767. The whole legend upon which the fame and the wealth of this celebrated spot was founded, which "has cost millions of Christians many a weary step over rocks and mountains; who otherwise would have staid at home, and performed their devotions, and not have, by long sauntering pilgrimages, reduced themselves and their families to beggary; having nothing, by that means, left them but a few scollop shells upon a threadbare weed, and a feather or two of the cast of the cock which crowed when St. Peter denied his Lord," has been accurately examined, and its numerous falsehoods and absurdities satisfactorily exposed by Dr. Michael Geddes, in the second volume of his *Miscellaneous Tracts*, p. 208—234.

[7] *Put off unto the Lent season.*] Thus in the Festival, which consists of short sermons or homilies upon many of the Sundays, and the other principal feasts throughout the year, and was the book most commonly read in churches, even till the latter end of the reign of Henry VIII. the discourse for the second Sunday in Lent thus begins:

"Good men and women, this is the seconde Sonday in clene Lente; wherefore lyke as ye have *all this yere before* made you honest and well besene in

land was counted holy, but onelie Palestina, where Christ himselfe had walked with his corporall feet. Such was the blindnesse of that

good araye to youre *body, now* shoulde ye be as soone besye to make you a *clene soule.* Wherefore this tyme of Lente is ordeyned to clense youre conscience from all maner rust and fylth of sinne." Festival, fol. 17 b. Again, "And for bycause that every man synnes more or lesse, for to make *satysfaccyon* for trespas, all crysten people ben bounden by the lawe of God and Hooly Chyrche to fast these forty dayes." Festival, fol. 15. From such extracts as these, the reader will see the necessity of a reformation in doctrine, and will recognize one cause of the frequent insertion of those expressions in the liturgy, and other books of the Reformers, where Christ is spoken of as a "full and perfect *satisfaction,*" "the *only* mediator and advocate," &c.—Yet once more. The Golden Legend, so denominated, because "as golde passeth all other metalles, so this boke excedeth all other bokes," upon the first Sunday in Lent, makes the following calculation: "We put to penaunce and afflyccyon fro this present day unto Eester six wekes comynge, that ben forty-two dayes. Yf the Sondayes be taken awaye, there abyde in the abstynence but thirty-six dayes: and the yere is demeaned by three hondred and sixty-five dayes: (so) *we gyve the tythe of them* to *God* whan *we faste.*"—*Golden Legend,* fol. 14. Edit. 1527. By Wynkyn de Worde. In the same spirit the clergy of the Lower House of Convocation formally complained to the prelates, in the year 1536, that among many other erroneous opinions, "it was preached, thought and spoken to the slander of this noble realm, disquietness of the people, and damage of Christian souls, that the sinner offending in the Lent or other high feasts of the year, is worthy no more punishment, than he that transgresseth in any other time."—Wilkins's *Concilia,* vol. iii. p. 805. But, as knowledge and reformation advanced, a better temper began to prevail. Hence in the year 1545, we find Cuthbert Scot, no very zealous friend to the reformation, in a sermon at St. Paul's cross, thus expressing himself: "Now if the tyme wold suffre me, I wolde speake here of the fashyons of men nowe in these dayes. For many there be, as I thynke, whiche do not walke in this way, but do runne as it were in a circuit, and maye be lykened to a dogge that runneth in a whele, whiche styll goeth and laboreth, and when he maketh an ende, he is even where he begonne. And so I do feare that men do in these dayes. Theyr tyme goeth, and they growe in age, and yet, looke, how they lyved the laste yeare, and even so they lyve this yeare, and so wyll do the nexte: nothyng at all increasynge in vertue nor godlynes, but do as vittelars used to do, whiche take bread and drincke of bakers and brewers, to a daye, not payenge money in hande, but tale with them: and when the day of payment cometh, they paye theyr money, and strike off the old tales, and begynne agayne to tayle of newe. And even so do we. We be very bold with God all the yeare longe, and tale with hym tyll Lente comme; and then we be confessed, kepynge abstinence for a tyme, and receyve the holy sacrament, and so sone as Easter is past, we begyn even to tale of newe, and fall agayne to our olde kynde of lyvyng. But such be not these that David called in this place, happy; for they do not walke undefyled

time, men did strive and fight for the crosse at Hierusalem, as it had been for the chiefe and onelie force and strength of our faith.

in this way." Signat k. 7. Imprynted by Johannes Herford, at the costes of Robert Toye. 1545.

Again: after citing so much in conformity with Fox's representation, I cannot refuse myself the satisfaction of producing additional evidence of further reformation, along with the wise and admirable remarks of the author, another protestant writer, Sir Edwin Sandys. He speaks, indeed, of a later day; his work having been written near the close of the reign of queen Elizabeth, A.D. 1599.

" Notwithstanding this testimony, I yield not only willingly but gladly to them (for what joy could it be, what grief ought it not to be, to the heart of any man, to see men fall irrecoverably from the love and laws of the Creator?)—that, at one time of the year, namely, at *Lent*, they are much reformed. No such blasphemy, nor dirty speaking as before; their vanities of all sorts laid reasonably aside; their pleasures abandoned; their apparel, their diet, and all things else composed to austerity and state of penitence. They have daily, then, their preaching with collections of almes, whereto all men resort: and to judge of them by the outward shew, they seem generally to have very great remorse for their wickedness. In so much, that I must confess I seemed unto myself in Italy to have best learned the right use of Lent; there first to have discerned the great fruit of it, and the reason for which those sages at first did institute it. Neither can I easily accord to the fancies of such, as because we ought at *all* times to lead a life worthy of our profession, think it, therefore, *superstitious* to have *one* time wherein to exact or expect it more than other; but rather do thus conceive, that seeing the corruption of times and wickedness of men's nature is now so exorbitant, that an hard matter it is to hold the ordinary sort of men at all times within the lists of piety, justice, and sobriety; it is fit, therefore, there should be *one time at least* in the year, and that of reasonable continuance, wherein the season itself, the use of the world and practice of all men (for even the Jews and the Turks have their Lents, although different), the commandment of superiors, the provision of fit means to assist therein; and in sum, the very outward face and expectation as it were of all things, should constrain men how wicked and wretchless soever, for that time, at least, to recal themselves to some more severe cogitations and courses; lest sin, having no such bridle to check it at any time, should at length, wax headstrong and unconquerable in them; and that, on the other side, being thus necessarily innured for a while, though but to make a bare shew of walking in the paths of virtue, they might afterwards, perhaps, more sincerely and willingly persist (as custom makes hard things pleasant), or at least wise return more readily again unto them some other time.—And verily I have had sundry times this cogitation in Italy, that in so great looseness of life and decay of discipline in those parts, it was the especial great mercy and grace of God, that the severity of Lent should yet still be preserved, lest otherwise the floods of sin growing so strong and outragious, and having no where either bound or bank to restrain them, might plunge that whole nation in such a

It is a wonder to reade the monuments of the former times, to see and understand what great troubles and calamities this crosse hath caused almost in every Christian commonwealth. For the Romish champions never ceased, by writing, admonishing, and counselling, yea and by quarrelling, to move and stir up princes' minds to warre and battell, even as though the faith and beleefe of the gospell, were of small force, or little effect without that woodden crosse. This was the cause of the expedition of the most noble prince, king Richard, unto Hierusalem, who being taken in the same journie, and delivered unto the emperour, could scarslie be ransomed home againe for thirty thousand markes [8]. In the same enterprise or journie, Fredericus the emperour of Rome, a man of most excellent vertue, was much endamaged, an. 1179. And also Philip the king of France, scarslie returned home againe in safetie, not without great losses:—so much did they esteeme the recovery of the holy citie and crosse [9].

Upon this alone, all men's eies, mindes and devotions, were so set and bent, as though either there were no other crosse but that, or that the crosse of Christ were in no other place but only at Hierusalem. Such was the blindnesse and superstition of those daies, which understood or knew nothing but such things as were outwardlie seene: whereas the profession of our religion standeth in much other higher matters and greater mysteries,—What is the cause why Urbanus did so vexe and torment himselfe? Because that Antioch with the holy crosse, was lost out of the hands of the Christians. For so wee doe find it in the chronicles, "at what time Jerusalem with king Guido, and the

gulf of wickedness, and bring them to that last extremity, which should leave them neither hope of better, nor place but for worse. Yea, and I was so farr from thinking the institution of Lent superfluous, or the retaining of it unprofitable, that I rather inclined to like the custom of the Greek Church, who, besides the *great* Lent, have *three other* Lents also, at solemn times, in the year; though those other neither so long, neither yet of so strict and general observations." Sandys's *Europæ Speculum*, p. 21—23. edit. 1673.

[8] *Thirty thousand markes.*] In p. 225. vol. i. edit. 1610, Fox tells us that the ransom was *sixty* thousand marks. From Inett it appears, that the king agreed with the emperor to pay for his ransom *a hundred thousand* marks, and to find fifty galleys and two hundred knights, at his own charge, for the emperor's service for one year. But as all this could not be raised at once, part of the money was paid, and hostages given for the discharge of the remainder.—Inett's *Origines Anglicanæ*, vol. ii. p. 354.

[9] *And crosse.*] See Index, under *Crusade*.

crosse of our Lord was taken, and under the power of the sultan, Urbanus took the matter so grievouslie, that for very sorrow he died. In whose place succeeded Lambertus which was called Gregorie the VIII., by whose motion it was decreed by the cardinals, that (setting apart all riches and voluptuousnesse) they should preach the crosse of Christ, and by their povertie and humilitie first of all should take the crosse upon them, and goe before others into the land of Jerusalem." These are the words of the historie; whereby it is evident unto what grossenesse the true knowledge of the spirituall doctrine of the gospell was degenerate and growne in those daies.

How great blindnesse and darknesse again, was in those daies, in the primacie, and supremacie of the bishop of Rome; as though the outward succession of Peter and the apostles, had been of great force and effect to that matter! What doth it force in what place Peter did rule or not rule? It is much more to be regarded that every man should labour and studie with all their indeavour to follow the life and confession of Peter: and that man seemeth unto me to be the true successor of Peter, against whom the gates of hell shall not prevaile. For if that Peter in the gospel do beare the type and figure of the Christian church (as all men in a maner doe affirme) what more foolish or vaine thing can there bee, than through privat usurpation, to restraine and to bind that unto one man, which by the appointment of the Lord, is of it selfe free and open to so many [1]?"

In these so greatly troublous times, and this horrible dark-

[1] *To so many.*] The original Latin edition, which is of good authority, and will occasionally well repay the trouble of being consulted, by those who have access to so scarce a volume, contains some sentences here, omitted in the English translation (which, it is of some importance to know, was not executed by Fox himself, but, both for translation and publication, was, at least as respects the first edition, confided to other hands; he being, at the time of the coming out of that edition in 1563, engaged elsewhere, in collecting materials for other portions of his vast and arduous undertaking):

"Cæterarum ecclesiarum" (says he), "nihil valebant pastores, nisi quantum ab ipso permittebatur. Solus hic non ecclesiis, sed et regnis præsidebat omnibus. Solus terrori erat cunctis: cæteris Christi ministris parum aut nihil tribuebatur. Ab uno pendebant ac petebantur omnia. Nusquam erat excommunicandi jus, nusquam relaxandi autoritas, nusquam interpretandi potestas, nisi in Romana basilica. In hac igitur tanta rerum perturbatione," &c., as in the English copy: "*Commentarii Rerum,* &c. Basileæ, 1559." Fol. p. 4.

nesse of ignorance, what time there seemed in a manner to be no sparke of pure doctrine left or remaining, this aforesaid Wickliffe by God's providence sprang and rose up: through whom the Lord would first waken and raise againe the world, which was overmuch drowned and whelmed in the deepe streames of human traditions.—Thus you have here the *time* of Wickliffe's originall.

Which Wickliffe, after he had now by a long time professed divinitie [2] in the universitie of Oxford, and perceiving the true doctrine of Christ's gospell to be adulterate and defiled, with so many inventions of popes, sects of monks, and darke errours, he after long debating and deliberating with himselfe (with many secret sighes, and bewailing in his mind the generall ignorance of the whole world) could no longer suffer or abide the same, but that he at last determined with himselfe to helpe and to remedie such things as hee saw to bee wide and out of the way. But forsomuch as he saw that this dangerous medling, could not be attempted or stirred without great trouble, neither that these things which had been so long time with use and custome rooted and grafted in men's minds, could bee suddenlie plucked up or taken away, hee thought with himselfe that this matter should be done by little and little. Wherefore he taking his originall at small occasions, thereby opened himselfe a way or meane to greater matters.

And first he assailed his adversaries in logicall and metaphysicall questions, disputing with them of the first forme and fashion of things, of the increase of time, and of the intelligible substance of a creature, with other such like sophemes [3] of no great effect: but yet notwithstanding they did not a little helpe and furnish him, which minded to dispute of greater matters. So in these matters first began Kegningham (a Carmelite) to dispute and argue against John Wickliffe.

By these originals, the way was made unto greater points, so that at the length he came to touch the matters of the sacraments,

[2] *Professed divinitie.*] He took the degree of D.D. in 1372.—Lewis, chap. ii. p. 21.

[3] *Such like sophemes.*] "Hit is not inoughe for a prieste (after my jugement) to construe a collette, to put forth a question, or to answere to a *sopheme,* but moche more a good, a pure, and a holy life, approved maners, metely lernynge of holye scripture, some knowlege of the sacramentes; chiefly and above all thynge the feare of God, and love of the hevenly lyfe."—Dean Colet's *Convocation Sermon,* p. 301. Knight's edition; subjoined to his Life.

and other abuses of the church. Touching which things this holy man tooke great paines, protesting (as they said) openlie in the schooles, that it was his chiefe and principall purpose and intent to revoke and call backe the church from her idolatrie to some better amendment, especially in the matter of the sacrament of the bodie and blood of Christ.—But this boil or sore could not bee touched without the great griefe and paine of the whole world. For first of all, the whole glut of monks and begging friers[4] were set on a rage or madnesse, which (even as hornets with their sharpe stings) did assaile this good man on every side. After them the priests, and then after them the archbishop took the matter in hand, being then Simon Sudburie, who for the same cause deprived him of his benefice, which then he had in

[4] *Begging friers.*] The ecclesiastical history of these ages is full of the ambitious encroachments, the hypocrisy, and the immoralities of the mendicant orders. Their vices, which they endeavoured to hide under the cloke of extraordinary zeal and sanctity, gave many deep and lasting wounds to the interests of truth and of religion. The reader may not be displeased to see their *general* character well drawn by one who had studied them nearly—the learned Henry Wharton; a man, by whose premature death the ecclesiastical history of this country, and other departments of literature, sustained incalculable losses.

"These mendicant orders arose and chiefly infested the church in the thirteenth age. They pretended an extraordinary call from God to reform the world, and correct the faults of the secular clergy. To this end they put on a mighty shew of zeal for the good of men's souls, and of contempt of the world; accused the secular clergy of famishing the souls of men, called them dumb dogs, and cursed hirelings: maintained that evangelical poverty became the ministers of the gospel: that it was unlawful for them to possess any thing, or to retain propriety in any worldly goods. As for the publick orders of the church, they would not be tied to them, alleging, that themselves being wholly spiritual, could not be obliged to any carnal ordinances. They broke in every where upon the parochial clergy; usurped their office; in all populous and rich places, set up altars of their own; withdrew the people from the communion of their parish priest; would scarce allow the hopes of salvation to any but their own disciples, whom they bewitched with great pretences of sanctity, and assiduity in preaching. These artifices had raised their reputation and interest so high in a few years, that they wanted very little to ruin the secular clergy, and therewith the church. But in less than an age the cheat of these impostors became manifest to all men. They procured to their societies incredible riches, built to themselves stately palaces; infinitely surpassed that viciousness of which themselves had (perhaps unjustly) accused the secular clergy; and long before the Reformation, became the most infamous and contemptible part of the church of Rome."—*Defence of Pluralities.* P. 9, 10. A.D. 1692, and 1703. Edit. 2.

Oxford.—Notwithstanding, he being somewhat friended and supported by the king [5], as appeareth, continued, and bare out the malice of the friers, and of the archbishop all this while of his first beginning, till about the yeere of our Lord, 1377.—After which time now to prosecute likewise of his troubles and conflict, first I must fetch about a little compasse, as requisite is, to inferre some mention of John of Gaunt duke of Lancaster the king's sonne, and lord Henrie Percie, which were his speciall maintainers.

As yeeres and time grew on, king Edward the third, which had raigned now about fifty-one yeeres, after the decease of prince Edward his sonne, who departed the yeere before, was stricken in great age, and in such feeblenesse withall, that he was unweldie through lacke of strength to governe the affaires of the realme. Wherefore a parliament being called the yeere before his death, it was there put up by the knights and other the burgesses of the parliament (because of the misgovernment of the realme by certaine greedie persons about the king, raking all to themselves, without seeing any justice done) that twelve sage and discreet lords, and peeres, such as were free from note of all avarice, should bee placed as tutours about the king, to have the doing and disposing under him (sixe at one time, and in their absence sixe at another) of matters pertinent to the publike regiment.

These twelve governors by the parliament aforesaid being appointed to have the tuition of the king, and to attend to the publike affaires of the realme, remained for a certaine space about him, till afterward it so fell out, that they being againe removed, all the regiment of the realme next under the king, was committed to the duke of Lancaster the king's son. For as yet Richard the sonne of prince Edward lately departed, was very young and under age.

[5] *Supported by the king.*] In the forty-eighth year of Edward III. (A.D. 1374.) Wickliffe, then reader in divinity in Oxford, was the second named in a commission from that prince to treat with ambassadors from the pope, of matters in dispute between the realm of England and the see of Rome, respecting restitutions of benefices and elections and confirmations of bishops.

Again, in the year 1375, Nov. 6, the prebend of Aust, in the collegiate church of Westbury, Worcester diocese, was given to him by the king: and about the same time, adds Lewis (chap. iii.), "he seems to have been presented (by the king) to the rectory of Lutterworth, in Leicestershire." —Fox, p. 390; Lewis, chap. 3.

This duke of Lancaster had in his heart of long time conceived a certaine displeasure against the clergie: whether for corrupt and impure doctrine, joyned with like abominable excesse of life, or for what other cause, it is not precisely expressed. Onely by storie the cause thereof may be gessed, to rise by William Wickam bishop of Winchester. The matter is this.

The bishop of Winchester was reported to affirme, that the aforesaid John of Gaunt duke of Lancaster, was not the sonne of king Edward, nor of the queene. Who being in travell at Gaunt, had no sonne (as he said) but a daughter; which the same time by lying upon of the mother in the bed, was there smothered. Whereupon, the queene fearing the kings displeasure, caused a certaine manchild of a woman of Flanders (borne the very same time) to be conveied and brought unto her in stead of her daughter aforesaid, and so brought up the child whom shee bare not, who now is called duke of Lancaster. And this (said the bishop) did the queene tell him, lying in extreemes on her deathbed, under seale of confession; charging him if the said duke should ever aspire to get the crowne, or if the kingdome by any meanes should fall unto him, he then should manifest the same, and declare it to the world, that the said duke of Lancaster was no part of the kings bloud, but a false heire of the king.—This slanderous report of the wicked bishop[6], seemeth to proceed of a subtill zeale toward the popes religion: for that the foresaid duke by favouring of Wickliffe, declared himselfe to be a professed enemie against the popes profession. Which thing was then not unknowne, neither unmarked of the prelats and

[6] *The wicked bishop.*] Bishop Lowth, in his *Life of William of Wykeham* (p. 143—146, edit. 2d) discards the whole of this story as altogether absurd and incredible. The D. of Lancaster, he remarks, was the *seventh child* of the king, and the *fourth son*, of whom only the second son and the fourth daughter died in their infancy. Can we suppose then, he asks, that the king would be very desirous of another son, or the queen under any temptation to impose one upon him?—Without taking any part in the dispute, we may be permitted to remark, that the bishop's argument proceeds in the neglect of a part of the alleged circumstances of the case. It does not appear in the story that it was a *son* that the queen wished to impose, so much as a *child*, in lieu of that which she is said to have smothered, and in dread of the king's displeasure. "If a woman by negligence" (says Chaucer) "overlyeth her child in her sleeping, it is homicide and deadly sin."—*Parson's Tale.* P. 182. Edit. 1687.

bishops then in England.—But the sequell of the storie thus followed:

This slanderous report being blazed abroad, and comming to the dukes eare, he therewith being not a little discontented (as no marvell was) sought again by what meanes he could, to bee revenged of this forenamed bishop. In conclusion, the duke having now all the government of the realme under the king his father, in his owne hand, so pursued the bishop of Winchester, that by act of parliament he was condemned and deprived of all his temporall goods, which goods were assigned to prince Richard of Burdeux, the next inheritour of the crowne after the king; and furthermore the act inhibited the said bishop not to approach neere to the court by twenty miles.

Not long after in the yeere of our Lord, 1377, a parliament was called by the meanes of the duke of Lancaster, upon certaine causes and respects; in which parliament great request and suite was made by the clergie for the deliverance of the bishop of Winchester. At length when a subsidie was asked in the kings name of the clergie, and request also made in the kings behalfe for speedie expedition to bee made for the dissolving of the parliament, the archbishop therefore accordingly convented the bishops for the tractation thereof. To whom the bishops with great lamentation complained for lacke of their fellow and brother bishop of Winton. Whose injurie, said they, did derogate to the liberties of the whole church: and therefore denied to joyne themselves in tractation of any such matters, before all the members together were united with the head: and (seeing the matter touched them all together in common, as well him as them) they would not otherwise doe: and seemed moreover to be mooved against the archbishop for that hee was not more stout in the cause, but suffered him to be cited of the duke.

The archbishop although having sufficient cause to excuse himselfe, wherefore not to send for him because of the perils which might ensue thereof; yet being inforced and perswaded thereunto, by the importunitie of the bishops, directed downe his letters to the foresaid bishop of Winton, willing him to resort unto the convocation of the clergie; who being glad to obay the same, was received with great joy of the other bishops. And at length the said Winchester was restored to his owne temporalities againe.

As the bishops had thus sent for Winchester, the duke in the meane time had sent for John Wickliffe: who, as is said, was then the divinitie reader in Oxford, and had commenced in sundrie acts and disputations, contrary to the forme and teaching of the popes church in many things: who also for the same had been deprived of his benefice, as hath been afore touched.

The opinions which he began in Oxford, first in his lectures and sermons to intreat of, and wherefore hee was deprived, were these: That the pope had no more power to excommunicate any man, then hath another. That if it bee given by any person to the pope to excommunicate, yet to absolve the same is as much in the power of another priest, as in his. He affirmed moreover, that neither the king nor any temporall lord could give any perpetuitie to the church, or to any ecclesiasticall person: for that when such ecclesiasticall persons doe sinne, *habitualiter*, *continuing in the same still*, the temporall powers ought and may meritoriouslie, take away from them, that before hath been bestowed upon them. And that hee proved, to have been practised before here in England by William Rufus. Which thing (said he) if he did lawfully, why may not the same also be practised now? if he did it unlawfully, then doth the church erre (saith hee) and doth unlawfully in praying for him.—But of his assertions more shall follow (Christ willing) hereafter. The storie which ascribeth to him these assertions being taken out of the monasterie of S. Albans, addeth withall, that in his teaching and preaching hee was very eloquent, but a dissembler (saith he) and an hypocrite. Why he surmiseth him to bee an hypocrite, the cause was this: because he and his fellowes usually accustomed in their preaching to goe barefoot, and in simple russet gownes [7].

By this I suppose, may sufficiently appeare to the indifferent, the nature and condition of Wickliffe, how farre it was from ambition and pride; the slanderous penne of Polydore Virgil, reporting of him (in his nineteenth book), that because he was not preferred to higher honors and dignities of the church (con-

[7] *Simple russet gownes.*] In the parliament of 1382, it was, with other articles, objected against Wickliffe and his followers, that they taught, that "ecclesiastical men ought not to ride on such great horses, nor use so large jewels, precious garments, or delicate entertainments; but to renounce them all, and give them to the poor, *walking on foot, and taking staves in their hands, to take on them the appearance of poor men,* giving others example by their conversation."—Lewis's *Life,* &c. p. 105.

ceiving therefore indignation against the clergy) he became their mortall enemie. How true this was, He only knoweth best, that rightly shall judge both the one and the other. In the meantime, by other circumstances and parts of his life, we may conjecture what is to be thought of the man.

But to return from whence we digressed. Beside these his opinions and assertions above recited, with other moe, which are hereafter to bee brought in order, hee began also then something neerelie to touch the matter of the sacrament, prooving that in the said sacrament, the accidences of bread[8] remained not without the subject, or substance, both by the holie scriptures, and also by the authoritie of the doctors, but especially by such as were most ancient. As for the latter writers, that is to say such as have written upon that argument under the thousand yeeres since Christ's time, hee utterly refused them; saying, that after these yeeres Satan was loosed[9] and set at libertie: and that

[8] *Accidences of bread.*] "They seyen that this sacrament is neither bread, ne Christ's body, but accidents withouten suject *(subject)*, and there under is Christ's body. This is not taught in holy writ, but is fully agenst St. Austin, and holy saints, and reason, and wit."—Wickliffe, in Lewis's *History*, p. 80. In Jewel's famous challenge at Paul's Cross, this was one of the articles which he called upon the Romanists to prove to be a doctrine of the church within the six first centuries; "that in the sacrament, after the words of consecration there remain only the accidents and shews, without the substance of bread and wine." In his answer to this challenge, Master Harding openly declares, that "in this sacrament, *after consecration*, nothing in substance remaineth that was before, neither bread, nor wine, but only the *accidents* of bread and wine, as their form and shape, savor, smell, colour, weight, and such like, which here have their being *miraculously*, without their *subject*: forasmuch as after consecration there is none other substance, than the substance of the body and blood of our Lord, which is not affected with *such accidents*; which doctrine, though not with these precise terms, hath always been taught and believed from the beginning."—Jewel's *Reply*, p. 312, 313. Edit. 1609.

[9] *Satan was loosed.*] "Wickliffe maintained, that the loosing of Satan (Rev. xx. 1, &c.) commenced in the second millenary after Christ's ascension, and that after this loosing of him, the church notably swerved from following after Christ. Of this he gave some instances: as, the opinion that grace may be bought and sold, as an ox or an ass; and as a consequence of it, making merchandize with the buying of pardons, and blotting out of sin; the error concerning the eucharist, that it is an accident without a substance; the giving the preference to the pope's bulls, and neglecting the Holy Scriptures. From hence he dates the rise of the several sects of friers, whom he calls the tail of the dragon; and compares them to the locusts which came out of the bottomless pit."—Lewis's *Life*, &c. p. 151.

since that time the life of man hath bin most subject to and in danger of errors: that the simple and plaine truth appeares and consists in the scriptures, whereunto all human traditions whatsoever they be, must be referred; and speciallie such as are set forth and published now of late yeeres. This was the cause why he refused the latter writers of decretals, leaning onelie to the scriptures and ancient doctors; most stoutly affirming out of them,—in the sacrament of the bodie which is celebrate with bread, the accidents not to bee present without the substance: that is to say, that the bodie of Christ is not present without the bread, as the common sort of priests in those daies did dreame. As for his arguments what they were, wee will shortly at more opportunitie by God's grace, declare them in another place.—But herein the truth (as the poet speaketh very truely) had gotten John Wickliffe great displeasure and hatred at many men's hands; and specially of the monks and richest sort of priests. Albeit, through the favour and supportation of the duke of Lancaster, and Lord Henrie Percie, hee persisted hitherto in some meane quiet against their violence and crueltie: till at last, about the yeere of our Lord 1376, the bishops, still urging and inciting their archbishop Simon Sudburie, (who before had deprived him, and afterward prohibited him also to stir any more in those sorts of matters,) had obtained by processe an order of citation to have him brought before them.—Whereunto both place and time for him to appeare after their usuall forme was to him assigned.

The duke having intelligence that Wickliffe his client should come before the bishops, fearing that he being but one, was too weake against such a multitude, calleth to him out of the orders of friers[1], foure bachelers of divinitie, out of every order one, to

[1] *The orders of friers.*] It seems strange that Wickliffe should have among his supporters, four individuals drawn from the four Mendicant Orders; and Lewis questions the fact, accounting the thing "very improbable, as Dr. W., by detecting their frauds, superstitions and wickednesses, had made of them all his enemies." (*Life*, &c. p. 56.) I am not able to solve the difficulty. Still, two distinct considerations present themselves, which may perhaps in some degree extenuate it. (1.) There was much of political contention, and of struggle for professional and sectarian aggrandisement, intermixing itself in all these disputes; and we must not forget, that in consenting to assist W. these friers were recommending themselves to the most powerful individuals in the kingdom, the D. of Lancaster, and E. Percy, the lord marshal. (2.) There existed a "bellum plusquam civile" between the religious orders and the secular clergy; and the friers might be willing to be friends of Wickliffe because they were bitter enemies of Sudbury, Courtney and the bishops, by

joyne them with Wickliffe also for more suretie. When the day was come assigned to the said Wickliffe to appeare, which day was Thursday, the nineteenth of Februarie; John Wickliffe went, accompanied with the foure friers aforesaid, and with them also the duke of Lancaster, and lord Henrie Percie, lord marshall of England, the said lord Percie also going before them to make roome and way wherewith Wickliffe should come.

Thus Wickliffe (through the providence of God) being sufficiently garded, was comming to the place where the bishops sate: whom by the way his friends animated and exhorted not to feare nor shrinke a whit at the companie of the bishops there present, who were all unlearned (said they) in respect of him; (for so proceed the words of my foresaid author, whom I follow in this narration) neither that he should dread the concourse of the people, for they would themselves assist and defend him, in such sort as he should take no harme. With these words, and with the assistance of the nobles, Wickliffe in heart incouraged, approcheth to the church of S. Paul in London, where a maine prease [2] of people was gathered together to heare what should be said and done. Such was there the frequencie and throng of the multitude, that the lords (for all the puissance of the high marshall) unneth [3] with great difficultie could get way through. In-

whom he was now persecuted. The "bare feet" also, and "the russet gowns," of which we have read, seem to indicate something of a tendency to alliance and conformity in *external* circumstances at least, between the Lollards and the begging friers. Again: we shall see below, that Repington, a partizan of Wickliffe, and a canon of Leicester, preaching at Oxford, did not scruple in his sermon to press upon his academic hearers, that "the D. of Lancaster was very earnestly affected and minded in this matter, and would that all such should be received under his protection;" besides many things more which touched the praise and defence of Wickliffe. . . But, what if, after all, these friers were brought thither only as so many hostages for the personal safety and inviolability of Wickliffe?

[2] *A maine prease.*] A *great press* of people.

[3] *Unneth.*] *Hardly*, with *difficulty*. Thus the Festival in the legend of St. Thomas Becket: "And in especyall the kinges palays at London and at Westminster that was all lete fallen downe, betwene Easter and Wytsontide Thomas made to repayre it ayen; for he hadde there so many werkmen of dyverse craftes, that a man sholde *unnethe* here his felowe speke for donnynges of strokes." Fol. 78. b. Again, of the begging friars, who travelled about the country under the pretence of raising money for building churches, &c.

——— These bilderes wiln beggen a bag ful of whete
Of a pure poor man that may *onethe* paye
Half his rent in a yere, and half ben behynde.
Pierce the Ploughman's Creed. A.D. 1653.—4to.

somuch, that the bishop of London, (whose name was William Courtney) seeing the stir that the lord marshall kept in the church among the people, speaking to the lord Percie, said; that if hee had knowne before what maistries hee would have kept in the church, he would have stopped him out from comming there. At which words of the bishop, the duke disdaining not a little, answered to the bishop againe, and said, that hee would keep such mastrie there, though he said nay.

At last, after much wrastling, they pierced through and came to our Ladies chapell, where the dukes and barons were sitting, together with the archbishops and other bishops, before whom the forsaid John Wickliffe according to the manner, stood, to know what should be laid unto him. To whom first spake the lord Percie, bidding him to sit downe, saying, that he had many things to answer to, and therefore had neede of some softer seat. But the bishop of London cast eftsoones into a fumish chafe with those words; said, he should not sit there. Neither was it, said he, according to law or reason, that he which was cited there to appeare to answere before his ordinarie, should sit downe during the time of his answer, but should stand. Upon these words a fire began to heat and kindle betweene them, insomuch that they began to rate and to revile one the other, and the whole multitude therewith disquieted, began to be set in a hurrey.

Then the duke taking the lord Percies part, with hastie words began also to take up the bishop. To whom the bishop againe, nothing inferior in reprochful checkes and rebukes, did render and requite not only to him as good as hee brought; but also did so farre excell him, in this railing art of scolding, that to use the words of mine author, *Erubuit dux quod non potuit prævalere litigio:* "the duke blushed and was ashamed, because he could not overpasse the bishop in brawling and railing;" and therefore fell to plaine threatning, menacing the bishop, that he would bring downe the pride not onely of him, but also of all the prelacie of England. And speaking moreover unto him: "Thou," (said hee) "bearest thyselfe so brag upon thy parents, which shall not be able to helpe thee: they shall have enough to doe to help themselves." For his parents were the earle and countesse of Devonshire. To whom the bishop againe answered, that to bee bold to tell truth, his confidence was not in his parents, nor in any man else, but only in God in whom he trusted. Then the duke softly whispering in the ear of him next by him, said

that he would rather plucke out the bishop by the haire of his head out of the church, then he would take this at his hand. This was not spoken so secretlie, but that the Londoners overheard him. Whereupon being set in a rage, they cried out, saying; that they would not suffer their bishop so contemptuouslie to be abused; but rather they would lose their lives, then that he should so be drawne out by the haire.—Thus that councell being broken with scolding and brawling for that day, was dissolved before nine of the clocke[4].

Upon the 12th day of the month of June, in the year 1377, died the worthie and victorious prince king Edward the third, after hee had raigned fifty-one yeeres. A prince no more aged in yeeres then renowned for many singular and heroicall vertues, but principally noted and lauded for his singular meeknesse and clemencie towards his subjects and inferiors, ruling them by gentlenesse and mercie, without all rigour or austere severitie. Among other noble and royall ornaments of his nature, worthilie and copiouslie set forth of many, thus hee is described of some, which may brieflie suffice for the comprehension of all the rest: "To the orphans hee was as a father, compatient to the afflicted, mourning with the miserable, relieving the oppressed, and to all them that wanted, an helper in time of neede:" but chiefly above all other things, in this prince to bee commemorate in my mind, is this; that hee above all other kings of this realme, unto the time of king Henrie the eight, was the greatest brideler of the popes usurped power and outragious oppressions: during all the time of which king, neither the pope could greatly prevaile in this realme, and also John Wickliffe was maintained with favour and aid sufficient.

But before we close up the storie of this king, there commeth to hand that which I thought not good to omit, a noble purpose of the king in requiring a view to be taken in all his dominions of all benefices and dignities ecclesiasticall remaining in the hands of Italians and aliens, with the true valuation of the same directed downe by commission; the tenour of which commission I thought hereunder to set downe for worthie memorie.

[4] *Of the clocke.*] Compare Lewis's *Life,* chap. iv.

The king directed writs unto all the bishops of England in this forme.

" Edward by the grace of God king, &c. To the reverend father in Christ N. by the same grace bishop of L. greeting. Being willing upon certaine causes, to bee certified what and how many benefices as well archdeaconries and other dignities, as vicarages, parsonages, prebends and chapels, within your diocesse, be at this present in the hands of Italians and other strangers, what they be, of what value, and how every of the said benefices be called by name: and how much every of the same is worth by the yeere, not as by way of taxe or extent, but according to the true value of the same: likewise of the names of all and singuler such strangers being now incumbents or occupying the same and every of them: moreover the names of al them, whether Englishmen or strangers, of what state or condition soever they be, which have the occupation or disposition of any such benefices with the fruits and profits of the same, in the behalfe or by the authority of any of the aforesaid strangers, by way of farme, or title of procuration, or by any other waies or meanes whatsoever, and how long they have occupied or disposed the same; and withall if any the said strangers be now residents upon any benefices, wee command you, as we heretofore commanded you, that you send us a true certificat of al and singuler the premisses, into our high court of Chancerie, under your seale distinctlie and openlie, on this side the feast of the ascension of our Lord next comming, without further delay; returning unto us this our writ withall. Witnesse our selfe, at Westminster 16. day of Aprill in the 48. yeere of our raigne of England, and over France the 35. yeere." (A.D. 1374).

By vertue hereof certificat was sent up to the king into his chancery, out of every diocesse of England, of all such spirituall livings as were then in the occupation either of priors aliens, or of other strangers, whereof the number was so great [5], as being

[5] *The number was so great.*] Even so early as the reign of Henry III., according to Matthew Paris, the annual amount of the benefices in the hands of Italians in this kingdom was seventy thousand marks, more than three times the value of the whole revenue of the crown. M. Paris *in vit. Henrici III.* ad. ann. 1252.—Fox, p. 262. Grosthed bishop of Lincoln having protested loudly against these enormities, and baffled pope Innocent the IV.

all set downe, would fill almost halfe a quier of paper. Wherby may appeare that it was high time for the king to seeke remedie [6] herein, either by treatie with the pope or otherwise; considering so great a portion of the revenues of his realme was by this meanes conveied away and employed either to the releefe of his enemies, or maintenance of the forrainers; amongst which number, the cardinals of the court of Rome lacked not their share [7].

in his design of making a like provision for one of his nephews; the Chroniclers tell us that the pope had determined, after Grosthed's death, that his bones should be disinterred, and he condemned as a heretic. Grosthed, however, the same Chroniclers tell us, put a stop to this design, by appearing unexpectedly to the pope, reprehending him very severely, and inforcing the lecture by smiting him on the side with a vehement stroke from the butt-end of his crosier.—Matt. Par. ann. 1254. See Index, under *Benefices in the hands of foreigners*.—Compare also Lewis's *Life*, &c., chap. iii.

[6] *To seeke remedie.*] It was with this view that the commission was appointed in this year, in which the name of Wickliffe stands second, and of which mention was made in the note above, p. 182.

[7] *Their share.*] "But all treaties with that corrupt court signified very little: for, though it was now (A.D. 1376) agreed, that the pope should make no more use of reservation of benefices: yet we find it complained of in parliament, the very next year after the conclusion of this treaty, that the pope did make reservation of dignities elective contrary to this treaty of his, concluded with K. Edward III.

"This very same year, in which this treaty with the pope was made, a long bill was brought into the House of Parliament against the papal usurpations, as the cause of all the plagues, injuries, famine, and poverty of the realm. It was remonstrated by them (Cotton's *Abridgment of Records*, p. 128) that 'the tax paid to the pope of Rome for ecclesiastical dignities doth amount to five fold as much as the tax of all the profits which appertain to the king, by the year, of this whole realm; and for some one bishopric, or other dignity, the pope, by way of translation and death, hath three, four, or five several taxes: that the brokers of that sinful city, for money, promote many caitiffs, being altogether unlearned and unworthy, to a thousand marks living yearly; whereas the learned and worthy can hardly obtain twenty marks; whereby learning decayeth. That aliens, enemies to this land, who never saw, nor care to see their parishioners, have those livings; whereby they despise God's service, and convey away the treasure of the realm; and are worse than Jews or Saracens. It is therefore, say they, to be considered, that the law of the church would have such livings bestowed for charity only, without praying or paying: that reason would that livings given of devotion should be bestowed in hospitality: that God hath given his sheep to the pope to be pastured, and not shorn or shaven: that lay-patrons, perceiving this simony and covetousness of the pope, do thereby learn to sell their own benefices to beasts, no otherwise than Christ was sold to the Jews: that there is none so rich a prince in Christendom, who hath the fourth part of so much treasure as the pope

After king Edward the third, succeeded his sonnes sonne, Richard the second, being yet but young, of the age of eleven

hath out of this realm, for churches, most sinfully. They further remonstrated that the pope's collector and other strangers, the king's enemies, being only leiger spies for English dignities, and disclosing the secrets of the realm, ought to be discharged: that the same collector being also receiver of the pope's pence, keepeth an house in London, with clerks and officers thereunto belonging, as if it were one of the king's solemn courts, transporting yearly to the pope twenty thousand marcs, and most commonly more: that cardinals and other aliens remaining at the court of Rome (whereof one cardinal is a dean of York, another of Salisbury, another of Lincoln, another archdeacon of Canterbury, another archdeacon of Durham, another archdeacon of Suffolk, and another archdeacon of York; another prebendary of Thane and Nassington; another prebendary of York, in the diocese of York), have divers other the best dignities in England, and have sent over yearly unto them twenty thousand marcs, over and above that which English brokers buying here have: that the pope, to ransom Frenchmen, the king's enemies, who defend Lombardy for him, doth always, at his pleasure, levy a subsidy of the whole clergy of England: that the pope, for more gain, maketh sundry translations of all the bishopricks, and other dignities, within the realm: that the pope's collector hath this year taken to his use the first-fruits of all benefices: that therefore it would be good to renew all the statutes against provisions from Rome, since the pope reserveth all the benefices of the world for his own proper gift, and hath, within this year, created twelve new cardinals; so that now there are thirty, whereas there were wont to be but twelve in all; and all the said thirty cardinals, except two or three, are the king's enemies: that the pope, in time, will give the temporal manors or dignities to the king's enemies, since he daily usurpeth upon the realm, and the king's regality: that all houses and corporations of religion, which, from the king, ought to have free elections of their heads, the pope hath now accroached the same unto himself: that in all legatines from the pope whatsoever, the English beareth the charge of the legates; and all for the goodness of our money. It also appeareth, they say, that if the money of the realm were as plentiful as ever, the collector aforesaid, with the cardinal's proctors, would soon convey away the same. For remedy whereof, they advise it may be provided, that no such collector or proctor do remain in England, upon pain of life and limb; and that, on the like pain, no Englishman become any such collector or proctor, or remain at the court of Rome. For better information hereof, and namely, touching the pope's collector; for that the whole clergy, being obedient to him, dare not displease him, they say, it were good that Dr. John Strensall, parson of St. Botolph's in Holborne, be sent for to come before the lords and commons of this parliament, who, being straitly charged, can declare much more, for that he served the same collector in house five years." It was further complained, that "by this unbridled multitude of apostolical provisions, as the pope's disposals of church-benefices by his bulls were called, the lawful patrons of the several benefices were deprived of their right of collation or presentation; the noble

yeeres; who in the same yeer of his fathers decease with great pompe and solemnitie was crowned at Westminster, an. 1377, who, following his fathers steppes, was no great disfavourer[8] of

and learned natives of England would be wholly excluded from all church-preferment, however, of such as was valuable or honourable, so that, as was observed before, there would in time be a defect of council as to those matters that concern the spiritualitie, and none would be found fit to be promoted to ecclesiastical prelacies: that divine worship would be impaired, hospitalitie and alms would be neglected, contrary to the primary intention and designs of the founders of the churches: that the legal rights of the respective churches would be lost, the church buildings would all go to ruine, and the devotion of the people be lessened and withdrawn."—Lewis's *Life of Wickliffe*, p. 34—7.

[8] *No great disfavourer.*] Many years before, viz. so long ago as the year 1366, and several years previously to his being raised to his doctor's degree at Oxford, Wickliffe had taken a leading part in a public concern of great moment, and such as was likely to recommend him to the favourable opinion of the crown, and to the friends of the monarchy, and of the liberties and independence of England. This affair it will be proper briefly to notice here, both on account of its intrinsic importance, and of the influence which it probably had on the whole of Wickliffe's future history; and also because no mention of it whatever is made in Fox's history. The general circumstances of the case may be sufficiently understood by an extract from the *Parliamentary History of England* (vol. i. p. 130), already produced in a note on the Preface to his History, given above from Dr. Inett, p. 23. There it will be seen, that king Edward III. had recently received a threatening summons from the pope, to pay up the arrears of tribute claimed from Rome as due by the crown of England, in pursuance of the submission and treaty of Edward's ancestor, king John. On this, the king consults the two houses of parliament, and their counsel and advice we have in the extract above mentioned. It further appears (Lewis's *Life of W.*, p. 19—21) that a monk had ventured into the field to advocate the demands of the pope; and in so doing had maintained three distinct theses or positions. 1. The pope's right to the homage, as from the concession and grant of king John (which was the point immediately in dispute). 2. That temporal lords may in no case lawfully take away the goods of churchmen. *(Quod sit falsum et pseudo-evangelicum, quod domini temporales possunt in aliquo casu legitime auferre ab ecclesiasticis bona sua.)* 3. That the clergy may in no case be brought before a secular tribunal. *(Quod in nullo casu licet viros ecclesiasticos coram seculari judice conveniri.)* Against these positions Wickliffe takes upon himself the character of respondent, alleging as a reason, or excuse, that he was in a special relation of service and duty to the crown: (*ego cum sim peculiaris regis clericus.*) The part therefore which he assumes, it is material to observe, is a *defensive* one, not an *offensive;* one imposed by circumstances, and not undertaken in a speculative and innovating, much less a revolutionary temper of mind. No: the church, if we speak of it in contradistinction to the state, was the innovator, the traitor, and rebel; and his arguments and reasons

the way and doctrine of Wickliffe, albeit at the first beginning, partly through the iniquitie of the time, partly through the

we possess in a document under his own hand; a copy of which is given by Lewis (Records, No. 30, p. 349—56), under the title, *Determinatio quædam Magistri Joannis Wyclyff de dominio contra unum monachum.* The document in its construction is remarkable; and its contents are highly curious and valuable. The thesis discussed, at much the greatest length, is the first above-mentioned; and the argument upon this he has conducted under the garb or disguise of a debate, which he represents to have been reported to him from the house of peers. It is as if it might have been a debate furnished by Dr. Johnson to Cave for the Gentleman's Magazine; only the speeches here given, seven in number, and short, are all on one side, that which Wickliffe himself espoused. Whether this determination was published antecedently to the actual debate mentioned in the Parliamentary History, we are not informed. I presume it to be probable however that it was; and in such case, it may easily be believed to have had considerable influence on the decision of parliament. The seven speeches are so many several distinct and separate arguments why the pope's claim was to be withstood: and their united force, it cannot be doubted, is such as must have galled the pope exceedingly; and (to say nothing of the poor monk) is more a great deal than he and his whole conclave of cardinals could have found it easy to reply to by any arguments but those of persecution. To the seventh and concluding peer that particular topic is reserved which appears of itself to have been deemed sufficient and satisfactory by the parliament; viz. that "neither king John, nor any other king, could bring himself, his realm and people, under such subjection, without their consent, which had not been given; that the act was contrary to his coronation oath; and that he was notoriously compelled to it, solely by the necessity of his affairs, and the iniquity of the times."

The discussion on the other two questions is, as we have intimated, much more concise. It may be sufficient for our present purpose to say, that mainly, and in general, he rests them both on *the laws*, the adjudged cases, and the *customs* of the realm:—that "cum jura et consuetudines Angliæ affirmant licere judicibus secularibus in causa proditionis, furti, homicidii, et similibus convenire religiosos in curia regis," he who denies that this may be done, "videtur impugnare jura et consuetudines regni;" that all the monk's allegations and arguments to the contrary are only to be understood, "quod non licet tradere clericum ad tale examen, *nisi juris casu et ordine* reservatis et observatis:" which he, W., not only does not deny, but affirms; and that his own position is "quod bullæ, leges et consuetudines prohibentes ablationes temporalium" from ecclesiastics, can and ought to be understood only "de ablationibus INJUSTIS." It was the same kind of argument that he maintained not unfrequently in his English writings. "If they say that secular men schulde not judge clerks, however they have done, since thei have proper juges as popes and bischopes, and other juges under them;—wel I woot" (continues W.) "that men were wont by jugement of Yngland to dampne prestis and clerkis for robberie and thefte, and also for traiterie, and for other smale trespas;—and *gif thei now denye this, thei denye the regalia.*" (Lewis, p. 153.)

popes letters, hee could not doe that hee would. Notwithstanding something he did in that behalfe, more perhaps then in

"Men wondren why they cursen the king and his true officers, that for felony, or debt, or eschet taken his (the priest's) goods against the will of a false priest and traitour, and taken no heed whether they dun this *by processe of law* or else by extortion or tirantrie. Thei saiden at London, that it *is errour to seie that secular lords may, at their doom, take temporal goods fro the church that trespasseth by long custom.* If this be errour, then the king and secular lords may take no farthing ne farthing worth fro a worldly clerk, though he owe him and his liege men never so much goods, and maye well paye it, and woll not. And thus the kinge shall be cursed, if he do righteousness, and bring a Sathanas out of his old sin and theft, which the king is bounded for to do by God's own word." (Lewis, p. 122.)

This whole proceeding, it cannot be doubted, if it did not first occasion, did at least further greatly inflame the hostility of the dignified ecclesiastics, and of the regular orders, against Wickliffe. They would not fail to cry out against him as a traitor to the rights of holy church. And it is very material to observe, that we possess in this discussion the germ and even the substance of several of those *articles* (and some which are among those that to modern ears sound the most harshly), which many years after were gathered together, and objected by them against Wickliffe: circumstances, therefore, these are which ought in justice to be borne in mind, when we shall come hereafter to consider any of those articles, under the naked and abstract forms in which they were subsequently propounded against him by his adversaries. The true meaning can only be obtained by adverting to the controversies of the times, and the real aim and objects of the two contending parties. Meanwhile I must content myself with asking, Is there any thing to be found fault with in W. undertaking to answer the monk on all or any of those three questions above enumerated; or in the light in which he appears to have viewed them; and in the arguments by which he seems to have sustained his cause? On the contrary, does not the part taken by him justify us in regarding him as a true friend of his country, a sound politician, a wise philosopher, and a sober and enlightened Christian?

But the condition into which the kingdom, or rather the whole of Christendom was thrown, by the monstrous ambition of the popes, produced things much more serious than such a controversy as the preceding. Pope Boniface the eighth, for example, about the year 1300, and in the reign of king Edward I., issued a bull, in which, under pain of excommunication, *ipso facto*, he forbade the clergy to give, lend, or promise to the king any gift, tribute, subsidy, tallage, or other payment whatsoever; and the laity of all ranks under like penalties, the universities also under interdict, he prohibited from enforcing, assisting, or in any way abetting and aiding in the collection of the same; and then he proceeds to exempt and discharge all ecclesiastics from all subjection in regard to such payments and tallages, "for the behoof of the prince and his affairs," for ever.—(Fox's *Acts*, p. 320.) And are we now to wonder, that such an edict was replied to by the king by reprisals of confiscation on the goods of Peckham, archbishop of Canterbury, being found

the end he had thanke for of the papists, as more (by the grace of Christ) shall appeare.

But as times do change, so changeth commonly the case and state of man. The bishops now seeing the aged king to be taken away, during the time of whose old age all the government of the realme depended upon the duke of Lancaster; and seeing the said duke, with the lord Percie, the lord marshall, to give over their offices, and to remaine in their privat houses without intermedling, thought now the time to serve them, to have some vantage against John Wickliffe, who hitherto, under the protection of the foresaid duke and lord marshall, had some rest and quiet.

Accordingly, the next yeere following, which was the yeere of our Lord 1378, being the first yeere of king Richard the second[9]; the said pope Gregorie, taking his time after the

more stubborn than the rest, and an inciter of others of the clergy *against* the king, and *for* the pope?—But, when things of this kind are taking place, what can we say, but that the country is in a state of actual civil war, with two rival princes contending for the crown; one, a proud priest at Rome, bearing in his hands chains for the whole high-minded people of England (as they ought to have been), and on his lips nothing but threats, tremendous threats of perdition, temporal and eternal, unless they will tamely bow their necks, and yield themselves hand and foot to receive the chains which he wields over them; while, on the other side, we have the native and rightful sovereign, an Edward (it may be) or an Henry, the conqueror of kingdoms, the pride of chivalry, the victor at Crecy or Azincour, and the champion in a hundred battles? What wonder, then, that in such a condition of affairs, all shall feel that parts must be taken, and that they cannot but declare for one side or the other, in a crisis, when every thing that can be valuable to mankind is at stake? And shall it be believed, that all the clergy of England will arrange themselves under the banner of usurpation, and tyranny, and despotism? The thing is impossible. No. The clergy, as became them, with Wickliffe and others in the front, were among the first to wage the war of genuine freedom, intellectual, moral, civil, and religious, in behalf of themselves and their lay fellow-countrymen. But, without dwelling on that most important part of the subject, at any rate am I not entitled to allege, that in looking back to consider and estimate the literary remains and controversies of those days, those awful circumstances are not to be overlooked out of which they sprang, and with which they are intimately involved; and to intercede for some little allowance and indulgence, if we happen to meet with an occasional exorbitancy in some of the topics of argument, or in the heat and vehemence in which, at times, they may appear to be enforced?

[9] *Richard the second.*] Fox mistakes both the year in which these bulls were dispatched, and the reigning prince. The date ought to be 1377; and the king was Edward III., as appears beyond dispute, from Wilkins's Concil.

death of king Edward, sends his bull by the hands and meanes of one master Edmund Stafford, directed unto the universitie of Oxford, rebuking them sharplie, imperiouslie, and like a pope, for suffering so long the doctrine of John Wickliffe to take root, and not plucking it up with the crooked sickle of their catholic doctrine. Which bull when it came to be exhibited unto their hands, by the popes messenger aforesaid, the proctors and masters of the universitie joyning together in consultation, stood long in doubt, deliberating with themselves, whether to receive the popes bull with honour, or to refuse and reject it with shame.

I cannot here but laugh in my mind to behold the authors [1] of this storie whom I follow: what exclamations, what wondrings and marvels, they make at these Oxford men, for so doubting at a matter so plaine, so manifest of it selfe, (as they say) whether the popes bull sent to them from Rome was to be received, or contrarie. Which thing to our monkish writers seemed then such a prodigious wonder, that they with blushing cheekes are faine to cut off the matter in the middest with silence.

The copie of this wild bull [2], sent to them from the pope, was this.

"*Gregorie the bishop, the servant of Gods servants, to his welbeloved sonnes, the chancellour and universitie of Oxford, in the diocesse of Lincolne, greeting, and apostolicall benediction.*

"We are compelled not only to marvel, but also to lament that you, considering the apostolicall seate hath given unto your university of Oxford so great favour and priviledge, and also for that you flow as in a large sea in the knowledge of the holy Scriptures, and ought to be champions and defenders of the ancient and catholike faith (without the which there is no salvation,) by your great negligence and sloth, will suffer wild cockle, not only to grow up among the pure wheate of the florishing field of your university, but also to waxe more strong and choke the corne. Neither have ye any care (as wee are informed) to

vol. iii. p. 118. The same mistake is repeated again, and defended, below. Edward died June 21, 1377; but this could not be known at Rome at the date of the bull.

[1] *The authors.*] *Walsingham Hist. Ang.* p. 200. edit. 1574.

[2] *This wild bull.*] See Lewis's *Life of Wickliffe*, c. iv., and Records, No. xii.; which exhibits the bull in the original Latin.

extirpe and plucke the same up by the rootes, to the great blemishing of your renoumed name, the perill of your soules, the contempt of the church of Rome, and to the great decay of the ancient faith. And further (which grieveth us) the encrease of that filthie weed was more sharpely rebuked and judged of in Rome then in England, where it sprang. Wherefore let there be meanes sought by the helpe of the faithfull, to roote out the same.

" Grievously it is come to our ears, that one John Wickliffe, parson of Lutterworth in Lincolne dioces, a professour of divinitie (would God he were not rather a master of errours) is runne into a kind of detestible wickednesse, not onely and openly publishing, but also vomiting out of the filthy dungeon of his breast, divers professions, false and erroneous conclusions, and most wicked and damnable heresies, whereby he might defile the faithfull sort, and bring them from the right path headlong into the way of perdition, overthrow the state of the church, and utterly subvert the secular policie. Of which his mischievous heresies, some seeme to agree (onely certaine names and tearmes changed) with the perverse opinions, and unlearned doctrine of Marsilius of Padua, and John of Gandune[3], of unworthie memorie, whose bookes were utterly abolished in the realme of England, by our

[3] *Marsilius . . . and John.*] Marsilius Mainardinus of Padua, and Johannes de Gandavo [*Ghent*], or, as some call him, *de Janduno* (see Wharton's App. to Cave's *Hist. Literaria*), were two of the most noted writers on the Guelph and Ghibelline controversy. They were of the latter party, and strenuously supported the cause of the emperor Louis of Bavaria against the pope. Their various works have been printed several times in a separate form, and by Goldastus in his *Monarchia Imperii*, to which work and to the treatise of Marc Antonio de Dominis *De Potestate Ecclesiastica*, the reader, who wishes for more information on this subject, is referred. For Fox's account of Marsilius and John, see his Acts, p. 350.

In the year 1535, the obnoxious work of Marsilius, intitled *Defensor Pacis*, was translated and published in English, in justification of the proceedings of Henry VIII. against the pope, by William Marshall, under the title of *The Defence of Peace*, &c. fol. It was published by the authority of Henry, and it has on the title-page a large wood-cut of his arms, joined or impaled with those of Anne Boleyn.

A work of William Ockam, intitled *Defensorium contra Errores Johannis Papæ XXII.* has been sometimes mistaken for that of Marsilius. Ockam's work is printed in Orthuinus Gratius' *Fasciculus Rerum Expetendarum*, &c., ed. Edw. Brown, vol. ii. p. 439, &c.

predecessor of happie memorie John twenty-two [4]. Which kingdome doth not only flourish in power, and abundance of faculties, but is much more glorious and shining in purenesse of faith; accustomed alwaies to bring forth men excellently learned in the true knowledge of the holy Scriptures, ripe in gravitie of maners, men notable in devotion, and defenders of the catholike faith. Wherefore wee will and command you by our writing apostolicall, in the name of your obedience, and upon paine of privation of our favour, indulgences and priviledges, granted unto you and your universitie, from the said see apostolicall; that hereafter ye suffer not those pestilent heresies, those subtill and false conclusions and propositions, misconstruing the right sense of faith and good workes (howsoever they tearme it, or what curious implication of words soever they use) any longer to be disputed of, or brought in question: lest if it be not withstood at the first, and plucked up by the roots, it might perhaps be too late hereafter to prepare medicines, when a greater number is infected with the contagion. And further, that yee apprehend immediately or cause to be apprehended the said John Wickliffe, and deliver him to be detained in the safe custodie of our welbeloved brethren, the archbishop of Canterburie, and the bishop of London, or either of them. And if you shall find any gaine-sayers, corrupted with the said doctrine (which God forbid) in your said universitie within your jurisdiction, that shall obstinately stand in the said errours: that then in like maner yee apprehend them, and commit them to safe custodie; and otherwise to doe in this case as it shall appertaine unto you: so as by your carefull proceedings herein, your negligence past concerning the premisses, may now fully be supplied and recompensed with present diligence:—whereby you shall not onely purchase unto you the favour and benevolence of the seat apostolicall, but also great reward and merit of almightie God.

"Given at Rome at S. Maries the greater, xj. Kalends of June, and in the seventh yeare of our consecration."

Beside this bull sent to the universitie of Oxford, the said pope Gregorie directed moreover his letters the same time to the

[4] *John twenty-two.*] In the Extravagant which begins *Licet intra doctrinam apostoli,* issued in 1327.

archbishop of Canturbury Simon Sudburie, and to the bishop of London named William Courtney, with the conclusions of John Wickliffe therein inclosed, commanding them, by vertue of those his letters [5] apostolicall, and straitly injoyning them to cause the said John Wickliffe to be apprehended, and cast into prison: and that the king and the nobles of England should be admonished by them, not to give any credit to the said John Wickliffe, or to his doctrine in any wise.

Beside this bill or bull of the pope, sent unto the archbishop of Canturbury and to the bishop of London, bearing the date, 11 Calend Jun. and the 7. yeare of the reigne of the pope, I find moreover in the said storie, two other letters [6] of the pope concerning the same matter, but differing in forme, sent unto the same bishops, and all bearing the same date both of the day, yeare, and moneth of the reigne of the said pope Gregory. Whereby it is to be supposed, that the pope either was very exquisite and solicitous about the matter, to have Wickliffe to be apprehended, which wrote three different divers letters to one person, and all in one day, about one businesse; or else that hee did suspect the bearers thereof;—the scruple whereof I leave to the judgement of the reader.

Furthermore, beside these letters written to the university, and to the bishops, he directeth also another epistle bearing the same date unto king Edward; as one of my stories saith, but as an other saith, to K. Richard, which soundeth more neere to the truth, forasmuch as in the seventh yeare of pope Gregorie the xi. which was the yeare of our Lord, 1378. king Edward was not alive. The copie of his letters to the king here followeth [7].

"Unto his well beloved son in Christ, Richard the most noble king of England, health, &c.

"The kingdome of England which the Most Highest hath put

[5] *Those his letters.*] This letter is printed in Wilkins's *Concilia,* vol. iii. p. 116, 117, from Sudbury's *Register;* and in Lewis's *Life of Wickliffe.* Records, No. 13.

[6] *Two other letters.*] These also are printed by Wilkins, p. 117, 118; and in Lewis, see chap. iv., and Records, Nos. 14 and 15. In consequence of the former of these letters, a dispatch was directed from the archbishop and the bishop of London, bearing date 5 Calend. Januar. to the chancellor of the university of Oxford, commanding him to cite Wickliffe to appear at St. Paul's, London, before the archbishop and bishop, or their delegates.—Wilkins, vol. iii. p. 123, 124.

[7] *Here followeth*] Lewis, &c. Records, No. 16.

under your power and governance, being so famous and renoumed in valiancie and strength, so abundant and flowing in all kind of wealth and riches; but much more glorious, resplendent and shining through the brightnesse and cleerenesse of all godlinesse and faith, hath accustomed alwaies to bring forth men endued with the true knowledge and understanding of the holy Scriptures, grave in yeares, fervent in devotion, and defenders of the catholike faith: the which have not onely directed and instructed their owne people, but strangers also, through their wholesome doctrine and precepts into the true path of Gods commandments; —but, we have heard by the report and information of many credible persons (to our great greefe and heart sorrow) that John Wickliffe, parson of Lutterworth, in the diocesee of Lincolne, professor of divinitie (I would to God hee were no author of heresie) is fallen into such a detestable and abominable madnesse, that he hath propounded and set forth divers and sundrie conclusions full of errors, and containing most manifest heresie, the which doe tend utterly to subvert and overthrow the state of the whole church. Of the which, some of them (albeit under coloured phrase and speech) seem to smel and savor of perverse opinions, and the foolish doctrine of condemned memorie of Marsilius of Padua, and John of Ganduno, whose bookes were by pope John the 22, our predecessor, a man of most happie memorie, reproved and condemned, &c."

Hitherto gentle reader, thou hast heard how Wickliffe was accused by the bishop. Now you shall also heare the popes mightie reasons and arguments, by the which hee did confute him, to the king. It followeth.

"Therefore, forsomuch as our reverend brethren the archbishop of Canturburie, and the bishop of London, have received a speciall commandement from us by our authoritie, to apprehend and commit the forenamed John Wickliffe unto prison, and to transport his confession unto us: if they shall seeme in the prosecution of this their businesse to lacke your favor or helpe, we require and most earnestly desire your majestie, even as your most noble predecessors have alwaies beene most earnest lovers of the catholike faith (whose case or quarrel in this matter is chieflie handled), that you would vouchsafe even for the reverence of God, and the faith aforesaid, and also of the apostolike seate, and of our person, that you will with your helpe and favour, assist the said archbishop and all other that shall goe about to execute

the said businesse:—whereby besides the praise of men, you shall obtaine a heavenly reward and great favour and good will at our hand, and of the see aforesaid. Dated at Rome at S. Mary the greater, the 11. Kalend. of June, in the seventh yeare of our bishoprike."

"The articles[8] included in the popes letters which hee sent to the bishops, and to the king against Wickliffe, were these as in order they do follow.

"*The conclusions*[9] *of Iohn Wickliffe, exhibited in the convocation of certaine bishops at Lambeth.*

"All the whole race of mankind here on earth, besides Christ, hath no power simplie, to ordaine that Peter and all his offspring should politickelie rule over the world for ever.

"2. God cannot give to any man for him and his heirs any civil dominion for ever.

"3. All writings invented by men, as touching perpetual heritage, are impossible[1].

[8] *The articles.*] "By the copies of them yet remaining, it appears that these articles, though they were generally the same as to the matter, were yet reported to the pope in different forms."—Lewis's *Life*, &c. p. 46.

[9] *The conclusions.*] Ssee Lewis's *Records*, Nos. 18 and 40. Also, *Life*, &c. p. 59—67, and 67—78. Several of these articles (and of the twenty-three more, given a few pages below), probably, will startle the reader; and it will not be thought, that the apology made for Wickliffe by Fox at the beginning ("In whose opinions, albeit, *some blemishes* perhaps may be noted,") is at all too much for the occasion, even if it be sufficient. Partly, however, it is to be borne in mind, that the articles come to us from the hands of Wickliffe's adversaries; but much more, that we have them here in the text, in their naked and abstract form, without the limitations and explanations which conclusions, so concisely expressed, plainly demand; and through aid of which we have evidence enough to show, that Wickliffe himself maintained and vindicated them. And, while it is to be regretted, that, unluckily, nothing of these explanations is to be found, where, from the peculiar nature and the extensive influence of the work, they were most wanted, in Fox's *English* editions, I may mention, that we have them pretty much at large in the *Latin* copy (p. 8—12), and still at greater extent in the valuable Life by Lewis (p. 58—78), and in his *Collection of Records*, No. 40. (p. 382—9.)—Some small portion of these, with few additional particulars derived from other sources, will here be subjoined, on some of the articles, in justice to the reader, and to the memory of this great man.

[1] *Are impossible.*] Art. 1—3. and Art. 4. With respect to the three first articles, Wickliffe asserts (Lewis, p. 60), that, as we are bound by our creed to

" 4. Every man being in grace justifying[2], hath not onely right unto, but also for his time hath indeed all the good things of God.

" 5. A man can but only ministratoriouslie give any temporall or continuall gift, either to his naturall son, or to his son by imitation[3].

believe, that Jesus Christ shall " come again from heaven, to judge the quick and the dead," and that no human right can hinder the coming of Christ to the last judgment; hence it follows, that no power of Peter and his successors, or of any other earthly potentate, can be maintained in any sense which shall be inconsistent with that grand event and doctrine; and when further, according to the Scriptures, all human polity shall be at an end.—Hence he affirms, that his drift was, by these " three first conclusions, to impress on worldly men the faith of Christ, that they be not drowned in the sea of a world which passes away with the lust thereof," p. 69. " Tres ergo primæ conclusiones imprimunt mundialibus fidem Christi, ne submergantur in pelago seculi transeuntis cum concupiscentia ejus," p. 383. The fourth, he adds, was " to draw men to love the Lord, who has loved us to the gift and grant of so many and so great true riches." " Et *quarta* allicit hominem ad amorem Domini, qui dilexit nos ad tot veras divitias," p. 383. And the enjoyments of these he limits (with St. Augustine) to the next world. " The truth promises this to those Christians *who enter into his joy*. The right of the communion of saints, *in their own country*, is founded on the universality of the good things of God."—*Lewis*, p. 61, 62.

[2] *In grace justifying.*] This conclusion, which the pope wished to fix upon Wickliffe, is designed to express the doctrine which, in subsequent times, made a much greater figure in the church; namely, that *dominion is founded in grace*. But Lewis assures us, that this was no tenet of Wickliffe's. History, p. 115—117. p. 342. See also Lewis's *Brief History of Anabaptism*, p. 20. A.D. 1738; and Fox's *Acts*, p. 398. " The papists do impute this opinion to Wickliffe and Hus, and their followers; and condemn the opinion, and them for it as heretics, as saying that *dominium fundatur in gratia:* which is a manifest calumny, and no just or proved accusation; as might be proved out of Hus's printed works, and *from several manuscript works of Wickliffe in Bodley's Library*. But they bring these lying accusations against them, that they may have some pretence to destroy and murder them." The above is from the text of " *Several miscellaneous and weighty Cases of Conscience*, 1692," 8vo., by the very learned Dr. Thomas Barlow, bishop of Lincoln, who had himself been many years librarian of the Bodleian. The remainder of the Case is a very interesting and learned argument, to show that the obnoxious tenet was, in truth, maintained and acted upon, to a fearful degree, by the Roman Catholics themselves.

[3] *By imitation.*] That no human being can give, except only ministerially, " is plain," says W., " from hence, that every man ought to acknowledge himself in all his works an humble minister of God, as is evident from Scripture: *let a man so account of us as of the ministers of Christ*. Nay, Christ himself so

" 6. If God be, the temporall lords may lawfully and meretoriouslie take away the riches from the church when they doe offend *habitualiter*[4].

" 7. We know that[5] Christs vicar cannot, neither is able by his buls, neither by his owne will and consent, neither by the consent of his college, neither to make able or disable any man[6].

" 8. A man cannot be excommunicated to his hurt or undoing, except he be first and principally excommunicate by himselfe.

" 9. No man ought, but in Gods cause alone, to excommunicat, suspend, or forbid, or otherwise to proceed to revenge by any ecclesiasticall censure.

ministered, and taught his apostles so to minister." Lewis, p. 62. " Let not his *vicar* therefore be *ashamed* to execute the ministry of the church; since he is, or ought to be, *the servant of the servants of God.*"—Ibid. p. 69. " Non ergo erubescat ejus vicarius fungi *ministerio* ecclesiæ, cum sit, vel esse debet, *servus servorum Domini*," p. 383.

[4] *Offend habitualiter.*] " Yet I said that it is not lawful to do this but by *the authority of the church,* in case of the defection of the *spiritual* president; and when an ecclesiastic shall need to be corrected, by those who are worthy of such a trust."—Lewis, p. 70. " Dixi tamen quod hoc non licet facere nisi *auctoritate ecclesiæ* in defectu *spiritualis* præpositi; et in casu quo ecclesiasticus corripiendus fuerit a fide dignis," p. 384. " But God forbid that it should be believed it was my meaning that secular lords may lawfully take away the goods of fortune from a delinquent church, *when* and *howsoever* they please; but that they may only do it by the authority of the church, in *cases* and *form limited by law*," p. 62.

" But after the death of the delinquent, let it return to the successor." " Post mortem vero clerici ad successorem revertatur," p. 387.

[5] *We know that.*] Between this and the preceding conclusion, there stands in Sudbury's *Register* (Wilkins, vol. iii. p. 123) another article, which perhaps was by mistake left out in Fox's transcript. It is as follows, according to Lewis's translation:

" VII. Whether the church be in such a state or not is not my business to examine, but the business of temporal lords; who, if they find it in such a state, are to act boldly, and on the penalty of damnation to take away its temporalities."—Lewis's *History*, p. 43.

[6] *Disable any man.*] " This article," says W., " is plain from the principles of the Catholic faith. For it behoves our Lord in every operation to maintain the *primacy:* therefore, as in every *qualifying* of a subject, it is first required that the subject to be qualified be *meet and worthy;* so in every *disqualification* there is first required a deserving from some *demerit* of the person to be *disqualified:* and, by consequence, such a qualifying or disqualifying is not made *purely* by the *ministry* of the *vicar of Christ*, but from above; from elsewhere, or from some other."—Lewis, p. 63. Compare also p. 70 and p. 384.

" 10. A curse or excommunication do not simply bind, but in case it be pronounced and given out against the adversary of Gods law.

" 11. There is no power given by any example, either by Christ or by his apostle, to excommunicate any subject, especially for denying of any temporalities, but rather contrariwise [7].

" 12. The disciples of Christ, have no power to exact by any civil authoritie, temporalties by censures [8].

" 13. It is not possible by the absolute power of God, that if the pope, or any other Christian doe pretend by any meanes to bind or to loose, that thereby he doth so bind and loose [9].

" 14. We ought to beleeve that the vicar of Christ, doth at such times onely bind and loose, when as he worketh conformablie by the law and ordinance of Christ.

" 15. This ought universally to bee beleeved, that every priest [1] rightly and duly ordered, according unto the law of grace, hath

[7] *But rather contrariwise.*] "This article is proved hence; from what Christ teacheth, that the honour of God, and the profit of the Church, is to be preferred before any *personal interest*, or the denial of temporal things.—And the second part *(contrariwise)* is proved by that of Luke ix., where he forbade his disciples, who desired fire to come down from heaven, to excommunicate unbelievers who unjustly detained from Christ and his disciples their goods. *Ye know not*, says he, *what spirit ye are of.* From whence the Catholic conclusion is that it is not lawful for the *vicar of Christ* to excommunicate his neighbour, unless on account of love, with which he is to be more affected than with all the temporalities of this world."—Lewis, p. 72. Compare p. 386 and p. 64.

[8] *By censures.*] "This is plain from Scripture, Luke xxii. where Christ forbade his disciples to reign civilly, or to exercise any temporal dominion; *the kings of the Gentiles exercise lordship over them, but ye shall not be so.* . . . We *add* to this twelfth conclusion, notwithstanding, that temporalities *may be exacted* by ecclesiastical censures, *accessione;* in vindication of God."—Lewis, p. 64. Compare p. 386, and p. 72, 3.

[9] *So bind and loose.*] "The opposite of this would destroy the whole catholic faith; since it imports no less than blasphemy, to suppose any one to usurp such an absolute power of the Lord's. *I add* to this 13th conclusion, that I do not intend by it to derogate from the power of the pope, or of any other prelate of the church; but do allow that they may, in *virtue of the Head*, bind and loose; only, that it cannot be that the pope or any other prelate shall pretend that he binds or looses *at any rate* (or just as he lists)."—Lewis, p. 64, 5. Compare also p. 73, and p. 386, 7.

[1] *That every priest.*] "This is proved from hence, that the powers of orders are equal in all Christian priests, as is declared by Hugo, chap. 2. *De Sacramentis.*"—Lewis, p. 73 and p. 387.

power according to his vocation, whereby he may minister the sacraments, and consequently absolve any man confessing his fault, being contrite and penitent for the same.

" 16. It is lawful for kings (in causes licensed by the law) to take away the temporalties from the spiritualtie, sinning *habitualiter*[2], that is, which continue in the custome of sin, and will not amend.

" 17. Whether they be temporall lords, or any other men whatsoever they be, which have endowed any church with temporalties; it is lawful for them to take away the same temporalties, as it were by way of medicine, for to avoide sin[3], notwithstanding

[2] *Sinning habitualiter.*] What shall we think of a case such as the following? Henry III. passing into Wales in the year 1264, and visiting Hereford, finds there, as we learn from his own letter of remonstrance addressed to the bishop, "to his great grief, a church destitute of a pastor's comfort; as having neither bishop nor official, vicar nor dean, to exercise any spiritual function and dutie in the same."—Was not this a "delinquent church" indeed? And are we to wonder that the monarch should go on to injoin the bishop, and the other members of that body, all other pleas and engagements set aside, to return thither with all speed, personally to execute the pastoral charge committed to them? So, in default thereof, are we to wonder, that he should proceed to threaten, "if you have not a care to doe this, we will whollie take into our owne hands all the temporal goods, and whatsoever else doth belong unto the baronie of the same church; which goods, for spiritual exercise therein, it is certain our progenitors, of a godlie devotion, did bestowe thereupon. And such goods we will seize upon; and will suffer no longer, that he shall reape temporal things, which feareth not unreverentlie to withdraw and keep back the spiritual things, whereunto by office and dutie he is bound." Fox's *Acts*, p. 305.

[3] *For to avoide sin.*] "This is proved from hence; that the *condition*, by itself consequent to the donation of the goods of the church is, that God may be honoured, and the church edified. Which condition, if it be wanting, and *the opposite* be found in its room, it is plain (*patet*) that the title of the donation is lost, and by consequence, that the Lord, who is the giver of the alms, ought to rectify the error.—And *excommunication* ought not to hinder *the doing of justice*; because, if so, the clerk, by excommunication, in way of reparation might get the whole world."—Lewis, p. 75. Compare p. 388.

"*We add* to this 17th article. God forbid that by these words, occasion should be given to the temporal lords, to take away the goods of fortune *to the detriment* of the church."—Lewis, p. 66.

Of the whole body of these articles he declares, at the opening of one of his two papers of explanation, "I understand the conclusions according to the sense of *scripture* and *the holy doctors*, and the manner of speaking used by them; which verse I am ready *to explain*, and if it be proved that the conclusions are contrary to the faith, I am willing very readily *to retract*

any excommunication or other ecclesiastical censure, forsomuch as they are not given but under a condition [4].

"18. An ecclesiasticall minister, and also the bishop of Rome may lawfully be rebuked of his subjects, and, for the profit of the church, be accused either of the clergie or of the laity."

These letters, with the articles inclosed, being thus received from the pope, the bishops tooke no little heart, thinking and fully determining with themselves, and that in open profession before their provinciall councill, that all respects of feare or favour set apart, no person neither high nor low, should let them, neither would they be seduced by the intreatie of any man, nor by any threatnings or rewards, but that in this cause they would execute most strict and rigid justice [5]; yea albeit present danger of life should follow thereupon.—But these so fierce brags, and stout promises, with the subtill practises of these bishops, which thought them so sure before, the Lord (against whom no determination of mans counsell can prevaile) by a small occasion, did lightly [6] confound and overthrow. For the day of the examination being come, a certaine personage of the princes court, and yet of no great noble birth, named Lewes Clifford, entring in among the bishops, commanded them that they should not proceed with any diffinitive sentence against John Wickliffe. With which words all they were so amazed and their combes so cut,

them." Lewis, p. 60. And at the close of the other copy, it is added, "Hæ sunt conclusiones quas vult etiam usque ad mortem defendere, ut per hoc valeat *mores ecclesiæ reformare*," p. 389.

[4] *Under a condition.*] "And as anentis" (*concerning*) "taking away of temporalities: I say thus, that it is lawful to kings, to princes, to dukes, and to lords of the world, to take away from popes, from cardinals, from bishops, prelates, and possessioners in the church, their temporalities, and their almes, that they have given them *upon condition that they shoulden serve God the better*, when they verily seene that their giving and taking beene contrarie to the law of God, contrarie to Christ's living, and his apostles." Process against W. Swinderby. Fox, p. 434. See also Kennet's *Case of Impropriations*, p. 114-15.

[5] *Rigid justice.*] Strictam rigidamque justitiam. Latin edit

[6] *Did lightly.*] Did *easily* confound. Thus, Whytford's *Pype of Perfection*, fol. 76. "In suche thyngs as the subjects done knowe well ben directely agaynest the rule of theyr profession, shulde they nat *lyghtly* and gladly obey: *lyhtely*, I mean, *without deliberation*: and gladly, for self-pleasure or commoditie."

that (as in the storie is mentioned) they became so mute and speechlesse, as men having not one word in their mouthes to answere.—And thus by the wondrous worke of God's providence, escaped John Wickliffe the second time out of the bishops hands.

Moreover, here is not to be passed over, how at the same time, and in the said chapell of the archbishop at Lambeth, where the bishops were sitting upon John Wickliffe, the storie writing[7] of the doing thereof, addeth these words: "Not onely the citizens of London, but also the vile abjects of the citie, presumed to be so bold in the same chapell at Lambeth, where the bishops were sitting upon J. Wickliffe, both to entreate for him, and also to let and stop the same matter, trusting, as I suppose, upon the negligence which they saw before in the bishops."

Thus John Wickliffe, through the favour and diligence of the Londoners, either shifted off the bishops, or else satisfied them so, that for that time he was dismissed and scaped clearly away; onely being charged and commanded by the said bishops, that hee should not teach or preach any such doctrine any more, for the offence of the laie people.

Thus this good man being escaped from the bishops with this charge aforesaid, yet notwithstanding ceased not to proceed in his godly purpose, labouring and profiting still in the church as he had begun.

Unto whom (as it happeneth by the providence of God) this was also a great helpe and stay, that in the same yeere, or in the beginning of the next yeare following, the foresaid pope Gregorie xi. which was the stirrer up of al this trouble against him, turned up his heels and died[8]. After whom ensued such a schisme in Rome, betweene two popes, and other succeeding them, one stirring against another, that the schisme thereof endured the space of xxxix yeares, untill the time of the councell of Constance.

The occasioner of which schisme first was pope Urban the 6. who in the first beginning of his popedome was so proud and insolent to his cardinals, and other, as to dukes, princes, and queenes, and so set to advance his nephew and kindred, with injuries to other princes, that the greatest number of his cardinals and

[7] *The storie writing.*] Thom. Walsingham, p. 206.

[8] *And died.*] Some authorities fix his death to the 27th, others to the 28th day of March, A.D. 1378.

courtiers by little and little shrunke from him, and set up an other French pope against him, named Clement, who reigned xi. yeares. And after him Benedictus the xiii, who reigned yeares 26. Againe of the contrarie side after Urbanus vi, succeeded Boniface ix, Innocentius viii, Gregorius the xii, Alexander v, John xxiii.

As touching this pestilent and most miserable schisme, it would require heere another Iliade to comprehend in order all the circumstances and tragicall parts thereof, what trouble in the whole church, what parts taken in every countrey, what apprehending and imprisoning of priests and prelats, taken by land and sea, what shedding of blood did follow thereof: how Ottho [9], duke of Brunswicke and prince of Tarentum, was taken and murthered [1]: how Joan, queene of Jerusalem and Sicilia, his wife, who before had sent to pope Urban, beside other gifts at his coronation, forty thousand duckets in pure gold, after by the said Urban [2] was committed to prison, and in the same prison strangled: what cardinals were racked, and miserablie without all mercy tormented on gibbets to death, what slaughter of men, what battles were fought betweene the two popes, whereof 5000. on the one side were slaine, beside the number of them which were taken prisoners: of the beheading of five cardinals together after long torments; and how the bishop Aquilonensis [3], being suspected of pope Urban for not riding faster with the pope, his horse being not good, was there slaine by the popes commandement, sending his souldiers unto him, to slay him, and cut him in pieces.—All which things, with other divers moe acts of horrible cruelty, happening in the time of this abominable schisme, because they are abundantly discoursed at full by Theodoricke Niem [4], who was neere to the said pope Urban, and present at all his doings; therefore as a thing needless, I here pretermit [5], re-

[9] *How Ottho.*] Otho of Brunswick, son of Henry the Grecian, duke of Brunswick-Grubenhagen, was the fourth husband of Joanna, queen of Naples.

[1] *And murthered.*] That he was *murdered* is, however, doubtful.

[2] *The said Urban.*] Rather by her rival, Charles de Durazzo, whose father Louis had been slain in prison by her order.

[3] *Bishop Aquilonensis.*] Stephen, bishop of Aquila, in Apulia.

[4] *Theodoricke Niem.*] *De schismate inter Urbanum vi. et Clementem Antipapam.* Norimbergæ, 1592. fol.

[5] *I here pretermit.*] That incidentally, through God's mercy, certain benefits arose from this schism to the progress of the reformation, we have Wickliffe's own testimony. See Wilkins's *Concilia*, vol. iii. p. 341, note.

ferring them, who covet to be certified more amply herein, unto the three bookes of the said Theodoricke above mentioned.

About the same time also, namely about three yeares after, there fell a cruell dissension in England, betweene the common people and the nobilitie, the which did not a little disturbe and trouble the common wealth. In this tumult Simon of Sudburie, archbishop of Canterburie, was taken by the rusticall and rude people, and was beheaded[6]. In whose place after, succeeded William Courtney, which was no lesse diligent than his predecessor had been before him, in doing his diligence to roote out hereticks.—Notwithstanding, in the mean season Wickliffes sect increased privilie, and daily grew to greater force, until the time that William Barton, vicechancellor of Oxford, about the yeare of our Lord 1380, had the rule of that universitie; who calling together eight monasticall doctors, and four other, with the consent of the rest of his affinitie, putting the common seale of the universitie unto certaine writings, set forth an edict[7], declaring

[6] *Was beheaded.*] He was beheaded by the rebellious populace under Wat Tyler and Jack Straw, June 14, 1381; and the temporalties were delivered to William Courtney, Oct. 23, in the same year. Le Neve's *Fasti*, p. 7.

[7] *Set forth an edict.*] The value of Wickliffe's labours in the cause of true religion, cannot be better understood than by inspecting this censure which was directed against him. It is confined solely to the controversy on the Eucharist; and declares, in opposition to the assertions of Wickliffe, "that the truth faith is, that by the sacramental words duely pronounced by the priest, the bread and wine upon the altar are *transubstantiated*, or substantially converted into the very body and blood of Christ; so that after consecration, there do not remain in that venerable sacrament the material bread and wine, which were there before, according to their own substances or natures, but only the species of the same, under which species the very body of Christ and his blood are really contained, not only figuratively or tropically, but essentially, substantially, and corporally; so that Christ is there verily in his own proper bodily presence." Lewis's *History*, p. 82; Wilkins's *Concilia*, vol. iii. p. 170, 71. The Register tells us, that upon public promulgation of this edict in the schools of the Augustin Friars, Wickliffe, who was present, and in the theological chair, was thrown into confusion; but soon recovering himself, he declared, that neither the chancellor, nor any of his friends, could refute by argument the doctrines against which they had pronounced their edict; thus showing himself an obstinate heretic. His appeal, not to his ordinary or the pope, but to the king's majesty, thereby acknowledging the royal supremacy in causes ecclesiastical, as well as civil, gave still further very great offence. And the Register does not scruple to brand this deference to the secular power, with the name of heresy. In the same place the duke of Lancaster is commended highly for his desertion of Wick-

unto every man, and threatning them under a grievous penaltie, that no man should be so hardie, hereafter to associat themselves with any of Wickliffes fautors or favourers: and unto Wickliffe himselfe hee threatned the greater excommunication, and further imprisonment, and to all his fautors, unlesse that they, after three daies canonicall admonition or warning, as they call it, peremptory, did repent and amend.—The which thing when Wickliffe

liffe in this extremity; and his attachment to the true faith is extolled, because he commanded him to abstain from intermeddling any more with the doctrine of this sacrament. Wickliffe however did not obey the duke's injunction, but in somewhat more covert terms maintained his former opinions. He refused the authority of all the fathers after the first thousand years from Christ, affirming that they had all erred in treating of the Eucharist except Berengarius; and set at nought the authority of the Master of the Sentences. Sudbury's *Register*, in Wilkins, vol. iii. p. 171.

Upon this slight foundation some writers have been pleased to say, that Wickliffe gave way, and made a full retractation. (Anth. a Wood, Antiq. Oxon. p. 189.) And even Fox, just below, speaks of his "qualifying his assertions." We see that it was not so understood at Lambeth. The council of Constance also, as we shall find afterwards, passed a very different judgment respecting the final conversion of Wickliffe. Nor does the other opinion accord with what Wood tells us in the same page, that this confession was encountered by no less than six several antagonists, immediately after its publication. The Confession, which is a large and very interesting document, is given at full length in the original Latin by Lewis, *Records*, No. 21. p. 323—32. Romish writers, when it suits their purpose, continually elevate the meerest trifles into a formal recantation. The popish author of *The Life and Death of Bishop Fisher*, under the assumed name of Thomas Bailey, D.D., does not scruple to speak in the following harsh and vulgar metaphors. "The first unclean beast that ever passed through the oxens-ford (I mean Wickliffe by name) afterwards chewed the cud, and was sufficiently reconciled to the Roman faith, as appears by his recantation; living and dying conformable to the holy catholic church, at his parsonage of Lutterworth in Leicestershire; constantly saying mass unto his dying day. So that reformation, as it seems, was left unto the time of which it is said, *Væ regno cui puer dominatur!* Woe be to the kingdom over which a child reigns!" p. 35. ed. 3d. As to the recantation spoken of, it has never yet been exhibited. (Lewis, p. 88.) Nor does the saying mass in the latter part of his life prove any *change* of sentiment, unless it can be shown, that he had entertained at some earlier period any scruples on that head; which does not appear. Compare what Fox says of Bilney, Acts and Monuments, p. 921; given below in this collection.

In reference to the above-mentioned censures upon Wickliffe, Sir R. Twisden observes, "this I take to have been the first plenary determination of the Church of England in the case, so that" (says he) "the opinion of transubstantiation, that brought so many to the stake, had not with us 140 years prescription before Martin Luther." *Historical Vindication*, p. 193, 94.

understood, forsaking the pope and all the clergie, hee thought to appeale unto the kings majestie: but the duke of Lancaster, comming betweene, forbad him that hee should not hereafter attempt or begin any such matters, but rather submit himselfe unto the censure and judgement of his ordinarie. Whereby Wickliffe being beset with troubles and vexations, as it were in the midst of the waves, was forced once againe to make confession of his doctrine: in the which his confession, to avoid the rigor of things, he answered, making his declaration, and qualifying his assertions after such a sort, that he did mitigate and asswage the rigor of his enemies.

The next yeare after, which was 1382. by the commandement of William archbishop of Canturbury, there was a convocation holden at London, where John Wickliffe was also commanded to be present.—But whether he there appeared personally, or not, I find it not in story certainely affirmed.—The memorandum of the archbishop William Courtney here followeth under written, truely copied out of his owne registers[8].

"Memorandum, that where as well amongst the nobles as commons of this realme of England, there hath a certaine brute bin spread of divers conclusions both erroneous, and also repugnant to the determination of the church, which tend to the subversion of the whole church, and to our province of Canturburie, and also to the subversion of the whole realme, being preached in divers and sundrie places of our said province, generally, commonly and publikely: We William by Gods permission archbishop of Canturburie, primate of all England, and legat of the see apostolicall, being minded to execute our office and dutie herein; have convocated or called together certain our fellow brethren and others a great many, as well doctors and bachelers of divinitie, as doctors of the canon and civil law, and those whom we thought to bee the most famous men, skilfullest men, and men of soundest judgement in religion, that were in all the realme. And, the 17. day of the moneth of May in the yeare of our Lord 1382. in a certaine chamber within the territories of the priorie of the friers preachers of London before us and our foresaid fellow brethren assembled, then and there personally present; after that the said conclusions (the tenor whereof here under ensueth) were openlie proposed, and distinctly and plainely read; Wee

[8] *Owne registers.*] Wilkins, vol. iii. p. 157.

burthened our foresaid fellow brethren, doctors, and bachelers, in the faith wherein they stood bound to our Lord Jesus Christ, and as they would answere before the high Judge in the day of judgement, that they should speake their opinions touching the said conclusions, and what every of them thinketh therein.

"And at length, after good deliberation had upon the premisses, the foresaid our brethren the bishops, doctors, and bachelers, reassembled before us the 21. day of the same moneth in the foresaid chamber, the foresaid conclusions being againe and againe repeated and plainely read: by us and by the common consents of us all it remaineth published and declared, that some of the said conclusions are hereticall, and othersome erroneous and contrarie to the determination of the church, as hereafter most manifestly shall appeare. And for as much as by sufficient information wee find and perceive, that the said conclusions in many places of our said province, have beene, as is said, both taught and preached; and that divers other persons doe hold and maintaine the same, and be of heresie vehemently and notoriouslie suspected: we have thought good, as well generally as specially, to send out this processe under written.

"*The Articles*[9] *of John Wickliffe, condemned as hereticall.*

"1. The substance of materiall bread and wine doth remaine in the sacrament of the altar after the consecration.

"2. The accidents do not remaine without the subject in the same sacrament, after the consecration.

"3. That Christ is not in the sacrament of the altar truly and really, in his proper and corporall person.

"4. That if a bishop[1] or a priest be in deadly sin, hee doth not order, consecrate, nor baptise.

[9] *The articles.*] These articles are given somewhat more fully and correctly from the original register, in Wilkins, vol. iii. p. 157-8. See also Lewis's *Records*, No. 31.

[1] *If a bishop*] "This article either is slanderouslie reported, or else can hardly be defended." Fox in the margin, p. 400. In truth, the article, as might perhaps truly be said of some of the others, was none of Wickliffe's. "Sophisters shulden know well" (says he) "that a cursed man *doth fully* the sacraments, though it be to his damning; for they ben not authours of these sacraments, but God kepeth that divinity to himself." Lewis's *History*, p. 96 (or 118). See also p. 117—119. When a similar article was objected against William Swinberby, a follower of Wickliffe, in the year 1390, he

"5. That if a man be duely and truely contrite and penitent, all exteriour and outer confession is but superfluous and unprofitable unto him.

"6. That it is not found or established by the gospell, that Christ did make or ordaine masse.

"7. If the pope be a reprobate and evill man, and consequently a member of the divell, he hath no power by any maner of meanes given unto him over faithful Christians, except peradventure it be given him from the emperor.

"8. That since the time of Urban the sixth, there is none to be received for pope, but to live after the maner of the Greekes, every man under his owne law.

"9. To be against the scripture, that ecclesiasticall ministers should have any temporall possessions.

"*The other Articles of John Wickliffe, condemned as erroneous.*

"10. That no prelate ought to excommunicate any man except he knew him first to be excommunicate of God.

"11. That he which doth so excommunicate any man, is thereby himselfe either an heretike or excommunicated.

"12. That a prelate or bishop excommunicating any of the clergie, which hath appealed to the king or to the counsell, is thereby himselfe a traitor to the king and realme.

"13. That all such which doe leave off preaching or hearing the word of God, or preaching of the gospell, for feare of excommunication, they are already excommunicated, and in the day of judgement shall be counted as traitors unto God.

"14. That it is lawfull for any man, either deacon or priest, to preach the word of God, without the authoritie or licence of the apostolike see or any other of his catholicks.

"15. That so long as a man is in deadly sin, hee is neither bishop nor prelate in the church of God.

"16. Also that the temporall lords may, according to their owne

affirmed very explicitly, "Thus I never said, thought it, preached it, ne taught it. For I well wot the wickednesse of a priest may appaire" *(impair)* "no verie sacrament. But the wickednesse of the priests appaires himselfen; and all that boldnesse and example of his sinne causen the people to liven the worse against God's law." Fox's Acts, p. 432. Compare Article twenty-sixth of the Church of England; *Of the unworthiness of the Ministers, which hinders not the effect of the Sacraments.*

will and discretion, take away the temporall goods from the churchmen, whensoever they do offend.

"17. That tenths are pure almes, and that parishioners may for the offence of their curats, detaine and keepe them backe, and bestow them upon others, at their owne will and pleasures.

"18. Also, that all speciall praiers[2] applied to any private or particular person, by any prelate, or religious man, doe no more profit the same person, than generall or universall praiers doe profit others, which be in like case or state unto him.

"19. Moreover, in that any man doth enter into any private religion, whatsoever it be, hee is thereby made the more unapt and unable to observe and keepe the commandements of God.

"20. That holy men which have instituted private religions, whatsoever they be (as well such as are indued and possessed, as also the order of begging friers, having no possessions) in so doing, have grievouslie offended.

"21. That religious men, being in their privat religions, are not of the Christian religion.

"22. That friers are bounden to get their living by the labour of their hands, and not by begging.

"23. That whatsoever doth give any almes unto friers, or to any begging observant, is accursed or in danger thereof."

[2] *Speciall praiers.*] "The popes had now for some time driven a very gainful trade of granting indulgences or pardons, which they pretended was by virtue of the holy merits of saints, which they did more than was needful for their own happiness. These the popes claimed a power of communicating to others, whose merit was not so great, and accordingly pretended to grant to men thousands of years of pardon . . . . . In an humble imitation of this divine power claimed by the popes, the religious orders pretended to a communication of their own merits; and by granting to men and women *letters of fraternity*, confirmed by their general seal, to bear them in hand, that they should have part of all their masses, mattins, preachings, fastings, wakings, and all other good deeds done by those of their order, both whilst they lived, and after they were dead. They likewise made men believe, that their singing of *special prayers for people by name*, as famulory and benefactory, should turn to men after *their* granting and limiting. On which account, scarce any one who had any thing to give, but *left a legacy* to some of the religious orders, for them to sing a *trental* for their souls.—These superstitions, Dr. Wickliffe and his followers opposed."—Lewis's *Life of Pecock*, p. 149. edit. 1744, or p. 103. edit. 1820.

The Letter[3] *of the Archbishop directed to the Bishop of London, against Wickliffe, and his adherents.*

" William by Gods permission archbishop of Canterburie, Metropolitane of all England, and of the apostolicall see legate: To our reverend brother by the grace of God bishop of London, salutation. The prelats of the church ought to bee so much the more vigilant and attentive about the charge of the Lords flocke committed unto them, how much the more they shall understand the wolves being clothed in sheeps apparell, fraudulently to go about to worry and scatter the sheepe.

" Truely by the continuall crie and bruted fame (which it grieveth me to report) it is come to our knowledge, that although by the canonicall sanctions no man being forbidden or not admitted, should either publikely or privilie, without the authority of the apostolical see or bishop of that place, usurpe or take upon him the office of a preacher; some notwithstanding, such as are the children of damnation, being under the vaile of blind ignorance, are brought into such a doting mind, that they take upon them to preach, and are not affraid to affirme and teach divers and sundrie propositions and conclusions here under recited, both hereticall, erroneous and false, condemned by the church of God, and repugnant to the decree of holy church, which tend to the subverting of the whole state of the same, of our province of Canturburie, and destruction and weakening of the tranquillity of the same: and as well in the churches, as in the streets, as also in many other prophane places of our said province, generally, commonly, and publikely, do preach the same, infecting very many good Christians, causing them lamentablie to wander out of the way, and from the catholike church, without which there is no salvation:—Wee therefore considering, that so pernicious a mischiefe which may creepe amongst many, we ought not to suffer, and by dissimulation to pass over, which may with deadly contagion slay the soules of men, lest their blood be required at our hands; are willing so much as God will permit us to doe, to extirpate the same. Wherefore, by the counsell and consent of many of our brethren and suffragans, wee have convented divers and sundrie doctors of divinitie, as also professors and other

[3] *The letter.*] See Wilkins, vol. iii. p. 159.

clerks of the canon and civill lawes, the best learned within the realme, and of the most soundest opinion and judgement in the catholike faith, to give their opinions and judgements concerning the foresaid conclusions. But forasmuch as the said conclusions and assertions being in the presence of us, and our fellow brethren and other convocates, openly expounded, and diligently examined, and in the end found by common counsell and consent, as well of them as of us, and so declared, that some of those conclusions were *hereticall*, and some of them *erroneous*, and repugnant to the determination of the church, as here under are described: Wee will and command your brotherhood, and by vertue of holy obedience straitly enjoyne all and singuler our brethren, and suffraganes of our church of Canturburie, that with all speedie diligence you possiblie can, you likewise enjoyne them (as we have enjoyned you) and everie of them. And that every one of them in their churches and other places of their citie and diocesse, doe admonish and warne, and that you in your church and other churches of your citie and dioces, do admonish and warne, as we by the tenour of these presents do admonish and warne the first time, the second time and the third time; and yet more straitely doe warne, assigning for the first admonition one day, for the second admonition another day, and for the third admonition canonical and peremptory, another day: That no man from henceforth, of what estate or condition soever, doe hold, preach, or defend the foresaid heresies and errours, or any of them; nor that he admit to preach any one that is prohibited or not sent to preach, nor that he heare or hearken to the heresies or errors of him or any of them, or that he favour or leane unto him either publikely or privily; but that immediately he shun him as he would avoid a serpent putting forth most pestiferous poison, under paine of the greater curse[4]; the which wee

[4] *The greater curse.*] It was in allusion to these proceedings of the archbishop, that Wickliffe, in his Treatise against the orders of Friars, p. 53, A.D. 1608, says, "They techen al this people to recke lesse of the most rightfull curse of God, then by the wrong curse of sinful man. For they callen the curse of God *the lesse curse*, and the curse of sinful man *the more curse*. For though a man be never so cursed of God for pride, envie, covetise, or avowtrie, or any other, this is not charged ne pursued, nether of prelate, ne lord, ne commons. But if a man withstand ones the citation of a sinful prelate, yea after the commandement of God, then he shall be cursed and prisoned after fortie daies, and al men shullen goe upon him, though the

command to be thundered against all and every one which shall be disobedient in this behalfe, and not regarding these our moni-

man be pursued for truth of the gospel, and be blessed of God." In what follows, we have a description of the *greater* and *lesser* curse, taken from a Treatise of the Articles of the General greater Curse or Sentence, found in a church at Canterbury, A.D. 1562. "Ye shullen understand that this word curse is thus much to say, as departing" *(cutting off)* "fro God, and al good workes. Of two manner of cursing holy church telleth; the one is cleped the lesse curs; the other is cleped the more curs. That we clepen the *lesse curs*, is of this strength; that every man and woman that falleth therein, it departeth him froe al the sacramentes, that bene in holy church, that they may none of hem receive, till they be assoylled. For right as a sword departeth the head, or the life from the body; right so as to say, ghostly curse departeth mans soul fro God, and fro al good workes. The *more curs* is muche worse, and is of this strength, for to depart a man froe God, and froe al holy church, and also froe the company of al christen folke, never to be saved by the passion of Christ, ne to be holpen by the sacramentes that ben done in holy church, ne to have part with any christen man." Becon's *Reliques of Rome*. Works, vol. iii. fol. 378.

Reference is made to these same mandates and anathemas of the church in the Ploughman's Tale in Chaucer's Works, p. 167. edit. 1687.

> "Who giveth you leave for to preach?—
> Thou shalt be curst with *booke* and *bell*,
> And discevered from holy church."

We shall hear so much of these curses and excommunications, that it may not be amiss, once for all, to produce an exemplification of their ordinary process.

"At last, the priests found out a toy, to curse him whatsoever he were, with *booke, bell, and candle;* which curse at that day seemed most feareful and terrible. The manner of the curse was after this sort:

"One of the priests, apparalled all in white, ascended up into the pulpit. The other rabblement with certaine of the two orders of friers, and certaine superstitious monkes of Saint Nicholas house, standing round about, and the crosse (as the custom was) being holden up with holy candles of waxe fixed to the same, he began his sermon with this theme of Joshua: *Est blasphemia in castris: There is blasphemie in the army;* and so made a long protestation, but not so long as tedious and superstitious, and so concludes that that foule and abominable hereticke which had put up suche blasphemous bils, was for that his blasphemie damnablie accursed; and besought God, our Lady, Sainte Peter, patron of that church, with all the holy companie of martyrs, confessours, and virgins, that it might be known what hereticke had put up such blasphemous bils, that Gods people might avoide the vengeance.

"The maner of the cursing of the said Benet was marvellous to behold; forasmuch as at that time there were few or none, unless a shireman or two (whose houses I well remember were searched for bils at that time, and for

tions, after that those three daies be past which are assigned for the canonicall monition, and that their delay, fault or offence

bookes) that knew any thing of Gods matters, or how God doth blesse their curses in such cases. Then said the prelate, 'By the authority of God the Father Almighty, and of the blessed Virgin Mary, of Saint Peter and Paul, and of the holy saints, wee excommunicate, we utterly curse and banne, commit and deliver to the devil of hell, him or her, whatsoever he or shee bee, that have in spite of God and of Saint Peter, whose church this is, in spite of all holy saintes, and in spite of our most holy father the pope, Gods vicar here in earth, and in spite of the reverende father in God John our diocesane, and the worshipful canons, masters, and priests and clerkes which serve God daily in this cathedral church, fixed up with waxe, such cursed and heretical bils full of blasphemie, upon the doors of this and other holy churches within this city. Excommunicate plainly be hee or shee, or they, and delivered over to the devil as perpetual malefactors, and schismatickes. Accursed might they be and given body and soul to the devil. Cursed be they, he or shee, in cities and townes, in fields, in waies, in pathes, in houses, out of houses, and in all other places, standing, lying, or rising, walking, running, waking, sleeping, eating, drinking, and whatsoever thing they doe besides. We separate them, him, or her, from the threshold, and from all the good prayers of the church, from the participation of the holy masse, from all sacramentes, chapels, and altars, from holy bread, and holy water, from all the merits of Gods priests and religious men, and from all their cloisters, from all their pardons, privileges, grants, and immunities, which all the holy fathers, popes of Rome, have granted to them: and wee give them over utterly to the power of the fiend, and let us quench their soules (if they bee dead) this night in the paines of hell fire, as this candle is now quenched, and put out' (and with that hee put out one of the candles); 'and let us praie to God (if they be alive) that their eyes may be put out, as this candle light is,' (so he put out the other candle,) 'and let us praie to God, and to our Lady, and to Saint Peter and Paul, and all holy saintes, that all the senses of their bodies may faile them, and that they may have no feeling, as now the light of this candle is gone,' (and so hee put out the third candle,) 'except they, hee, or shee, come openly nowe and confesse their blasphemie, and by repentance (as in them shall lie) make satisfaction unto God, our Lady, Saint Peter, and the worshipfull company of this cathedral church; and as this holy crosse staffe now falleth downe, so mighte they except they repent, and shew themselves;' and one first taking awaye the crosse, the staffe fell downe. But, Lord! what a shout and noise was there, what terrible feare, what holding up of handes to heaven; that curse was so terrible!" Fox's *Acts*, p. 947. This account speaks only of quenching the *candles*, and does not tell what was done with the *bells* and the *book*. The deficiency may be supplied by the following extract: "After the imprecations were over, the priest (according to some forms) subjoined these words: *Fiat: Fiat: Doe to the booke: Quench the Candles: Ring the Bell. Amen. Amen.*—And then the book is clapped together; the candles blown out; and the bells rung, with a most dreadful noise made by the congregation present,

committed: That then, according to the tenour of these writings, we command both by every one of our fellow brethren and our suffragans in their cities and dioces, and by you in your city and diocesse (so much as belongeth both to you and them), that to the uttermost, both yee and they cause the same excommunications to be pronounced. And furthermore, wee will and command our foresaid fellow brethren, and all and singuler of you apart by your selves, to bee admonished, and by the aspersion of the blood of Jesus Christ we likewise admonish you, that according to the institution of the sacred canons, every one of them in their cities and dioces, be a diligent inquisitor of this hereticall pravitie; and that every one of you also in your cities and dioces, bee the like inquisitor of the foresaid hereticall pravitie: And that of such like presumptions they and you carefully and diligently inquire, and that both they and you (according to your duties and office in this behalfe) with effect do proceed against the same, to the honour and praise of his name that was crucified, and for the preservation of the Christian faith and religion." May 30, 1382.

Here is not to be passed over, the greate miracle of Gods divine admonition or warning; for when as the archbishop and suffragans, with the other doctors of divinitie, and lawyers with a great companie of babling friers, and religious persons were gathered together to consult, as touching John Wickliffes books, and that whole sect, at the Grey Friers in London, upon saint Dunstans day[5] after dinner, about two of the clocke, the very houre and instant that they should go forward with their businesse, a wonderfull and terrible earthquake fell throughout all England; whereupon divers of the suffragans being feared by the strange and wonderful demonstration, doubting what it should meane, thought it good to leave off from their determinate purpose. But the archbishop (as chiefe captaine of that armie, more rash and bold then wise) interpreting the chance which had happened, cleane contrarie, to another meaning or purpose, did confirme and strengthen their hearts and minds, which were almost daunted with feare, stoutly to proceede and goe forward

bewailing the accursed persons concerned in that black doom denounced against them." Staveley's *History of Churches in England*, p. 237-88.

"They pray" (says Tindal) "in Latin, they christen in Latin, they blesse in Latin, they give absolution in Latin: onely *curse* they in the *English* toung." *Obedience of a Christian Man.* Works, 151. fol.

[5] *St. Dunstan's Day.*] May 19 (1382).

in their attempted enterprise. Who then discoursing Wickliffes articles, not according unto the sacred canons of the holy scripture, but unto their owne private affections and traditions, pronounced and gave sentence, that some of them were simplie and plainely hereticall, othersome halfe erroneous, other irreligious, some seditious, and not consonant to the church of Rome.

The archbishop yet not contented with this, doth moreover by all meanes possible, sollicite the king to joine withall the power of his temporall sword, for that he well perceived, that hitherto as yet the popish clergie had not authoritie sufficient by anie law or statute [6] of this land to proceed unto death against any person whatsoever, in case of religion, but onely by the usurped tyranny and example of the court of Rome. Where note (gentle reader) for thy better understanding, the practice of the Romish prelats in seeking the kings helpe to further their bloudie purpose against the good saints of God. Which king being but young, and under yeers of ripe judgement, partly induced, or rather seduced by importune sute of the foresaid archbishop, partly also either for feare of the bishops (for kings cannot alwaies

[6] *Law or statute.*] There was hitherto no *statute,* unquestionably. But, it seems, that heresy was, from an earlier period, held to be punishable with death by burning, by the *common law* of the realm.

"Christianity" (says Blackstone) "being thus deformed by the dæmon of persecution upon the continent, we cannot expect that our own island should be entirely free from the same scourge And therefore we find among our ancient precedents a writ *de hæretico comburendo,* which is thought by some to be as ancient as the common law itself. However, it appears from thence, that the conviction of heresy by the common law was not in any petty ecclesiastical court, but before the archbishop himself in a provincial synod; and that the delinquent was delivered over to the king, to do as he should please with him: so that the crown had a control over the spiritual power, and might pardon the convict by issuing no process against him; the writ *de hæretico comburendo* being not a writ of course, but issuing only by the special direction of the king in council." Book iv. chap. 4. *Public Wrongs.*

"For the punishment of heretics, it cannot be doubted, by the common law (that is, the custom of the realm) of England, to have been here, as in other parts of the world, by consuming them by fire. Balæus, from the testimony of a chronicle of London, reports one of the Albigenses to have been so made away with there, A.D. 1210. Of the truth of the thing there is no question; for Bracton writes of an apostate deacon, that, in a council held at Oxford, A.D. 1222, by Stephen Langton, he was first degraded, and then by the lay power committed to the fire: with whom agrees Fleta." Twisden's *Historical Vindication,* p. 155.

See also the note at p. 389 of the life of Sir John Oldcastle, Lord Cobham, in this work.

doe in their realmes what they will) or else perhaps inticed by some hope of subsidie to be gathered by the clergy, was content to adjoine his private assent (such as it was) to the setting downe of an ordinance, which was indeed the very first law[7] that is to be found made against religion and the professours thereof, bearing the name of an act made in the parliament holden at Westminster, anno 5. Rich. 2. Where among sundry other statutes then published, and yet remaining in the printed books of statutes, this supposed statute is to be found, cap. 5, & ultimo, as followeth.

" Item, forsomuch as it is openly knowne that there be divers evill persons within the realme, going from countie to countie, and from towne to towne, in certaine habits under dissimulation of great holinesse, and without the licence of the ordinaries of the places, or other sufficient authoritie, preaching daily not onely in churches and churchyards, but also in markets, faires, and other open places where a great congregation of people is, divers sermons containing heresies and notorious errors, to the great emblemishing of Christian faith, and destruction of the lawes, and of the estate of holy church, to the great perill of the soules of the people, and of all the realme of England, as more plainly is found and sufficiently proved before the reverend father in God the archbishop of Canturbury, and the bishops and other prelats, masters of divinitie, and doctors of canon and of civill law, and a great part of the clergy of the said realme, specially assembled for this great cause; which persons doe also preach divers matters of slander, to ingender discord and dissention betwixt divers estates of the said realme, as well spirituall as temporall, in exciting of the people, to the great perill of all the realme: which preachers cited or summoned before the ordinaries of the places there to answer to that whereof they be impeached, they will not obey to their summons and commandements, nor care not for their monitions nor censures of the holy church, but expressly despise them. And moreover, by their subtile and ingenious words, doe draw the people to heare their sermons, and doe maintaine them in their errors by strong hand, and by great routs: It is ordained and assented in this present parliament, that the king's commissions be made and directed to the shiriffes and other ministers of our soveraigne lord the king, or other

[7] *Very first law.*] See also *Parl. Hist.* vol. i. col. 177. ed. 1806.

sufficient persons learned, and, according to the certifications of the prelats thereof, to be made in the chancery from time to time, to arrest all such preachers, and also their fautors, maintainers, and abetters, and to hold them in arrest and strong prison, till they will justify them according to the law and reason of holy church. And the king willeth and commandeth, that the chancellor make such commissions at all times, that he by the prelats or any of them shall bee certified and thereof required, as is aforesaid."

What manner of law this was, by whom devised, and by what authority the same was first made and established, judge by that that followeth: viz.

In the Utas[8] of S. Michael next following, at a parliament summoned and holden at Westminster, the sixth yeere of the said king, among sundry petitions made to the king by his commons, whereunto he assented, there is one in this forme, article 52.

"Item, prayen the commons, that whereas an estatute was made the last parliament in these words: 'It is ordained in this present parliament, that commissions from the king be directed to the shiriffes and other ministers of the king, or to other sufficient persons skilfull, and according to the certificats of the prelats thereof to be made unto the chancery from time to time to arrest all such preachers, and their fauters, maintainers, and abetters; and them to detaine in strong prison, untill they will justifie themselves according to reason, and law of holy church; and the king willeth and commandeth, that the chancellor make such commissions at all times, as shall be by the prelats or any of them certified, and thereof required, as is aforesaid;' the which was never agreed nor granted by the commons; but whatsoever was moved therein, was without their assent: that the said statute be therefore disannulled. For it is not in any wise their meaning, that either themselves, or such as shall succeed them, shall be further justified or bound by the prelats, then were their ancestors in former times;" whereunto is answered, "*Il plaist a Roy*, the king is pleased."

Hereby notwithstanding the former unjust law of ann. 5. was

[8] *In the Utas.*] The utas or octaves is the eighth day following any term or feast. Any day in the interval between the feast and the eighth day is said to be within the utas.

repealed, and the fraud of the framers thereof sufficiently discovered: yet such meanes was there made by the prelats, that this act of repeal was never published, nor ever sithence imprinted with the rest of the statutes of that parliament. Insomuch as the said repeale being concealed, like commissions and other processes were made from time to time, by virtue of the bastard statute [9], as well during all the raigne of this king as ever sithence,

[9] *The bastard statute.*] But it was not very long before this was not the only statutable authority.

"In the reign of Henry IV." says Blackstone, "when the eyes of the Christian world began to open, and the seeds of the protestant religion, though under the opprobrious name of lollardy, took root in this kingdom; the clergy, taking advantage from the king's dubious title to demand an increase of their own power, obtained an act of parliament (2 Hen. iv. c. 15. A.D. 1401), which sharpened the edge of persecution to its utmost keenness. For, by that statute, the diocesan alone, without the intervention of a synod, might convict of heretical tenets; and unless the convict *abjured* his opinions, or if after abjuration he *relapsed*, the sheriff was bound *ex officio*, if required by the bishop, to commit the unhappy victim to the flames, without waiting for the consent of the crown." Book iv. chap. 4.

Compare also Lewis's *Life of Wickliffe*, chap. 7. p. 133, &c. edit. 1820. Twisden's *Hist. Vindication*, 158; Ayliffe's *Parergon Juris Canonici*, 293.

Into what a miserable condition the whole nation, both of clergy and laity, was brought, under these laws, we shall sufficiently understand, when we have first possessed ourselves of certain other very material circumstances, a concise and clear statement of which we may borrow from judge Blackstone. "*What* doctrines should be adjudged heresy, was left by our old constitution to the determination of the ecclesiastical judge; who had herein a most arbitrary latitude allowed him. For the general definition of an heretic given by Lyndewode, extends to the smallest deviations from the doctrines of holy church: 'hæreticus est qui dubitat de fide catholica, et qui negligit servare ea, quæ Romana ecclesia statuit, seu servare decreverit.' Or, as the statute 2 Hen. iv. c. 15, expresses it in English, 'teachers of erroneous opinions, contrary to the faith and blessed determinations of the holy church.' Very contrary this to the usage of the first general councils, which defined all heretical doctrines with the utmost precision and exactness. And what ought to have alleviated the punishment, the uncertainty of the crime, seems to have enhanced it in those days of blind zeal and pious cruelty. It is true that the sanctimonious hypocrisy of the canonists went at first no further than enjoining penance, excommunication, and ecclesiastical deprivation, for heresy. But in the mean time they had prevailed upon the weakness of bigoted princes to make the civil power subservient to their purposes, by making heresy not only a temporal, but even a capital offence; the Romish ecclesiastics determining, without appeal, whatever they pleased to be heresy, and shifting off to the secular arm the odium and drudgery of executions." *Com-*

against the professors of religion.—And now the king writeth his letters patents, to the vicechancellor of Oxford in forme as followeth [1].

"The king: To the chancellor and the procurators of the universitie of Oxford which now be, or for the time being shall bee, greeting. Moved by the zeale of Christian faith, whereof wee be, and alwaies will be defenders, and for our soules health induced thereunto, having a great desire to represse, and by

mentaries on the Laws of England, book iv. chap. 4. Compare Twisden's *Historical Vindication,* p. 135—42, and 153—61.

Now, in such a state of things, can we wonder that the high court of parliament itself should declare "that the most learned man of the realm, diligently lying in wait upon himself, could not eschew and avoid the same acts and canonical sanctions, if he should be examined upon such captious interrogatories as is and hath been accustomed to be ministered by the ordinaries of this realm, in cases where they will suspect of heresy?" (25 Hen. viii. cap. 14, A.D. 1534.) Or, is it surprising, that, on the revival of these acts under queen Mary, bishop Ridley should write, that "it would be impossible *now* to continue in England, without conforming to the Roman religion; so that they must either suffer, or deny their Master by a compliance with many things which he has expressly forbidden?" (Ridley's *Life of Bishop Ridley,* p. 651.) Or, finally, why should we wonder at reading, that in one diocese alone in one year (1521), above five hundred persons were accused and detected?" (Ibid. p. 9.)

But, is it possible that such means should gain their end, in such a cause? "*He that dwelleth in heaven will laugh them to scorn; the Lord shall have them in derision.*"—No. As it was remonstrated nobly by one of the Reformers, under king Henry VIII., addressing the prelates in convocation, "Think ye not, that ye can by any sophistical subtleties steale out of the world again, the light which every man doth see. . . And that which you doe hope upon, that there was never heresie in the church so great, but that processe of time, with the power and authoritie of the pope hath quenched it, it is nothing to the purpose. But yee must truce your opinion, and thinke this surely, that there is nothing so feeble and weake, *so that it be true,* but it shall find place, and be able to stand against all falshood.

"Truth is the daughter of time, and time is the mother of truth." See *Life of Cromwell,* given below in this collection.

And hence it was that the martyrs and confessors were cheered with the consolatory hope, even in their darkest hour, that "God would arise, and have mercy upon Sion:" and they looked forward, in cheerful anticipation, in the language, for example, of one of them under queen Mary, that "the dispersed flocke of Christ would be brought againe into their former estate, or to a better than it was in innocent king Edward's days." *Life of Rogers,* given below in this collection.

[1] *As followeth.*] See 3 Wilkins, 166, 7.

condigne punishment to restraine the impugners of the foresaid faith, which newly and wickedly goe about and presume to sow their naughty and perverse doctrine, within our kingdome of England, and to preach and hold damnable conclusions, so notoriously repugnant and contrary to the same faith, to the perverting of our subjects and people, as we understand :—Before they any further proceed in their malicious errors, or else infect others, We have by these presents appointed you to bee inquisitor generall (all the chiefe divines of the said universitie being your assistants), and the same likewise to be done of al and singuler the graduats, divines and lawyers of the same universitie. And if they shall know any which be of the jurisdiction of the said universitie of Oxford, which be probably of them suspected to be in the favour, beleefe, or defence of any heresie or error, and specially of any of the conclusions publikely condemned by the reverend father, William, archbishop of Canturbury, by the councel of his clergie, or els of any other conclusion like unto any of them in meaning, or in words : and if henceforth you shall find any that shall beleve, favour, or defend any of the foresaid heresies or errors, or any other such like, or else which shall be so bold to receive into their houses and innes, master John Wickliffe, M. Nicolas Herford, M. Philip Reppindon, or M. John Ashton, or any other noted by probable suspition of any the foresaid heresies or errors, or any other like unto them in meaning, or in word : or that shall presume to communicate with any of them, or else to defend or favour any of such favourers, receivers, communicants and defenders, within seven daies after the same shall appeare and be manifest unto you, to banish and expell them from the universitie and towne of Oxford, till such time as they shall declare their innocence before the archbishop of Canturburie for the time being, by manifest purgation ; so notwithstanding, that such as be compelled to purge themselves, you certify us and the said archbishop under your seales, from time to time, within one month, that they be such maner of men. Commanding furthermore, that through all the halles of the said universitie, ye cause diligentlie to be searched and inquired out of hand ; if anie man have anie book [2] or tractation of the edition or compiling of the foresaid master John Wickliffe,

[2] *Anie book.*] See also 3 Wilkins, 204. Proclamation against Wickliffe's Books, A.D. 1387.

or Nicolas Herford: and that when and wheresoever ye shall chance to find any such booke or tractation, yee cause the same to be arrested and taken, and unto the foresaid archbishop within one moneth (without correction, corruption, or mutation whatsoever) word for word, and sentence for sentence, to be brought and presented. And therefore wee straitly enjoyne and command you, upon your fidelitie and allegeance wherein ye stand bound unto us, and upon paine of forfeiture of al and singular your liberties and priviledges of your said universitie, and of all that ever you have besides; that you give your diligent attendance upon the premisses, and that well and faithfully you execute the same in manner and forme aforesaid. And that you obey the foresaid archbishop, and his lawfull and honest mandates, that he shall thinke good to direct unto you in this behalfe, as it is meete ye should. And we give in charge unto the vicechancellor and maior of Oxford for the time being, and to all and singuler our sheriffes, under-sheriffes, bailiffes, and subjects, by these presents; that they aid, obey, and bee attendant upon you in the execution of the premisses. In witnesse whereof, &c. Witnesse the king at Westminster, the 13th day of July, the sixth yeere of his raigne." (A.D. 1382.)

The vicechancellor the same time in Oxford was master Robert Rigges. The two proctors were John Huntman and Walter Dish, who then, as far as they durst, favored the cause [3] of John Wickliffe and that side. Insomuch, that the same time and yeere, which was an. 1382. when certaine publike sermons should be appointed customablie at the feast of the Ascension, and of Corpus Christi to be preached in the cloyster of S. Frideswide (now called Christs church) before the people, by the vicechancellor aforesaid and the proctors, the doing thereof the vicechancellor aforesaid and proctors had committed to Philip Repington and Nicholas Herford, so that Nicolas Herford should preach on the Ascension day, and Repington upon Corpus Christi day.

First Herford beginning was noted to defend John Wickliffe, openly to be a faithfull, good and innocent man: for the which no small ado with outcries was among the friers.

[3] *Favored the cause.*] See Lewis's *Life*, &c., p. 114, 15. and *Records*, No. 34. See also No. 35.

After this the feast of Corpus Christi drew neere, upon which day it was looked for that Repington should preach.

When the friers understood this, fearing lest hee would rub the galles of their religion, they convented with the archbishop of Canturbury, that the same day a little before that Philip should preach, Wickliffe's conclusions which were privately condemned, should be openly defamed in the presence of the whole universitie. The doing of which matter was committed to Peter Stokes frier, standerd-bearer and chiefe champion of that side against Wickliffe. There were also letters [4] sent unto the commissarie, that he should helpe and aide him in publishing of the same conclusions.

These things thus done and finished, Repington at the houre appointed proceeded to his sermon. In the which sermon among many other things, he was reported to have uttered these sayings, or to this effect.

" That the popes or bishops ought not to be recommended [5] above temporall lords."

Also that " in morall matters he would defend master Wickliffe as a true catholike doctor."

Moreover, that " the duke of Lancaster was very earnestly affected and minded in this matter, and would that all such should be received under his protection :" besides many things mo which touched the praise and defence of Wickliffe.

And finallie, in concluding his sermon, he dismissed the people with this sentence : " I will (said hee) in the speculative doctrine, as appertaining to the matter of the sacrament of the altar, keepe silence and hold my peace, untill such time as God otherwise shall instruct and illuminate the hearts of the clergy."

When the sermon was done, Repington entred into S. Frideswides church, accompanied with many of his friends ; who, as the

[4] *There were also letters.*] These two documents, the letter to Stokes, and that to the commissary or vice-chancellor, are given by Lewis in his *Records*, Nos. 31 and 33.

[5] *Ought not to be recommended.*] Ought not to be *commended*, that is, *in prayer ;* according to what follows, p. 230; " minding there to prove, that the pope and the bishops ought to be *prayed for* before the lords temporall."—With Repington's Reserve on the Doctrine of the Eucharist, compare the process against Swinderby. Fox, p. 432 ; also the accounts of Bilney and Tindall, given below in this collection, and a note in Thorpe's *Examination*, on the words " material bread."

enemies surmised, were privilie weaponed under their garments, if need had been. Frier Stokes the Carmelite aforesaid, suspecting all this to be against him, and being afraid of hurt, kept himself within the sanctuarie of the church, not daring as then to put out his head. The vicechancellor and Repington, friendly saluting one another in the church porch, sent away the people, and so departed every man home to his owne house. There was not a little joy through the whole universitie for that sermon: but in the meane time, the unquiet and busie Carmelite slipt not his matter. For first by his letters hee declared the whole order of the matter unto the archbishoppe, exaggerating the perils and dangers that he was in, requiring and desiring his helpe and aid, pretermitting nothing, whereby to move and stirre up the archbishops minde, which of his owne nature was *as hot as a toste*, (as they say,) and ready enough to prosecute the matter of his owne accord, though no man had prickt him forward thereunto. Besides all this (three daies after) with a fierce and bold courage, the said frier breathing out threatnings and heresies against them, took the way unto the schooles, minding there to prove, that the pope and the bishops ought to be praied for before the lords temporall. Whiles this frier was thus occupied in the schooles, he was mocked and derided of all men, and shortly after hee was sent for by the archbishop to London: whom immediately after, the vicechancellor and Brightwell[6] followed up, to purge and cleere themselves and their adherents from the accusations of this frier Peter. At the length they being examined upon Wickliffes conclusions that were condemned, did all consent, that they were worthily condemned.

Then began the hatred on their part somewhat to appeare and shew, and specially all men were offended, and in the tops of these friers and religious men, upon whom whatsoever trouble or mischief was raised up they did impute it as to the authors and causers of the same. Amongst whom there was one Henry Crompe, a monke Cistertian, a well learned divine, which afterward was accused by the bishops of heresie. Hee at that time was openly suspended by the commissary, (because in his lectures he called the heretikes Lollards[7],) from his acts (as they terme

[6] *And Brightwell.*] Fox, p. 401, 402.

[7] *Called the heretikes Lollards.*] Our canonist Lynwood tells us, that this name was derived from the Latin *lolium*, which signifies *cockle;* because as

them) in the schoole.—Then he comming by and by up to London, made his complaint unto the archbishop and to the kings counsell.

Whereupon he obtaining the letters of the king, and of his counsell, by the vertue thereof (returning againe to the universitie) was restored to his former state; the words of which letter here followeth under written [8].

The Copy of the Kings Letter.

" The king to the vicechancelour and proctors of the universitie of Oxford, greeting. Whereas we of late understanding by the grievous complaint of Henry Crompe, monke, and regent in divinitie within the said university, how that he, being assisted by the reverend father in God the archbishop of Canterbury, and by other clerks and divines in the citie of London, to proceed in the condemnation of certaine conclusions erroneous and hereticall, hath been therefore molested by you: and that you through sinister suggestions of some adversaries (pretending the peace of the said university, to have been broken by the said Henry in his last lecture,) did therefore call him before you to appeare and answere; and for his not appearing, did therefore pronounce him as obstinat, and convict of peace-breaking; and also have suspended the said Henrie from his lectures, and all scholasticall acts: And whereas we by our writ, did call you up for the same, to appeare and answere before our counsell unto the premisses; so that all things being well tried and examined by the said counsell, it was found and determined, that all your processe against the said Henry, was void and of none effect, and commandement

that weed is a great damage to the wheat (*infelix lolium*, Georgic.) among which it grows; so the Lollards, their enemies said, corrupted and spoiled the well-meaning faithful among whom they were conversant. To this derivation of the word or name, our poet Chaucer alludes in the following words:

> "This Loller here woll preche us somewhat,
> He wolde sowin some difficulte,
> Or spring (*sprinkle*) in some cokkle in our clene corne."
>
> Squire's Prologue.

Others derive the name from one Walter Lollard, a German (Beausobre, *Dissertat. sur les Adamites*, &c.) Others again from Lullard or Lollards, the praises of God, a sect so named, which was dispersed through Brabant. Picteti Oratio, p. 29." Lewis's *Life of Bishop Pecock*, p. 10.

[8] *Under written.*] See Lewis's *Wickliffe*, p. 115, 16. and *Records*, No. 36.

given, that the said Henry should be restored and admitted againe to his former lectures and scholasticall acts, and to his pristine state, as you know: To the intent therefore that this decree aforesaid should be more duly executed of your part, we here by these presents straitly charge and command you, that you specdily revoke againe all your processe against the said Henry in the universitie aforesaid, with all other that followed thereof, and doe admit and cause to be restored againe the said Henry to his scholasticall acts, his accustomed lectures and pristine estate, without all delay, according to the forme of the decree and determination aforesaid. Enjoining you moreover, and your commissaries or deputies, and your successors, and all other masters, regent and not regent, and other presidents, officers, ministers, and schollers of the universitie aforesaid, upon your faith and allegiance you owe to us, that you doe not impeach, molest or grieve, or cause to be grieved any manner of way, privie or apert, the said frier Henry for the causes premised, or frier Peter Stokes Carmelite, for the occasion of his absence from the university, or frier Stephan Packington Carmelite, or any other religious or secular person favouring them, upon the occasion of any either word or deed whatsoever, concerning the doctrine of master John Wickliffe, Nicholas Herford, and Phillip Reppington, or the reproofe and condemnation of their heresies and errors, or the correction of their favourers, but that you doe procure the peace, unity, and quiet, within the said university, and chiefly betweene the religious and secular persons: and that you with all diligence nourish, increase, and preserve the same to the uttermost of your strength. And that you in no case omit to doe it accordingly, upon the forfaitures of all and singuler the liberties and priviledges of the university aforesaid. Witnesse my selfe at Westminster the 14th of July." (A.D. 1382.)

Mention was made, as you heard a little before, how master Rigges vicechancellor of Oxford comming up with master Brightwel to the archbishop of Canturbury, was there straitly examined of the conclusions of Wickliffe; where hee notwithstanding, through the help of the bishop of Winchester, obtained pardon, and was sent away againe with commandements and charges, to seek out all the favourers of John Wickcliffe. This commandement being received, Nicolas Herford, and Philip Reppington (being privily warned by the said vicechancellor) in the

meane season conveied themselves out of sight, and fled to the duke of Lancaster for succor and helpe: but the duke, whether for fear, or what cause else I cannot say, in the end forsooke his poore and miserable clients.

In the meane time, while they were fled thus to the duke, great search and inquisition was made for them, to cite and to apprehend them wheresoever they might be found. Whereupon the archbishop of Canturbury William Courtney, directed out his letters first to the vicechancellor of Oxford, then to the bishop of London named Robert Braybroke, charging them not onely to excommunicate the said Nicolas and Philip within their jurisdiction, and the said excommunication to be denounced likewise throughout all the diocesse of his suffragans: but also moreover, that diligent search and watch should be laid for them, both in Oxford and in London, that they might bee apprehended: requiring moreover, by them to be certified againe, what they had done in the premisses. And this was written the fourteenth day of July, anno 1382.

Unto these letters received from the archbishop, diligent certificat was given accordingly, as well of the bishop of London on his part, as also of the vicechancellor, the tenor whereof was this.

The Letter certificatorie of the Vicechancellor to the Archbishop.

"To the reverend father in Christ, Lord William, archbishop of Canturbury, primat of all England, and legat of the apostolike see: Robert Rigges, professor of divinity, and vicechancellor of the university of Oxford, greeting with due honour. Your letters bearing the date of the 14th of July I have received: by the authority whereof I have denounced, and caused to be denounced effectually, the foresaid Nicolas and Philip, to have bin, and to be excommunicat publikely and solemnly in the church of S. Mary, and in the schooles, and to be cited also personally, if by any meanes they might be apprehended, according as you commanded. But after diligent search laid for them of my part, to have them personally cited and apprehended, I could not finde either the said master Nicolas, or master Philip; who have hid or conveied themselves, unknowne to me. Whereof I thought here to give signification to your fatherhood. Sealed and testified with the seale of mine office." From Oxford the 25th of July.

In the mean time Nicolas Herford and Reppington being repulsed of the duke, and destitute (as was said) of his supportation, whether they were sent, or of their owne accord went to the archbishop, it is uncertaine. This I finde in a letter of the foresaid archbishop, contained in his register, that Reppington the 23d day of October the same yeere 1382, was reconciled againe to the archbishop, and also by his generall letter was released, and admitted to his scholasticall acts in the universitie. And so was also John Ashton; of whom (Christ willing) more shall follow hereafter. Of Nicolas Herford all this while I finde no speciall relation.

In the mean time, about the twenty-third of the month of September the said yeere, the king sent his mandate to the archbishop for collecting of a subsidie, and to have a convocation of the clergy summoned, against the next parliament, which should begin the eighteenth day of November. The archbishop likewise on the fifteenth day of October, directed his letters monitory (as the maner is) to Robert Braybroke bishop of London, to give the same admonition to all his suffragans, and other of the clergy within his province for the assembling of the convocation aforesaid. All which done and executed, the parliament beganne, being holden at Oxford the eighteenth day of November, where the convocation was kept in the monastery of Frideswide in Oxford. In the which convocation[9], the archbishop, with other bishops there sitting in their pontificalibus, declared two causes of that their present assembly, thereby (saith he) to represse heresies, which beganne newly in the realme to spring, and for correcting other excesses in the church. The other cause (said he) was to aid and support the king with some necessary subsidie of money to be gathered; which thus declared, the convocation was continued till the day following, which was the 19th of November.

At the said day and place, the archbishop, with the other prelats, assembling themselves as before, the archbishop after the used solemnitie, willed the procurators of the clergie, appointed for every diocesse, to consult within themselves, in some convenient several place, what they thought for their parts touching the redresse of things, to bee notified and declared to him and to his brethren, &c.

[9] *Which convocation.*] See 3 Wilkins, 172, 3.

Furthermore, "forasmuch," (saith he) "as it is so noysed through all the realme, that there were certaine in the universitie of Oxford, which did hold and maintaine conclusions" (as he calleth them) "heriticall and erroneous, condemned by him, and by other lawyers and doctors of divinitie: he therefore assigned the bishops of Sarum, Hereford and Rochester, with William Rugge then vicechancellor of the universitie of Oxford" (for belike Robert Rigge was then displaced) "as also William Berton, and John Middleton doctors; giving them his full authoritie with cursing and banning[1], to search and to enquire with all diligence and waies possible, over all and singuler whatsoever, either doctors, batchelors, or scholars of the said universitie, which did hold, teach, maintaine, and defend, in schooles or out of schooles, the said conclusions hereticall (as he called them) or erroneous, and afterwards to give certificate truely and plainely touching the premisses. And thus for that day the assemblie brake up to the next, and so to the next, and the third, being Monday, the 24th day of November." (Ex Regist. W. Courtney.)

On the which day, in the presence of the prelats and the clergie in the chapter house of S. Frideswide, came in Philip Repington, who there abjured the conclusions and assertions aforesaid, in this forme of words as followeth.

"In Dei nomine, Amen, I Philip Repington, canon of the house of Leicester, acknowledging one catholike and apostolike faith, do curse and also abjure all heresie, namely these heresies and errors under written, condemned and reproved by the decrees canonicall, and by you most reverend father, touching which hitherto I have beene diffamed; condemning moreover and reproving both them and the authors of them, and do confesse the same to bee catholically condemned: and I sweare also by these holy Evangelists, which here I hold in my hand, and doe promise, never by any perswasions of men, nor by any way hereafter, to defend or hold as true, any of the said conclusions under written: but doe and will stand and adhere in all things, to the determination of the holy catholike church, and to yours, in this behalfe. Over and besides, all such as stand contrarie to this faith, I do

[1] *With cursing and banning.*] A bann (so *banns* of marriage) denotes any public proclamation or edict. To bann, in like manner, is to *proclaim generally;* more *particularly* in a *bad sense,* to proscribe, to excommunicate, to *banish.*

pronounce them with their doctrine and followers worthie of everlasting curse. And if I my selfe shall presume at any time to hold or preach any thing contrarie to the premisses, I shall be content to abide the severitie of the canons. Subscribed with mine owne hand, and with mine own accord, Philip Repington." And thus the said Repington was discharged, who afterward was made bishop of Lincolne, and became at length the most bitter and extreme persecutor of this side, of all the other bishops within the realme, as in processe hereafter may appeare.

After the abjuration of this Repington, immediately was brought in John Ashton, student of divinitie; who being examined of those conclusions, and willed to say his mind, answered; that he was too simple and ignorant; and therefore would not, and could not answer any thing cleerely or distinctly to those conclusions.—Whereupon the archbishop assigned to him doctor W. Rugge the vicechancellor, and other divines, such as he required himselfe, to be instructed in the mysterie of those conclusions against the after noone: who then appearing againe after dinner before the archbishop and the prelats, did in like sort and forme of words abjure as did Repington before.

Of this John Ashton we read, that afterward by Thomas Arundell archbishop of Canturburie, hee was cited and condemned; but whether he died in prison, or was burned, we have yet no certainetie to shew. This is certaine by the plaine words of the chronicle of saint Albans, that when the archbishop, with his doctors and friers, sat in examination upon this John Ashton in London, the Londoners brake open the doore of the conclave, and did let the archbishop himselfe sitting in the citie of London, when he would have made processe against J. Ashton, an. 1382. —And thus much of J. Ashton.

As touching Nicolas Herford, during the time of this convocation, he did not appeare; and therefore had the sentence of excommunication. Against which he put his appeale from the archbishop to the king and his counsell. The archbishop would not admit it, but finding staies and stops caused him to bee apprehended and inclosed in prison. Notwithstanding through the will of God and good meanes he escaped out of the prison, returning againe to his former exercise, and preaching as hee did before, albeit in as covert and secret maner as hee could. Whereupon the archbishop thundring out his bolts of excommunication against him, sendeth to all pastors and ministers, willing them in all

churches, and all festivall daies, to divulge the said his excommunication against him, to all men. He writeth moreover and sendeth speciall charge to all and singuler of the laitie, to beware that their simplicitie be not deceived by his doctrine, but that they like catholike children will avoide him, and cause him of all other to be avoided.

Furthermore, not contented with this, he addresseth also his letter unto the king, requiring also the aide of his temporall sword to chop off his necke, whom he had alreadie cast downe.—See and note, reader, the seraphicall charitie of these priestly prelats towards the poore redeemed flocke of Christ! And yet these be they which washing their hands with Pilate, say and pretend: *Nobis non licet interficere quenquam:* it is not our parts to kill any man.—The copie of the letter written to the king is this.

The Letter of the Archbishop to the King.

"To the most excellent prince in Christ, &c. William, &c. greeting in him by whom kings doe reigne, and princes beare rule. Unto your kingly celsitude by the tenour of these presents we intimate, that one master Nicolas Herford doctor of divinitie, for his manifest contumacie and offence in not appearing before us being called at the day and place assigned, therefore is inwrapped in the sentence of the greater curse, publikelie by our ordinarie authority. And in the same sentence hath continued now fortie daies, and yet still continueth with indurate heart, wickedly contemning the keyes of the church, to the great perill both of his soule, and to the pernicious example of other. Forsomuch therefore, as the holy mother the church hath not to doe or to procede any further in this matter; we humblie desire your kingly majestie, to direct out your letters for the apprehending of the said excommunicate according to the custome of this realme of England, wholesomelie observed and kept hitherto; to the intent that such whom the feare of God doth not restraine from evill, the discipline of the secular arme may bridle and plucke backe from offending. Your princely celsitude the Lord long continue! From Lambeth the 15. of Januarie."

To this letter of the archbishop, might not the king (gentle reader) thus answere againe, and answere well:

"Your letters with your complaint and requests in the same

contained we have received and well considered. For the accomplishing whereof, ye shall understand, that as we are readilie bent to gratifie and satisfie your mind in this behalfe on the one side: so we must beware againe on the other, that our authoritie be not abused either to oppresse before wee know, or to judge before wee have tried. Wherefore forsomuch as you in your letters doe excite and sharpen the severe discipline of our secular sword, against one Nicolas Herford, for his not appearing before you; and yet shewing in the said your letters no certaine cause to us what you have to charge him withall: we therefore following the example of Alexander Magnus, or rather the rule of equitie in opening both our eares indifferently, to heare as well the one part as the other, doe assigne both to him, whenas he may be found, and to you when ye shall be called, a terme to appeare before us. To the intent that the controversie betweene you and him, standing upon points of religion, being tried by the true touchstone of God's holy word, due correction indifferentlie may be ministered, according as the offence shal be found. In the meane time, this we cannot but something marvell at in your said letters; First, to see you men of the church and angels of peace, to be so desirous of blood. Secondlie, to consider you againe so fierce in prosecuting the breach of your law, and yet so cold in pursuing the breach of the expresse law of God and his commandements. Thirdly, to behold the unstable doublenesse in your proceedings, who pretending in your publike sentence, to become as intreaters for them to us in the bowels of Jesus Christ, that we will withdraw from them the rigor of our severitie, and yet in your letters you be they which most set us on. If not appearing before you, be such a matter of contumacie in case of your law, that it is in no case to bee spared; what should then our princelie discipline have done to men of your calling? Henrie Spencer bishop of Norwich, being at Canturburie, was sent for by our speciall commandement to come to our speech, denied to come, and yet we spared him. John Stratford archbishop your predecessor, being required of our progenitor king Edward the third to come to him at Yorke, would not appeare: by the occasion whereof, Scotland the same time was lost, and yet was he suffred. The like might be said of Robert Winchelsey in the daies of king Edward the first, and of Edmund archbishop of Canturburie, in the daies of king Henrie the third. Stephan Langton was sent for by king John to come, he came not. The like contumacie was in Becket

toward king Henrie the second. Also in Anselme toward king Henrie the first. All these for their not appearing before their princes, ye doe excuse, who notwithstanding might have appeared without danger of life; this one man for not appearing before you, you thinke worthie of death; whose life you would have condemned notwithstanding, if he had appeared. It is no reason, if the squirill climing to the tree from the lion's clawes would not appeare, being sent for to be devoured, that the eagle therefore should seise upon him without any just cause declared against the partie. Wherefore according to this, and to that aforesaid, when he shall appeare, and you be called, and the cause justly weighed, due execution shall be ministered."

And thus far concerning Nicolas Herford, and the other aforesaid.—But all this meane while what became of J. Wickliffe it is not certainely knowne. Albeit so farre as may be gathered out of Walden, it appeareth that he was banished and driven to exile.—In the meane time it is not to be doubted, but he was alive during all this while, wheresoever he was, as by his letter may appeare, which he about this time wrote to pope Urbane the sixth. In the which letter he doth purge himselfe, that being commanded to appeare before the pope at Rome, hee came not; declaring also in the same a briefe confession of his faith. The copy of which epistle here followeth.

The Epistle of John Wickliffe sent unto Pope Urbane the Sixth. An. 1382.

"Verilie, I doe rejoyce to open and declare the faith which I doe hold unto every man, and especially unto the bishop of Rome: the which forsomuch as I doe suppose to be sound and true, he will most willingly confirme my said faith, or if it bee erroneous amend the same.

"First, I suppose, that the gospell of Christ, is the whole body of God's law; and Christ which did give that same law, I beleive him to be a very man [2], and in that point, to exceede the law of

[2] *To be a very man.*] In Lewis's *History*, p. 283, (*Records*, No. 23,) we have an ancient copy of this letter, which differs considerably from this of Fox. By help of this copy, it appears that the reading in the passage before us should be, "I believe him to be very God and very Man." It there stands as follows: "I beleve that Jesu Christ, that gaf in his own persoun this gospel, is very God and very Man, and be (by) this it passes all other

the gospell, and all other parts of the scripture. Againe, I doe give and hold the bishop of Rome, forsomuch as he is the vicar of Christ here in earth, to be bound most of all other men unto that law of the gospell. For the greatnesse amongst Christ's disciples, did not consist in worldly dignity or honours, but in the neere and exact following of Christ, in his life and maners. Again; I do gather out of the heart of the law of the Lord, that Christ for the time of his pilgrimage here, was a most poore man, abjecting and casting off all worldly rule and honour, as appeareth by the gospell of Mat. the 8. and the 2 Cor. 8. chap.

" Hereby I doe fully gather, that no faithfull man ought to follow, neither the pope himselfe, neither any of the holy men, but in such points, as he hath followed the Lord Jesus Christ. For Peter, and the sonnes of Zebede by desiring worldly honour, contrarie to the following of Christ's steps, did offend, and therefore in those errours they are not to be followed.

" Hereof I doe gather, as a counsell, that the pope ought to leave unto the secular power, all temporall dominion and rule, and thereunto effectually to move and exhort his whole clergie, for so did Christ, and specially by his apostles.

" Wherefore if I have erred in any of these points, I will most humblie submit my selfe unto correction, even by death if necessitie so require.—And if I could labour[3] according to my will in mine owne person, I would surely present my selfe before the bishop of Rome; but the Lord hath otherwise visited me to the contrarie, and hath taught me rather to obey God then men. Forsomuch then, as God hath given unto our pope, just and true evangelicall instinctions, we ought to pray, that those motions be not extinguished by any subtle or craftie device. And that the pope and cardinals be not moved to doe any thing, contrarie unto the law of the Lord. Wherefore let us pray unto our God, that he will so stir up our pope Urbane the sixth as he began, that he with his clergie may follow the Lord Jesus Christ, in life and

lawes." And this is the purport of Fox's Latin original, p. 16. The sentence in the text ought therefore to have been rendered thus: " and *that* Christ, which did give this same gospel, I believe to be very God, and very Man; and in this I believe the gospel law to surpass all other parts of scripture."

[3] *If I could labour.*] This seems to intimate that Dr. Wickliffe was cited by the pope to appear before him after his retiring to Lutterworth, and that he pleaded his being a paralytic as his excuse. Lewis, p. 284.

maners: and that they may teach the people effectually, and that they likewise may faithfully follow them in the same. And let us specially pray, that our pope may be preserved from all maligne and evill counsell, which we doe know that evill and envious men of his houshould would give him. And seeing the Lord will not suffer us to bee tempted above our power, much lesse then will he require of any creature to doe that thing which they are not able, forsomuch, as that is the plaine condition and maner of antichrist."

Thus much wrote John Wickliffe unto pope Urban. But this pope Urbane, otherwise tearmed Turbanus [4], was so hot in his warres against Clement the French pope his adversarie, that he had no leisure, and lesse list [5], to attend unto Wickliffe's matters. By the occasion of which schisme, God so provided for poore Wickliffe, that he was in some more rest and quietnesse; and returning againe within short space, either from his banishment, or from some other place where he was secretly kept, he repaired to his parish of Lutterworth, where he was parson, and there quietly departing [6] this mortall life, slept in peace in the Lord, in the beginning of the yiere 1384, upon Silvester's day.

[4] *Otherwise tearmed Turbanus.*] "Urban, in the eleven years that he held the pontificate, debased the dignities of the Church by promoting the meanest persons to the purple; and fomented wars between the Christian princes; for *which cause, instead of Urbanus, he was generally called Turbanus.* He exceeded all the popes that ever possessed the see of Rome in cruelty." Duck's *Life of Archbishop Chichele*, p. 10.

[5] *And lesse list.*] See above, p. 210, note.

[6] *Quietly departing.*] His death was occasioned by the palsy.

"On this occasion" (says Mr. Lewis, *History*, p. 101) "is Dr. Wickliffe's memory unmercifully insulted by his adversaries. Thus one of them (Walsingham, *Hist. Ang.* p. 312) tells us: It was reported that he had prepared accusations and blasphemies, which he intended, on the day he was taken ill, to have uttered in his pulpit against the saint and martyr of the day (Thomas Becket), but that by the judgment of God he was suddenly struck, and the palsy seized all his limbs; and that mouth which was to have spoken huge things against God and his saints, or holy church, was miserably drawn aside, and afforded a frightful spectacle to the beholders. His tongue was speechless and his head shook, showing plainly that the curse which God had thundered forth against Cain, was also inflicted on him! Though it seems a report was all the ground of this censure, which is quite spoiled if what Horne attests be true, that Dr. W. was seized on Holy Innocents, the day before the feast of Thomas Becket." And still more is it spoiled, we may add, if that which Horne further attests be true, that W. had been a paralytic during two whole years before his death. [Lewis

This Wickliffe[7] had written divers and sundrie workes, the which in the yeare of our Lord 1410, were burnt at Oxford, the

Lewis introduces, from Bale, an anecdote of a former sickness of Wickliffe, which may perhaps afford a little amusement to my readers.

"It seems that the fatigue which Dr. Wickliffe met with this year (A.D. 1378) by attending the pope's delegates, occasioned his having a dangerous fit of sickness, that brought him almost to the point of death. The friers mendicant hearing of it, they immediately instructed spokesmen to be sent to him in their behalf, namely, *four* solemn doctors, whom they called regents, every order his doctor. And that the message might be the more solemn, they joined with them four senators of the city (Oxford), whom they call Aldermen of the Wards. They, when they came to him, found him lying in his bed; and first of all wished him health, and a recovery from his distemper. After some time they took notice to him of the many and great injuries which he had done to them (the begging friars) by his sermons and writings, and exhorted him, that, now he was at the point of death, he would, as a true penitent, bewail and revoke in their presence, whatever things he had said to their disparagement. But Dr. Wickliffe immediately recovering strength, called his servants to him, and ordered them to raise him a little on his pillows, which, when they had done, he said with a loud voice, *I shall not die but live, and declare the evil deeds of the friars.* On which the doctors, &c. departed from him in confusion, and Dr. Wickliffe afterwards recovered." Lewis's *History*, p. 64.

[7] *This Wickliffe.*] Here I subjoin Wickliffe's character from the pen of Henry Wharton (Appendix to Cave's *Hist. Literaria*, ii. p. 51, 52) as translated from the Latin, by Lewis in his *Life of W.* c. vii. p. 125.

"He was a man, than whom the Christian world in these last ages has not produced a greater; and who seems to have been placed as much above praise as he is above envy. He had well studied all the parts of theological learning, and was well skilled in the canon, civil, and our own municipal laws, and was endowed with an uncommon gravity of manners, and above all things had a flaming zeal for God, and love for his neighbour. Hence arose that earnest and vehement desire of restoring the primitive purity in the church in that ignorant and degenerate age in which he lived; which desire he was notwithstanding so far from suffering to go beyond its bounds, that he made it a matter of conscience to preserve all the rights of ecclesiastical discipline untouched, and often blames the religious, as they were called, for breaking in upon them (by getting themselves exempted from the episcopal jurisdiction). His excellent piety, and unblemished life, even the worst and most spiteful of all his adversaries, never dared to call in question: and his very excellent learning and uncommon abilities very many of them have sufficiently owned. And indeed in those writings of his which are yet remaining, Dr. Wiclif shows an extraordinary knowledge of the Scriptures for the time he lived in, discovers a very good judgment, argues closely and smartly, and breathes a spirit of excellent piety. Nothing is to be found in him that is either childish or trifling, a fault very common to the writers of that age; but every thing he says is grave, judicious, and exact. In fine,

abbat of Shrewsburie being then commissarie, and sent to oversee that matter. And not onely in England, but in Boheme likewise, the bookes of the said Wickliffe were set on fire, by one Subincus [8] archbishop of Prage, who made diligent inquisition for the same, and burned them. The number of the volumes, which he is said to have burned, most excellently written, and richly adorned with bosses of gold, and rich coverings (as Eneas Silvius [9] writeth) were above two hundred.

Johannes Cocleus in his booke *De historia Hussitarum*, speaking of the bookes of Wickliffe, testifieth that hee wrote verie many bookes, sermons, and tractations. Moreover, the said Cocleus speaking of himselfe, recordeth also, that there was a certaine bishop in England which wrote unto him, declaring, that he had yet remaining in his custodie two huge and mightie volumes of John Wickliffe's workes, which for the quantities thereof might seeme to be equall with the workes of saint Augustine.

Amongst other of his treatises I my selfe also have found out certaine, as *De sensu et veritate Scripturæ*. Item, *De Ecclesia*. Item, *De Eucharistia confessio Wicklevi;* which I intend hereafter, the Lord so granting, to publish abrode.

As concerning certaine answeres of John Wickliffe which he wrote to king Richard the second, touching the right and title of the king, and of the pope; because they are but short, I thought here to annex them. The effect whereof here followeth.

It was demanded, "whether the kingdome of England may lawfully in case of necessitie, for its owne defence, detaine and keepe backe the treasure of the kingdome, that it be not carried away to forren and strange nations, the pope himselfe demanding and requiring the same under paine of censure, and by vertue of obedience."

Wickliffe "setting apart the minds of learned men, what might be said in the matter, either by the canon law, or by the law of England, or the civil law, it resteth (saith he) now onely to perswade and prove the affirmative part of this doubt by the principles of Christs law.

he was a man who wanted nothing to render his learning consummate, but his living in an happier age." p. 125, 6.

[8] *By one Subincus.*] Zbinco of Hazemburg, who is said by the Dominicans Richard and Giraud to have been poisoned by the Hussites in 1411.

[9] *Eneas Sylvius.*] Afterwards pope Pius II.

" And first I prove it thus: Every naturall bodie hath power given of God to resist against his contrarie, and to preserve it selfe in due estate, as philosophers know very well. Insomuch, that bodies without life are indued with such kind of power (as it is evident) unto whom hardnesse is given to resist those things that would breake them, and coldnesse to withstand the heate that dissolveth them. Forsomuch then, as the kingdome of England (after the maner and phrase of the Scriptures) ought to bee one body, and the clergie with the communaltie, the members thereof, it seemeth that the same kingdome hath such power given it of God; and so much the more apparant, by how much the same body is more precious unto God, adorned with vertue and knowledge. Forsomuch then as there is no power given of God unto any creature, for any end or purpose, but that hee may lawfully use the same to that end and purpose; it followeth that our kingdome may lawfully keep backe and detaine their treasure for the defence of it selfe, in what case soever necessitie do require the same.

" Secondarilie, the same is proved by the law of the gospell. For the pope cannot challenge the treasure of this kingdome, but under the title of almes, and consequently under the pretence of the workes of mercy, according to the rules of charity.

" But in case aforesaid, the title of almes ought utterly to cease: ergo, the right and title of challenging the treasure of our realme shall cease also in the presupposed necessitie. Forsomuch as all charitie hath his beginning of himselfe [1], it were no worke of charitie, but of mere madnesse, to send away the treasures of the realme unto forren nations, whereby the realme it selfe may fall into ruine, under the pretence of such charitie.[2] "

This Wickliffe albeit in his life time he had many grievous enemies, yet notwithstanding hee had many good friends, men not

[1] *Of himselfe.*] *Charity begins at home.*

[2] *Of such charitie.*] " Richard II. at his beginning, caused John Wickliffe, esteemed the most knowing man of those times, to consider the right of stopping the payment of Peter-pence: whose determination in that particular yet remains .... He therein shows, that those payments, being no other than alms, the kingdom was not obliged to continue them longer, than stood with its own convenience, and not to its detriment or ruin; agreeing therein with that of the divines, " extra casus necessitatis et superfluitatis eleemosyna non est in præcepto." Twisden's *Historical Vindication,* p. 76. Compare Lewis's *Life,* &c. p. 54, 55.

only of the base and meanest sort, but also nobility, amongst whom these are to be numbered; John Clenbon, Lewes Clifford, Richard Sturius, Thomas Latimer, William Nevill, John Mountegew who plucked downe all the images in his church. Besides all these, there was the earle of Salisburie, who for contempt in him noted towards the sacrament, in carrying it home to his house, was enjoyned by Radulf Ergom, bishop of Salisburie, to make in Salisburie a crosse of stone, in which all the storie of the matter should bee written, and he every Friday during his life to come to the crosse bare-foot, and bare-headed in his shirt, and there kneeling upon his knees, to do penance for his fact.

The Londoners at this time somewhat boldly trusting to the maiors authoritie, who for that yeare (1381-2) was John of Northampton, tooke upon them the office of the bishops, in punishing the vices (belonging to civill law) of such persons as they had found and apprehended in committing both fornication and adulterie. For first they put the women in the prison which amongst them then was named Dolium[3]. And lastly bringing them into the market-place, where every man might behold them, and cutting off their golden lockes from their heads, they caused them to be caried about the streetes, with bagpipes and trumpets blowne before them, to the intent they should bee the better knowne and their companies avoided: according to the maner then of certain theeves that were named *Appellatores*, (accusers or peachers of others that were guiltlessee) which were so served. And with such other like opprobious and reprochfull contumelies, did they serve the men also that were taken with them in committing the forenamed wickednesse and vices.—Here the storie recordeth how the said Londoners were incouraged hereunto by John Wickliffe and others that followed his doctrine to perpetrate this act, in the reproch of the prelats being of the clergie. For they said, that they did not so much abhor to see the great negligence of those to whom that charge belonged, but also their filthie avarice they did as much detest; which for greedinesse of money were choked with bribes, and winking at the penalties due by the lawes appointed, suffered such persons favourably to continue in their wickedness. They said furthermore, that they greatly feared, lest for such wickednesse perpetrated within the

[3] *Named Dolium.*] "In the year 1403, the prison in Cornhill, called the *Tun*, was turned into the conduit, there now standing." Fox, p. 477.

citie and so apparently dissimuled, that God would take vengeance upon them and destroy their citie. Wherefore they said, that they could do no lesse than to purge the same; lest by the sufferance thereof, God would bring a plague upon them, or destroy them with the sword, or cause the earth to swallow up both them and their citie.

This storie (gentle reader) albeit the author thereof whom I follow, doth give it out in reprochfull wise, to the great discommendation of the Londoners for so doing; yet I thought not to omit, but to commit the same to memorie; which seemeth to me rather to tend unto the worthie commendation both of the Londoners that so did, and to the necessarie example of all other cities to follow the same.

After these things thus declared, let us now adjoine the testimoniall[4] of the universitie of Oxford, of John Wickliffe.

"*The publike testimonie given out by the university of Oxford, touching the commendation of the great learning and good life of John Wickliffe.*

"Unto all and singuler the children of our holy mother the church, to whom this present letter shall come; the vicechancellor of the universitie of Oxford, with the whole congregation of the masters, wish perpetual health in the Lord. Forsomuch as it is not commonly seene, that the acts and monuments of valiant men, nor the praise and merits of good men should be passed over and hidden with perpetuall silence, but that true report and fame should continually spread abrode the same in strange and farre distant places, both for the witnesse of the same, and example of others: Forasmuch also as the provident discretion of mans nature being recompensed with cruelty, hath devised and ordained this buckler and defence, against such as doe blaspheme and slander other mens doings, that whensoever witnesse by word of mouth cannot be present, the pen by writing may supply the same:

"Hereupon it followeth, that the special good will and care which we bear unto John Wickliffe, sometime child of this our universitie, and professour of divinitie, moving and stirring our minds (as his manners and conditions required no lesse) with

[4] *The testimoniall*] See Lewis's *Records*, No. 28.

one mind, voice, and testimonie, wee doe witnesse, all his conditions and doings throughout his whole life, to have been most sincere and commendable: whose honest maners and conditions, profoundnesse of learning, and most redolent renoune and fame, wee desire the more earnestly to bee notified and knowne unto all faithfull, for that we understand the maturitie and ripenesse of his conversation, his diligent labours and travels to tend to the praise of God, the helpe and safegard of others, and the profit of the church.

"Wherefore we signifie unto you by these presents, that his conversation (even from his youth upwards, unto the time of his death) was so praiseworthie and honest, that never at any time was there any note or spot of suspicion noysed of him. But in his answering, reading, preaching and determining, he behaved himselfe laudably, and as a stout and valiant champion of the faith; vanquishing by the force of the Scriptures, all such who by their wilful beggery blasphemed and slandered Christs religion. Neither was this said doctor convict of any heresie, either burned of our prelats after his buriall. God forbid that our prelats should have condemned a man of such honestie, for an heretike: who amongst all the rest of the universitie, had written in logicke, philosophie, divinitie, moralitie, and the speculative art without peere. The knowledge of which all and singuler things, wee doe desire to testifie and deliver forth; to the intent, that the fame and renoune of this said doctor, may be the more evident and had in reputation, amongst them, unto whose hands these present letters testimoniall shall come [5].

"In witnes whereof, we have caused these our letters testimoniall to bee sealed with our common seale. Dated at Oxford in our congregation house, the 5 day of October, in the yeare of our Lord, 1406."

[5] *Shall come.*] It must not be concealed, that the authenticity of this important document is disputed, upon the authority of Dr. Thomas Gascoigne; who affirms, that "Peter Paine, an heretic, stole the common seal of the university, under which he wrote to the hereticks at Prague in Bohemia, that Oxford and all England were of the same belief with those of Prague, except the false friers mendicants."—This Paine was a zealous reformer: he died A. D. 1433. With regard to Gascoigne's authority, it is plain that he misrepresents the testimonial to such a degree, as to make it probable that he had never seen it. Jeremy Collier, who is very unfavourably disposed towards the memory of Wickliffe, does not hesitate to affirm positively, "that the testimonial was counterfeited;" and "has apparent marks of a counter-

Now as wee have declared the testimony of the universitie of Oxford concerning the praise of John Wicliffe, it followeth likewise, that wee set forth and expresse the contrary censure and judgements of his enemies, blinded with malicious hatred and corrupt affections against him, especially of the popes councell gathered at Constance, proceeding first in condemning his bookes, then of his articles, and afterward burning of his bones.

The Decree of the Synode of Constance, touching the taking up of the bodie and bones of John Wickliffe to be burned, 41 yeeres after he was buried in his owne parish at Lutterworth.

" Forasmuch as by the authoritie of the sentence and decree of the councell of Rome, and by the commandement of the church and the apostolicall see, after due delayes being given, they proceeded unto the condemnation of the said John Wickliffe, and his memorie; having first made proclamation, and given commandement to call forth whosoever would defend the said Wickliffe, or his memorie (if there were any such), but there did none appeare, which would either defend him or his memorie. And moreover, witnesses being examined by commissioners appointed by pope John and his councell, upon the impenitencie and finall obstinacie and stubbornnesse of the said John Wickliffe (reserving that which is to be reserved, as in such busines the order of the law requireth) and his impenitencie and obstinacy even unto his end, being sufficiently proved by evident signs and tokens, and also by lawful witnesses, and credit lawfullie given thereunto: Wherefore at the instance of the steward of the treasurie, proclamation being made to heare and understand the sentence

feit recommendation." *Eccles. Hist.* vol. i. p 624. The question is examined at full length by Lewis in his *History*, p. 183. 192. He is by no means disposed to give up the authenticity; but maintains it, as it should seem, upon very good grounds. The utmost concession, he thinks, which can be made to the adversary, is to admit as a conjecture, that it is possible Wickliffe's party might take advantage of the vacation, and the absence of his enemies from the university, and get this testimonial passed by the majority of those who came thither for that purpose.

As to the practical value and importance of this testimonial, we have without it ample direct evidence of the popularity at Oxford of Wickliffe's person and his cause, besides the indirect testimony of the complaints of his adversaries. See Wilkins's *Concilia*, iii. p. 318. 336. Lewis's *History*, p. 191. also above, p. 230, 1.

against this day; the sacred synod declareth, determineth, and giveth sentence, that the said John Wickliffe was a notorious obstinate heretike, and that he died in his heresie, cursing and condemning both him and his memorie.

" This synod also decreeth and ordaineth, that the body and bones of the said John Wickliffe, if it might be discerned and knowne from the bodies of other faithfull people, bee taken out of the ground, and throwne away farre from the buriall of any church, according unto the canon lawes [6] and decrees. Which determination and sentence definitive being read and pronounced, the lord president, and the foresaid presidents of the 4 nations, being demanded and asked whether it did please them or no? They all answered (and first Hostiensis the president, and after him the other presidents of the nations) that it pleased them very well, and so they allowed and confirmed all the premisses."

What Heraclitus would not laugh, or what Democritus would not weepe, to see these so sage and reverend Catoes, to occupie their heades to take up a poore mans bodie, so long dead and buried before, by the space of 41 yeeres? and yet peradventure they were not able to find his right bones, but tooke up some other bodie, and so of a catholicke made an hereticke. Albeit, herein Wickliffe had some cause to give them thanks that they would at least spare him so long till hee was dead, and also to give him so long respite after his death, 41 yeeres to rest in his

[6] *According unto the canon lawes.*] If after death any one shall be found to have been an heretic, his body must be digged up, and his bones burnt. *Concil. Albiense, canon* 52.

" Seldom shall ye see a knowen heretyke *buried*, but most commonly *burned*. Example of this hath bene lately sene here in England, by Thomas Hytton, Thomas Bylney, &c. The body of Formosus was first taken up by Steven vi. bishop of Rome, and disgraded. The bones of master John Wickliffe were taken up and burned forty years after his death. So of late years, in Worcester diocese, the body of master William Tracy, Esq., and in London, the body of Richard Hunn, merchant-taylor. Moreover, John Colet, dean of Paul's in London, also was not far from the same, for reading Paul's Epistles. Bale's *Image of both churches*. Revelation, chap. xi.

Several other accounts of similar proceedings against the bones of declared heretics may be found during the progress of the English Reformation. See Fox, p. 1438. (John Tooly) p. 1556. (John and William Glover) p. 1777. (Martin Bucer and Paulus Fagius at Cambridge) p. 1785. (Peter Martyr's wife at Oxford), &c.

sepulchre before they ungraved him, and turned him from earth to ashes: which ashes also, they tooke and threw into the river[7]. And so was he resolved into three elements, earth, fire, and water, they thinking thereby utterly to extinct and abolish both the name and doctrine of Wickliffe for ever. Not much unlike to the example of the old Pharisies and sepulcher-knights, which when they had brought the Lord unto the grave, thought to make him sure never to rise againe. But these and all other must know, that as there is no councell against the Lord; so there is no keeping down of veritie, but it will spring and come out of dust and ashes, as appeared right well in this man. For though they digged up his bodie, burnt his bones, and drowned his ashes; yet the word of God and truth of his doctrine with the fruite and successe thereof they could not burne, which yet to this day, for the most part of his articles, doe remaine, notwithstanding the transitorie bodie and bones of the man was thus consumed and dispersed.

These things thus finished and accomplished, which pertain to the storie and time of Wickliffe: let us now (by the supportation of the Lord) proceed to intreate and write of the rest, which either in his time[8] or after his time, springing out of the same

[7] *Into the river.*] "This river," says Fuller beautifully, "conveyed his ashes into Avon, Avon into Severn, Severn into the narrow seas, they into the main ocean; and thus the ashes of Wickliffe are the emblem of his doctrine, which now is dispersed all the world over."

[8] *Which either in his time.*] The progress of Wickliffe's opinions, both among the clergy and laity, was exceedingly rapid and extensive. "The number of those who believed in his doctrine" (says Knyghton, a contemporary historian) "very much increased, and, like suckers growing out of the root of a tree, were multiplied; and every where filled the circuit of the kingdom. You could not meet two people in the way, but one of them was a disciple of Wickliffe." *De Eventib. Angliæ*, p. 2663. Walsingham is full of similar complainings. *Hist. Angliæ*, pp. 304. 256. 281. Wickliffe himself declares, that a third part of the clergy entertained the same opinions as he did respecting the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. "I am certaine of the thirdde parte of the clergie that defendes thise doutes that is here said, that they will defende it on paine of her lyfe." Knyghton, p. 2650. Lewis's *Hist.* p. 88. And in another place he thus speaks of the nobility: "But one coumfort is of knyghtes, that they saveren muche the gospel, and have wylle to rede in Englysche the gospel of Crist's Lyfe." Lewis *on the Translations of the Bible*, p. 22. The persecution of his followers helped, if we may believe Fox, only to increase their number. "Such be the workes of the Lord, passing all mens admiration; all this notwithstanding, so far was it off, that the

universitie, and raised up (as ye would say) out of his ashes were partakers of the same persecution. Of whom speaketh Thomas Walden[9] in his booke, *De Sacramentis et Sacramentalibus*, cap. 53; where he saith, that after Wickliffe many suffered most cruel death, and many mo did forsake the realme.

In the number of whom was William Swinderby, Walter Brute, John Purvey, Richard White, William Thorpe, Raynold Pecocke, bishop of S. Assaph, and afterward of Chichester.

To this catalogue also pertaineth (mentioned in ancient writers) Lawrence Redman master of arts, David Sautre divine, John Aschwarby vicar of S. Marie church at Oxford, William James an excellent young man and well learned, Thomas Brightwell, and William Haulam a civillian, Rafe Grenhurst, John Scut, and Philip Norice! which being excommunicated by pope Eugenius the fourth, in the yeere of our Lord 1446, appealed unto a generall or œcumenicall councell.

Peter Paine flying from Oxford unto Boheme, did stoutlie contend against the sophisters, as touching both kinds in the sacrament of the last supper. Who afterward among the rest of the orators was one of the 14 that was sent unto the councell at Basill; whereas by the space of three daies, he disputed upon the 4 article, which was as touching the civill dominion of the clergy, anno 1438. Also the lord Cobham, &c. with divers others besides.

To these above rehearsed and other favourers of Wickliffe, within this countrie of England, wee may adde also the Bohemians; forsomuch as the propagation of the said doctrine of Wickliffe, in that countrie also tooke roote[1], comming from England to Boheme, by this occasion as in storie here followeth.

number and courage of these good men was vanquished, that rather they multiplied daily and increased. For so I find in registers recorded, that these foresaid persons, whom the king and the catholicke fathers did so greatly detest for heretickes, were in divers countries of this realme dispersed, and increased, especially at London, in Lincolnshire, in Norfolke, in Herefordshire, in Shrewsburie, in Calice, and divers other quarters mo." p. 485.

[9] *Thomas Walden.*] See note at p. 169.

[1] *Also tooke roote.*] Fox has adverted to this interesting topic, on another occasion, in an affecting appeal and expostulation to his own university, written from Strasburgh, about the month of August 1554, soon after the intelligence had reached that place, of recantations going on at Oxford, before commissioners sent down by queen Mary, not long after her accession; and considering that the document is extremely scarce, I shall give an extract

There chanced at that time a certaine student of the countrie of Bohemia to be at Oxford, one of a wealthie house and also of a

from it here. The address is entitled "*Opistographia ad Oxonienses,*" and is subjoined to his "*Commentarii Rerum in Ecclesia gestarum,* &c. Liber, 1 mus Argent. 1554." 8vo; a volume now very rarely to be met with.

"Id si nunc quærimus *ubi primum,* obductus tam diu Evangelicæ doctrinæ vigor, reviviscere, seseque proferre cœpit, eam profecto esse Oxoniam vestram fateri necesse est. Nam utcunque nunc, ubique apud omnes ecclesias recepta efflorescat Evangelii professio, certe *prima hujus initia haud aliunde quam a vobis profluxerunt.* Hic enim justa sementis est, unde, velut ex traduce, tot ista divinæ cognitionis plantaria, per universos fere mortales, nunc propagata cernimus. Hic enim salutiferum illud fermentum a Deo acceptum, quo *primum Boëmia, mox Germania,* ac *vicinæ nationes* fermentari cœperunt; donec tandem, occulta divinæ virtutis efficacia, universa insuper massa Christiani populi correpta est. Agnoscitis itaque, Oxonienses, fortunæ ac muneris vestri felicitatem: superest ut pari constantia laudibus nunc vestris respondeatis. Divinæ profecto felicitatis fuit, quod olim religionis dedistis initia, iterumque mundo Christum veluti parturiret Oxonia vestra: vobis nunc acceptam majorum virtute gloriam hanc exuperare dignum est: certe non æquare, aut non conservare vos, quam citra labores accepistis, non tam illis gloriosum, quam vobis probrosum fuerit . . . Audio enim nuper a vobis nonnullis subscriptum esse obsoleto illi ac jam dudum exploso articulo, *de Transubstantiatione.* . . . Age, et quos tandem causæ hujus afflictæ veritas sibi patronos, aut quod suffugium inveniet, si vos, qui primi in hoc certamine προμαχοι stetistis, primi nunc in fugam versi, *ripsaspides* videamini? . . . Quodsi igitur Jo. Wiclevus, electissimum Evangelii instaurandi organum, simulque cum eo Oxoniensium complures ea tempestate, quum omnia adhuc tenebris obnubilata, nec usquam per totam Europam auxiliaris hypersaspistes ullus apparuit, soli tamen ipsi tam fortiter causam hanc adversus hydram illam Romanam sustinere sint ausi; quid vos nunc, Oxonienses, post tot domestica exempla, in tanta Evangelii claritudine, denique eo tempore, quum multo major, certe potior, omnium Ecclesiarum pars, velut junctis fœderibus eodem coëant, facere conveniet?—At fingite nunc Wiclevum, cæterosque quos Schola hæc aliquando peperit, fortissimos Christianæ militiæ satellites, nunc reviviscentes, post tot labores et ærumnas suas, vestram hanc, sive ignaviam, sive inscitiam contemplari: annon stupore quodam correpti graviter meritoque vos coarguant? Imo an eandem hanc esse Academiam agnoscerent; quæ adeo a pristina forma nescio quam metamorphosin, incuria vestra pati videatur? . . . Quamobrem agite tandem Oxonienses, fratres, patres, prudentiam appello vestram, ut cum Cicerone vos moneam, 'Hæc non numero, sed pondere metiamini.' . . . Quanquam dubium non est, quin plerique vestrûm vi magis ac impulsu alieno, quam vestro judicio ducti, tantæ stultitiæ subscribitis. Et fieri possit, ut non publico Academiæ consensu res sic acta sit, sed pauci qui præsunt collegiis, adjunctis sibi aliquot ex sententia confœderatis, privata conspiratione rem inter se tractarint, ubi aliis forsan cordatioribus interesse non licuit; alii invidiæ metu, alii turbarum odio conquiescere maluerunt; nonnulli blanditiis etiam allecti, pedibus magis quam animo in

noble stocke. Who returning home from the universitie of Oxford, to the universitie of Prage, carried with him certain bookes of Wickliffe, *De realibus Universalibus*, *De civili jure et divino*, *De ecclesia*, *De quæstionibus variis contra clerum*, *&c.* It chanced the same time, a certain noble man in the citie of Prage, had founded and builded a great church of Matthias and Mattheus, which church was called Bethleem, giving to it great lands, and finding in it two preachers every day, to preach both holie day, and working day to the people. Of the which two preachers, John Hus was one, a man of great knowledge, of a pregnant wit, and excellentlie favoured for his worthie life amongst them. This John Hus having familiarittie with this young man, in reading and perusing these books of Wickliffe, took such pleasure and fruit in reading thereof, that not only he began to defend this author openlie in the schooles, but also in his sermons; commending him for a good, an holie, and heavenlie man, wishing himselfe when he should die, to be there placed whereas the soule of Wickliffe should be.—And thus for the spreading of Wickliffes doctrine enough [2].

sententiam concesserunt; atque ita privato syncretismo publica fortassis autoritas prætexitur, quo magis fucus fiat populo. Postremo, ubi doctissima pars jam in exilium pulsa mittitur, quid mirum, si domi relicta pars deterior vincat meliorem?" P. 207, &c.

[2] *Wickliffes doctrine enough.*] Still, I hope I may be indulged in the liberty of adding one paragraph, as a further close to this department of our subject. I borrow it from Lewis.

"But though these barbarities, so reproachful to the Christian name and religion, terrified men's minds, and forced them to a quiet submission; yet they no way contributed to alter their judgments, and settle their belief. Nay, it was very plain, that, though by authority, or the secular arm, whereby they were devoted to destruction, the Wiclifites were *oppressed;* they were not *extinguished.* For although it was made more than capital to have even a line of Wiclif's writings, there were those who had courage enough to preserve them, and to take copies of them; although for the crime of having them, some of them were burnt alive, with their little books. And indeed how little these cruelties served to convince men, very plainly appeared; *when,* at the Reformation, about one hundred years after, these restraints were either moderated or quite taken off, the whole nation, we see, whatever their outward profession was before, unanimously, as it were, embraced these principles, and showed themselves very earnest in their defence.—Although *we* are *now* unhappily fallen into an age that has lost its first love, and is so generally corrupted both in principle and practice, as to suffer the opposition then made to popish tyranny and superstition to be condemned, and the cruelties used to force men to approve of them, to be palliated and discredited." P. 135,6. Edit. 1820.

Thus it may appeare how the gospel of Christ preached by John Wickliffe and others, beganne to spread and fructifie abroad in London, and other places of the realme: and more would have done no doubt, had not William Courtney, the archbishop, and other prelats with the king, set them so forcibly with might and maine, to gainstand the course thereof. Albeit, I finde none which yet were put to death [3] therefore, during the raigne of this king Richard the second. Whereby it is to bee thought of this king, that although he cannot be utterly excused for molesting the godly and innocent preachers of that time, (as by his briefes and letters afore mentioned may appeare) yet neither was he so cruel against them, as other that came after him: and that which hee did, seemed to proceed by the instigation of the pope and

[3] *None which yet were put to death.*] "King Henrie the fourth, who was the deposer of king Richard, was the first of all English kings that began the unmercifull burning of Christs saints for standing against the pope; and William Sautre, the true and faithfull martyr of Christ, was the first of all them in Wickliffe's time, which I find to be burned in the raigne of the foresaid king; which was in the yeere of our Lord 1400." Fox, p. 477. It was enacted by the parliament, A.D. 1400, that any one who preached or wrote contrary to the catholic faith, and determinations of holy church, should be arrested, and proceeded against according to the canons; and being convicted should be imprisoned, and tried at the diocesan's discretion; and if he refused to abjure, or relapsed after abjuration, he should be delivered over to the secular power, to be burned in some conspicuous place, that the punishment might strike fear into the minds of others. See Lewis's *Life of Pecock*, p. 298, 299. Compare Twisden's *Historical Vindication*, p. 155, &c.

For proceedings against Sautre, see 1 *State Trials*, p. 163—176, 8vo. 1816. Part of the decree or writ of the king (2 Hen. IV. 1400), for Sautre's execution, was as follows: "We, therefore, being zealous in religion, and reverent lovers of the catholic faith, willing and minding to maintain and defend the holy church, and the laws and liberties of the same, to root all such errors and heresies out of our kingdom of England, and with condign punishment to correct and punish all heretics or such as be convicts; (provided always, that both *according to the law of God and man*, and *the canonical institutions in this behalf accustomed*, such heretics convict and condemned in forme aforesaid, ought to be burned with fire;) We command you as straitly as we may or can, firmly enjoining you that you do cause the said William, being in your custody, in some public or open place of your city aforesaid, (the cause aforesaid being published unto the people,) to be put into the fire, and there in the same fire really to be burned, to the great horror of his offence, and the manifest example of other Christians." *Ibid.* p. 174.

Twisden, however, has shown (p. 156) that Sautre was not burnt under the new statute, A.D. 1400, 2 Hen. IV. cap. 15., but by virtue of the ancient common law of the land.

other bishoppes, rather than either by the consent of his parliament, or advice of his counsell about him, or else by his owne nature. For as the decrees of the parliament in all his time, were constant in stopping out the popes provisions, and in bridling his authority; so the nature of the king was not altogether so fiercely set, if that he following the guiding thereof, had not stood so much in feare of the bishoppe of Rome and his prelats, by whose importune letters and calling on, he was continually urged to doe contrary to that, which both right required, and will perhaps in him desired. But howsoever the doings of this king are to be excused, or not, undoubted it is, that queene Anne his wife, most rightly deserveth singular commendation; who at the same time living with the king, had the gospels of Christ in English, with the foure doctors [4] upon the same. This Anne was a Bohemian borne, and sister to Wincelaus, king of Boheme; who was married to king Richard about the fifth (some say, the sixth) yeere of his raigne, and continued with him the space of eleven yeeres. By the occasion whereof it may seeme not unprobable, that the Bohemians comming in with her, or resorting into this realme after her, perused and received here the bookes of John Wickliffe, which afterward they conveied into Bohemia, whereof partly mention is made before.

The said vertuous queene Anne, after she had lived with king Richard about eleven yeeres, in the seventeenth yeere of his raigne, changed this mortal life, and was buried at Westminster. At whose funeral Thomas Arundel, then archbishop of Yorke, and lord chancellor, made the sermon. In which sermon (as remaineth in the library of Worcester recorded,) he intreating of the commendation of her, said these words: That it was more joy of her then of any woman that he ever knew. For notwithstanding that she was an alien borne, she had in English all the foure gospels, with the doctors upon them: affirming moreover and testifying, that she had sent the same unto him to examin. And he said they were good and true. And further with many words of praise, he did greatly commend her, in that she being so great a lady, and also an alien, would study so lowly so vertuous bookes. And hee blamed in that sermon sharply the negligence

[4] *The foure doctors.*] i.e. the four great fathers of the Western church, viz., Austin, Jerome, Ambrose, and Gregory.—Fox's *Acts*, p. 461. Edit. 1610. Examination, &c., of Walter Brute.

of the prelats and other men. Insomuch that some said, he would on the morrow leave up the office of chancellor, and forsake the world, and give him to fulfill his pastorall office, for that hee had seene and read in those bookes. And then it had beene the best sermon that ever they heard.—In the which sermon of Thomas Arundel, three points are to be considered. First, the laudable use of those old times received to have the scripture and doctours in our vulgar English tongue. Secondly, the vertuous exercise and also example of this godly lady, who had these bookes not for a shew hanging at her girdle; but also seemeth by this sermon to be a studious occupier of the same. The third thing to be noted, is, what fruit the said Thomas archbishop declared also himself to receive at the hearing and reading of the same bookes of hers in the English tongue.—Notwithstanding, the same Thomas Arundel, after this sermon and promise made, became the most cruell enemy that might be against English books [5], and the authors thereof.

[5] *Against English books.*] Thus in his famous constitutions against Lollardy, A.D. 1408, when he was archbishop of Canterbury, he declares against the translation of the Scriptures. Constit. 7. "The translation of the text of holy Scriptures out of one tongue into another, is a dangerous thing, as St. Jerome testifies, because it is not easy to make the sense in all respects the same. Therefore we enact and ordain, that no one henceforth do by his own authority translate any text of holy Scripture into the English tongue, or any other, by way of book or treatise; nor let any such book or treatise now lately composed in the time of John Wickliffe aforesaid, or since, or hereafter to be composed, be read in whole or in part, in publick or in private, under pain of the greater excommunication." Wilkins's *Concilia*, vol. iii. p. 317. Fox, p. 484.

It is remarkable that Fox, in this life of Wickliffe, has given no account of the labours of that great man in translating the Scriptures, which, no doubt, tended more to the introduction of the Reformation, than all his other efforts. To supply, in some degree, a remedy for this deficiency, I shall insert in this place an extract from his Life, written by the late Rev. William Gilpin. But the most ample and correct information on this subject must be sought for in Lewis's *History of the English Translations of the Bible*, which in its original state was prefixed to an edition of Wickliffe's New Testament, in the year 1731. See also his *Life of Wickliffe*, chap. 5.

"Some have contended, that Dr. Wicliffe was not the first translator of the Bible into English. The truth seems to be that he was the first who translated the whole together, of which it is probable others might have given detached parts. It does not however appear that Dr. Wicliffe understood the Hebrew language. His method was, to collect what Latin bibles he could find: from these he made one correct copy; and from this translated. He

afterwards examined the best commentators then extant, particularly Nicholas Lyra; and from them inserted in his margin those passages, in which the Latin differed from the Hebrew.

" In his translation of the Bible, he seems to have been *literally* exact. In his other works his language was wonderfully elegant for the times in which he lived: but here he was studious only of the plain sense; which led him often through the confusion of idioms within the limits of nonsense. *Quid nobis et tibi, Jesu, fili dei,* we find translated thus, *What to us, and to thee, Jesus the son of God.*

" This work, it may readily be imagined, had no tendency to reinstate him in the good opinion of the clergy. An universal clamour was immediately raised. Knyghton, a canon of Leicester, and a contemporary with Wicliffe, hath left us upon record, the language of the times. ' Christ entrusted his gospel,' says that ecclesiastic, ' to the clergy and doctors of the church, to minister it to the laity, and weaker sort, according to their exigencies and several occasions. But this master John Wicliffe, by translating it, has made it vulgar; and has laid it more open to the laity, and even to women who can read, than it used to be to the most learned of the clergy, and those of the best understanding: and thus the gospel jewel, the evangelical pearl, is thrown about, and trodden under foot by swine.' Such language was looked upon as good reasoning by the clergy of that day, who saw not with what satyr it was edged against themselves.

" The bishops in the mean time, and mitred abbots, not content with railing, took more effectual means to stop this growing evil. After much consultation they brought a bill into parliament to suppress Wickliffe's bible. The advocates for it set forth in their usual manner, the alarming prospect of heresy, which this version of the Scriptures opened, and the ruin of all religion which must inevitably ensue.

" These zealots were answered by the principal reformers, who judiciously encountered them with their own weapons. It appears, says the Wicliffites, from the decretals, that more than sixty species of heresy sprang up in the church after the translation of the Bible into Latin. But the utility of that translation, notwithstanding its bad consequences, all parties acknowledge. With what face therefore, they asked, could the bishops pretend to discountenance an English translation, when they could not produce one argument against it which did not equally conclude against the Latin one? This raesoning silenced all opposition: and the bill was thrown out by a great majority.

" The zeal of the bishops to suppress Wicliff's bible, only made it, as is generally the case, the more sought after. They who were able among the reformers purchased copies; and they who were not able, procured at least transcripts of particular gospels, or epistles, as their inclinations led. In aftertimes, when Lollardy increased, and the flames were kindled, it was a common practice to fasten about the neck of the condemned heretic such of the scraps of Scripture as were found in his possession, which generally shared his fate."—Gilpin's *Life of John Wickliffe,* p. 37—40. edit. 1765.

The late Dr. Adam Clarke possessed a MS. copy of Wickliffe's Bible, which, from having in its illuminations the arms of England within a bordure

argent, he supposed to have belonged to Thomas of Woodstock, duke of Gloucester, and that it was either "presented by Wickliffe to the duke, or written and illuminated by the duke's command for himself*." A contemporary copy would be, there is no doubt, of much value. The writing and illuminations of Dr. Clarke's MS. are of a much later date, however, than that which he assigns to them; and the arms upon which his supposition is founded were also borne by Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, who died in 1446, and for whose use we may, almost with certainty, say that it was written. This MS. is now in the British Museum.—Bibl. Egerton. 618, 619.

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* Catalogue of the MSS. of the late Dr. Adam Clarke; by J. B. B. Clarke. London: Murray, 1835. 8vo. p. 18.

WILLIAM THORPE.

Quo maxime tempore artes cœlesti Veritati contrariæ regnum in Europa obtinebant, cœpit illa vim suam exerere : post longam siquidem malorum inerrabilium tolerantiam, post diuturnos gemitus, quos doloris justi magnitudo piis exprimebat, post expectatam per tot sæcula reformationem in capite et membris toties promissam, nunquam præstitam ; reperti sunt ad ultimum, qui patientiam rumperent, et veritatem ex intimo pectore anhelantibus duces se præberent. Nihil jam dico, quales illi viri fuerint, quid spectarint, quid egerint : hoc dicam, quod negari omnino non potest, ex ipso rerum eventu, luce meridiana clarius constare, divinitus fuisse illos excitatos, si nihil aliud, certe ad hoc unum efficiendum ; ut qui supremum in Ecclesia dominium, et plenitudinem potestatis sibi vindicabant, tandem si pote, evigilarent, in sese descenderent, seque Religionis Christianæ variis corruptelis, quas longa dies invexerat, et de queremoniis omnium tota Europa principum ac populorum serio inciperent cogitare.

Is. Casaubon.

ADVERTISEMENT.

The language in the following *Examination of William Thorpe*, being in several places, from its high antiquity, to a considerable degree obsolete, an apprehension of the distaste which this might occasion to some of his readers, made the Editor hesitate respecting the fitness of its constituting a part of the present collection. But he was prevailed upon to decide for its admission, by considerations which he accounts much more worthy of regard: Such are the extraordinary piety, and zeal, and resignation, displayed by this confessor in his hour of trial; the learning and weight of argument; the purity and elegance of the style; the interest which the narrative inspires from the lively and dramatic air in which it is composed; and its value as a document connected and interwoven with the History and Progress of the Reformation in *general;* and more *particularly*, with the opinions, partly true and partly false, of Wickliffe and his followers. It is also a circumstance not to be slighted, that we here possess an authentic picture of ancient English manners, and a specimen of ancient English prose composition, removed from our own times by the interval of more than four hundred years.

The popularity of this Tract, and its influence upon the further progress of the Reformation, may be collected from its possessing a place among the works condemned by an assembly of the Clergy and others, in the year 1530; and from the frequency with which those who were called into question for heretical opinions, were taxed with possessing and reading it. (See Wilkins's *Concilia*, vol. iii. p. 739. *Declaration of Seton and Tolwine*, A.D. 1541. Signat. B. 3. Bale's *Yet a Course at the Romyshe Foxe*, fol. 47. Fox's *Acts*, p. 759. 932. and 954.)

However different it may be from his own judgment, the Editor

is unwilling to conceal the censure passed upon this performance by Sir Thomas More, in his *Confutation of Tyndal's Answer*, A.D. 1532.

"Then have we the Examinacion of Thorpe, put furth, as it is sayd by George Constantine, by whom there hath been I wot well of that sort great plentie sent into thys realme. In that booke the heretyke that made it as a communicacion betwene the bishop and his chapleynes, and himselfe, maketh all the parties speake as himselfe liketh, and layeth nothing spoken against his heresies, but such as himselfe would seme solemnely to soyle. Whose boke, when any good Chrysten man readeth, that hath eyther learning or any natural witte, he shal not onely be well hable to perceive hym for a foolish heretike, and his argumentes easy to answer, but shal also see that he sheweth himself a false lyer in hys rehearsal of the matter, wherin he maketh the tother part sometime speke for his commoditie, such maner things as no man woulde have done that were not a verye wild goose." *Works*, p. 342. In justice to Thorpe it is but fair to add, that he assures us, in the Preface, which for brevity's sake is omitted in the present edition, that he went "as neare the sentence and the words as he could, both that were spoken to him, and that he spake, upaventure his writing might come another time before the archbishop and his counsaile."

WILLIAM THORPE.

NEXT commeth to our hands the worthy historie of master William Thorpe, a warrior valiant, under the triumphant banner of Christ, with the processe of his examinations, before Thomas Arundell archbishop of Canterburie, written by the said Thorpe, and storied by his owne pen, at the request of his friends, as by his owne words in the proces heereof may appeare. In whose examination (which seemeth first to beginne, anno 1407.) thou shalt have, good reader, both to learne and to marvell. To learne, in that thou shalt heare truth discoursed and discussed, with the contrary reasons of the adversary dissolved. To marvell, for that thou shalt behold heere in this man, the marvellous force and strength of the Lords might, spirit and grace, working and fighting in his souldiers, and also speaking in their mouthes, according to the word of his promise. (Luke xxi.) To the text of the story we have neither added nor diminished: but as we have received it, copied out, and corrected by master William Tindall (who had his owne handwriting) so wee have heere sent it, and set it out abroad. Although for the more credite of the matter, I rather wished it in his owne naturall speech, wherein it was first written. Notwithstanding, to put away all doubt and scruple heerein, this I thought before to premonise and testifie to the reader, touching the certainty heereof, that they be yet alive which have seene the selfe same copie in his owne old English, resembling the true antiquity both of the speech, and of the time: the name of whom, as for record of the same to avouch, is Master Whithead; who as he hath seene the true ancient copie in the

hands of George Constantine [1], so hath hee given credible relation of the same, both to the printer, and to me. Furthermore, the said master Tindall, albeit hee did somewhat alter and amend the English thereof, and frame it after our maner, yet not fully in all words; but that something doth remaine, savouring of the old speech of that time.

The Examination of William Thorpe, penned with his owne hand.

Knowne be it to all men, that reade or heare this writing, that on the Sunday next after the feast of S. Peter, that we call Lammasse, in the yeere of our Lord 1407, I William Thorpe being in prison in the castle of Saltwood, was brought before Thomas Arundel archbishop of Canterburie, and chancellor then of England. And when that I came to him, he stood in a great chamber and much people about him: and when that hee sawe me, hee went fast into a closet, bidding all secular men that followed him to goe forth from him soone, so that no man was left then in that closet but the archbishop himselfe and a physitian that was called Malveren, parson of S. Dunstanes in London, and other two persons unknowne to me, which were ministers of the law. And I standing before them, by and by the archbishop said to me; William, I know well that thou hast this twentie winters and more, travelled about busilie in the North countrey and in other divers countries of England, sowing about false doctrine, having great businesse, if thou might, with thine untrue teaching and shrewde will, for to infect and poison all this land. But through the grace of God thou art now withstanded and brought into my ward, so that I shall now sequester thee from thine evill purpose, and let thee to envenime the sheepe of my province. Neverthelesse S. Paul saith, *If it may be, as much as in us is we ought to have peace with all men.* Therefore William, if thou wilt now meekly

[1] *George Constantine.*] This is the person who by Sir Thomas More was supposed to have been the first editor of Thorpe's Examination.—Master Whitehead is appealed to as one well known to be worthy of credit. In the year 1552 he was recommended by Cranmer for "his good knowledge, special honestie, fervent zeal, and politicke wisdom" as most meet to be placed in the archbishopric of Armagh. And upon the accession of queen Elizabeth, it is said, that he was solicited to accept of the see of Canterbury, but he refused.

and of good heart, without any feining, kneele down and lay thy hand upon a booke and kisse it, promising faithfully as I shall here charge thee, that thou wilt submit thee to my correction, and stand to mine ordinance, and fulfill it duely by all thy cunning and power, thou shalt yet find me gratious unto thee. Then said I to the archbishop: Sir, since ye deem me an heretike, and out of beleeve, will ye give me here audience to tell my beleeve? And he said, Yea, tell on.

And I said, I beleeve that there is not but one God almightie, and in this godhead, and of this godhead, are three persons, that is, the father, the sonne, and the soothfast holy ghost [2]. And I beleeve, that all these three persons are even in power and in cunning, and in might, full of grace and of all goodnesse. For whatsoever that the father doth, or can, or will, that thing also the sonne doth and can and will: and in all their power cunning and will, the holy ghost is equall to the father, and to the sonne.

Over this, I beleeve, that through counsell of this most blessed Trinitie, in most convenient time before ordained for the salvation of mankind, the second person of this Trinitie was ordained to take the forme of man, that is, the kind of man. And I beleeve, that this second person our Lord Jesu Christ, was conceived through the holy ghost, in the wombe of the most blessed virgin Marie, without mans seed. And I believe that after nine moneths Christ was borne of this most blessed virgine.

And I beleeve, that Christ our saviour was circumcised in the eight day after his birth, in fulfilling of the law; and his name was called Jesus, which was so called of the angell, before that hee was conceived in the wombe of Marie his mother.

And I beleeve that Christ, as he was about thirty yeere old, was baptised in the floud of Jordane of John Baptist: and in the likenesse of a dove the holy ghost descended there upon him, and a voice was heard from heaven, saying, *Thou art my wel-beloved sonne, in thee I am full pleased.*

And I beleeve, that Christ was mooved then by the holy ghost,

[2] *Soothfast holy ghost.*] *Soothfast, soothfastness; true, truth:* as we have *in sooth* still in use. In Pierce Ploughman's *Vision,* fol. 89, edit. 1550, we find the *son* termed *soothfastness.*

> The first hath might and majestie, maker of all things;
> *Pater* is hys propre name, a person by him selfe;
> The second of that sire is *soothfastenes Filius;*
> The thirde hight the *Holy Goste.*

for to go into the desert, and there he fasted forty daies and forty nights without bodily meat and drinke. And I beleeve that by and by after his fasting, when the manhood of Christ hungred, the fiend came to him, and tempted him in gluttonie, in vaineglorie, and in covetise: but in all those temptations, Christ concluded the fiend [3], and withstood him. And then without tarrying, Jesu began to preach, and to say unto the people, *Do ye penance, for the realme of heaven is now at hand.*

I beleeve that Christ in all his time here lived most holilie, and taught the will of his father most truely: and I beleeve that he suffered therefore most wrongfully, greatest repreefes and despisings.

And after this, when Christ would make an end here of this temporall life, I beleeve, that in the day next before that hee would suffer passion in the morne, in forme of bread and of wine, hee ordained the sacrament of his flesh and of his bloud, that is,

[3] *Concluded the fiend.*] Thus Pierce Ploughman versifies a part of our Saviour's promises to the Apostles:

> Though ye come before kinges, and clarkes of the lawe
> Be not abashed, for I shall be in your mouthes,
> And gyve you wytte and wyll, and conning to *conclud*
> Them all that agaynst you of Christendome disputen. Fol. 52.

We have two good instances of a like use of the same word in a very important passage in a letter of Sir Thomas More to his daughter Margaret Roper, respecting his refusing to swear to the king's supremacy and the succession.

"My Lord of Canterbury" (Cranmer) "taking hold upon that that I saide, that I condempned not the consciences of them that sware, said unto me, that it appeared well, that I did not take it for a very sure thing and a certaine, that I might not lawfullye swere it, but rather as a thing uncertain and doubtfull. But then (said my lord) you know for a certanty and a thynge without dout, that you be bounden to obey your soverain lorde your king. And therefore are ye bounden to leave off the dout of your unsure consciens in refusing the othe, and take the sure waye in obeying of your prince, and swere it. Now al was it so, that in mine own mind me thought my self not *concluded*, yet this argument semed me sodenly so suttle, and namely with such authorite comming out of so noble a prelates mouth, that I could againe aunswere nothing thereto, but only that I thought my self I might not well do so, because that in my consciens thys was one of the cases, in which I was bounden that I shoulde not obey my prince, syth that whatsoever other folke thought in the matter (whose consciens or learning I wold not condempne nor take uppon me to judge), yet in my consciens the truth semed on the tother side. . . And of trouth if that reason may *conclude*, then have we a readye way to avoide al purplexities."—Works, p. 1429.

his owne pretious bodie, and gave it to his apostles for to-eate; commanding them, and by them all their after commers, that they should in this forme that hee shewed to them, use themselves, and teach and common forth[4] to other men and women this most worshipful and holiest sacrament, in mindfulnesse of his holiest living, and of his most true preaching, and of his wilfull and patient suffering of the most painfull passion.

And I beleeve that this Christ our saviour, after that hee had ordained this most worthie sacrament of his owne pretious bodie, hee went forth wilfullie against his enemies, and hee suffered them most patiently to lay their hands most violently upon him, and to bind him, and to lead him forth as a theefe, and to scorne and buffet him, and all to blow or file him[5] with their spittings. Over this, I beleeve, that Christ suffered most meekly and patiently his enemies for to ding out[6] with sharpe scourges the bloud that was betweene his skinne and his flesh: yea without

[4] *Teach and common forth.*] *Communicate.* And the word, besides being used of any kind of intercourse in general, either in the sense of giving or receiving, was more particularly applied to the *communication* and to the participation of the *sacrament* of the Lord's Supper. "In Actibus Apostolorum" (as Wickliffe tells us) "is seid thus, And Christen men weren dwelling in teching of apostles, and in *communing* of breking of bread; sith St. Paul seith the bread that we break is *communing* of Christ's body."—Lewis's *History*, p. 78. And Thorpe himself thus censures the temporizing Lollards. "But yet some mad fooles say (for to eschew slander), they will be shriven once in the yeere, and *communed* of their proper priests, though they knowe them defouled with slanderous vices."—Thorpe's *Testament*, printed in Fox's *Acts*, p. 500.

[5] *All to blow or file him.*] There is some difficulty about the word *blow* in this passage. But, I apprehend, that it means to *discolour* (with an affinity to the word *blue*), to *disfigure*, &c. In Pierce Ploughman's Vision, fol. 13, the noun adjective is used in the sense of *black*, or *sordid*, &c.

——fyre shal fal and brenne al to *blo* ashes
The houses and homes of hem that desireth
Gyftes.

The other word *file* is the same with *defile*, to make *vile*. As in the *Golden Legend*, fol. 16. b. "The visage whiche was moost fayre of all other membres is *fyled*, bespytte, and hurte with the thornes of the Jewes." And in the same page, "The vysage which aungels desyre to se, the Jewes wyth theyr spyttyng have *defyled*; wyth theyr handes have smytten."

[6] *To ding out.*] To *ding* is to *beat* or *knock*. Thus Vision of Pierce Ploughman, fol. 50. b.

"And Do-Wel shal *ding* him down, and distroi his might."

See also fol. 77.

grudging Christ suffered the cruel Jewes to crowne him with most sharpe thornes, and to strike him with a reed. And after, Christ suffered wicked Jewes to draw him out upon the crosse, and for to naile him thereupon hand and foot. And so through his pitifull nailing, Christ shed out wilfullie for mans life, the bloud that was in his vaines. And then Christ gave wilfully his spirit into the hands or power of his father, and so, as he would, and when hee would, Christ died wilfullie for mans sake upon the crosse. And notwithstanding that Christ was wilfully, painefully, and most shamefully put to death, as to the world; there was left bloud and water in his heart, as before ordained, that hee would shed out this bloud and this water for mans salvation. And therefore he suffered the Jewes to make a blind knight[7] to thrust him into the heart with a speare, and this the bloud and water that was in his heart, Christ would shed out for mans love: and after this, I beleeve that Christ was taken down from the crosse and buried. And I beleeve that on the third day by the power of his godhead, Christ rose againe from death to life. And the fortie day thereafter, I beleeve that Christ ascended up into heaven, and that he there sitteth on the right hand of the father almightie. And the fiftie day after his upgoing, he sent to his apostles the holy ghost, that he had promised them before: and I beleeve that Christ shall come and judge all mankind, some to everlasting peace, and some to everlasting paines.

And as I beleeve in the father, and in the son, that they are one God almightie, so I beleeve in the holy ghost that hee is also with them the same God almightie.

And I beleeve an holy church, that is, all they that have ben, and that now are, and alwaies to the end of the world shall be, a people the which shall endevour them to know and to keepe the

[7] *To make a blind knight.*] The soldier who pierced the side of Christ with his spear upon Mount Calvary, some of the old writers tell us, was physically blind, when he did the deed. The story is thus related in the Golden Legend, fol. 98. b. "Some saye that whan he smote our Lorde with the spere in the syde, the precyous blode avaled" *(ran down)* "by the shaft of the spere upon his handes; and of aventure with his handes he touched his eyen. And anone he that had be tofore *blynde* sawe anone clerely; wherefore he refused all chevaulry, and abode with the Apostles, of whom he was taught and chrystened," and so in process of time, he was canonised, and honoured with his place in the Calendar, under the name of St. Longius (Λόγχη). The story is told with circumstances even much more marvellous, in Pierce Ploughman's Vision, fol. 98.

commandements of God, dreading over all thing to offend God, and loving and seeking most to please him: and I beleeve, that all they that have had, and yet have, and al they that yet shall have the foresaid vertues, surely standing in the beleefe of God, hoping stedfastly in his mercifull doings, continuing to their end in perfect charitie, wilfully, patientlie and gladly suffering persecutions, by the example of Christ chiefly and his apostles, all these have their names written in the booke of life.

Therefore I beleeve, that the gathering together of this people, living now here in this life, is the holy church of God, fighting here on earth against the fiend, the prosperitie of the world, and their fleshly lusts. Wherefore, seeing that all the gathering together of this church before said, and every part thereof, neither coveteth, nor willeth, nor loveth, nor seeketh any thing but to eschew the offence of God, and to doe his pleasing will: meekly, gladly, and wilfully, with all mine heart, I submit my selfe unto this holy church of Christ, to bee ever buxome and obedient[8] to the ordinance of it, and of every member thereof, after my knowledge and power, by the helpe of God. Therefore I knowledge now, and evermore shall, if God will, that with all my heart, and with all my might, I wil submit me only to the rule and governance of them, whom after my knowledge, I may perceive by the having and using of the beforesaid vertues, to be members of the holy church[9]. Wherefore these articles of

[8] *Buxome and obedient.*] "His epithet 'buxom health' (says Dr. Johnson, speaking of Mr. Gray's Ode on a distant prospect of Eton College, in his Life of that Poet) is not elegant; he seems not to understand the word."—It is certain, whatever may be the signification of this epithet in *modern* usage, it was anciently applied in the sense of pliancy, meekness, and submission; as we see here, and shall find in other instances in the course of this work. Few of my readers will need to be reminded of that use of the word in the bride's engagements to her husband in the marriage service in the Salisbury and York Liturgies, before the reformation. Thus likewise the Ploughman of old makes his melancholy complaining of the infelicities of the marriage state in his times: "A man shall not find two wedded in a land, where the husband loves the wife, and the wife is *buxum* to the man, as they shoulden, after the law of marriage. But other the man loves not his wife, or the wife is not *buxum* to her man . . And Lord, all this mischiefe is common among this people, for that they know not thy word." Complaint and Prayer of the Ploughman, in Fox's *Acts*, p. 374.

[9] *Holy church.*] But surely this view of the subject is erroneous. The principle of allegiance he transfers from the system, the constitution, and the *law*, to the executive authority, the *persons* of those who are ministerially

beleefe and all other (both of the old law, and of the new, which after the commandment of God any man ought to beleeve) I beleeve verilie in my soule, as a sinfull deadly wretch of my cunning and power ought to beleeve; praying the Lord God for his holy name, for to increase my beleefe, and to helpe my unbeleefe.

And for because to the praising of Gods name, I desire above all things to bee a faithfull member of holy church, I make this protestation before you all foure that are now here present, coveting that all men and women that now be absent knew the same; that is, what thing soever before this time I have said or done, or what thing here I shall do or say, or at any time hereafter; I beleeve that all the old law and new law given and ordeined by counsell of the three persons of the Trinitie, were given and written to the salvation of mankind. And I beleeve, that these lawes are sufficient for mans salvation. And I beleeve every article of these lawes, to the intent that these articles ordained and commanded of these three persons of the most blessed Trinitie are to be beleeved.

And therefore to the rule and the ordinance of these, Gods lawes, meekely, gladly and wilfullie, I submit me with all mine heart; that whosoever can or will by authoritie of Gods law, or by open reason [1], tell me that I have erred or now erre, or any time hereafter shall erre in any article of beleefe (from which

engaged in the conduct of it. Thorpe, as was not unfrequent with the Wickliffites, confounds the departments and offices of the visible and invisible churches.

[1] *God's law, or open reason.*] This is agreeable to the doctrine of his master. "Men ought to desire to accept man's lawe and ordinances, only inasmuch as they ben grounded in *holy Scripture*, either *good reason*, and *common profit* of Christen people." Wickliffe in Lewis's *Life*, &c. p. 89. (1820.) Yet neither of them discarded in a proper sense (the same with that which is adopted in the Church of England), the authority of the church, and the weight and value of antiquity, and the ancient fathers. With respect to Thorpe, this is abundantly clear from the passage now immediately before us, and from several others, very precise and explicit, which will occur in the course of this examination. And Wickliffe says, "In multis extraneo" (I disagree with; am *estranged* from) "a modernis; sed cum multis sanctis antiquis, et specialiter Augustino, convenio." *Trialogus*, p. 164. And still further: "This is not taught in holy writ, but is put *against St. Austin and holy saints*, and reason and wit." Lewis's *Wickliffe*, p. 80. 1723.—Also, "Intelligo autem dicta mea in ista materia, secundum logicam Scripturæ, necnon secundum logicam sanctorum doctorum, et decreti *Romanæ ecclesiæ*: quos suppono prudenter fuisse locutos." *Ibid.* p. 325.

inconvenience God keep me for his goodnesse) I submit me to be reconciled, and to be buxum and obedient unto those lawes of God, and to every article of them. For by authoritie specially of these lawes, I will through the grace of God, bee united charitablie unto these lawes. Yea sir, and over this, I beleeve and admit all the sentences, authorities and reasons of the saints and doctors, according unto holy Scripture, and declaring it truely. I submit me wilfullie and meekely to bee ever obedient after my cunning and power, to all these saints and doctors, as they are obedient in work and in word to God and to his law, and further not (to my knowledge), not for any earthly power, dignitie or state, through the helpe of God.

But Sir, I pray you tell me, if after your bidding, I shall lay my hand upon the booke, to what entent? to sweare thereby? And the archbishop said to me, Yea, wherefore else? And I said to him: Sir, a booke is nothing else but a thing coupled together of divers creatures, and to sweare by any creature both Gods law and mans law is against it.

But Sir, this thing I say here to you before these your clerks, with my foresaid protestation, that how, where, when, and to whom, men are bound to sweare or to obey in any wise after Gods law, and saints, and true doctors, according with Gods law, I will through Gods grace bee ever readie thereto, with all my cunning and power. But I pray you Sir, for the charitie of God, that yee will before that I sweare (as I have here rehearsed to you) tell me how or whereto, that I shall submit me; and shew me whereof that yee will correct mee, and what is the ordinance that yee will thus oblige me to fulfill?

And the archbishop said unto me, I will shortly that now thou sweare here to me, that thou shalt forsake al the opinions which the sect of Lollards hold, and is slandered with; so that after this time, neither privilie nor apertly, thou hold any opinion which I shall (after thou hast sworne) rehearse to thee here. Nor thou shalt favour no man nor woman, young nor old, that holdeth any these foresaid opinions: but after thy knowledge and power, thou shalt force thee to withstand all such distroublers of holy church in every diocesse, that thou commest in: and them that will not leave their false and damnable opinions, thou shalt put them up, publishing them and their names, and make them knowne to the bishop of the dioces that they are in, or to the bishops ministers. And over this I will that thou preach no

more unto the time that I know by good witnesse and true, that thy conversation be such, that thy heart and thy mouth accord truely in one, contrarying all the leaud learning that thou hast taught herebefore.

And I hearing these words, thought in my heart, that this was an unlefull asking; and deemed my selfe cursed of God, if I consented hereto, and I thought how Susan said [2], *Anguish is to mee on every side.* And in that I stood still and spake not, the archbishop said to mee, Answere one wise or other. And I said, Sir, if I consented to you thus as yee have here before rehearsed to mee, I should become an appealer [3], or every bishops espie, somoner of all England. For and I should thus put up, and publish the names of men and women, I should herein deceive full many persons: yea sir, as it is likely by the dome of my conscience, I should herein bee cause of the death both of men and women, yea both bodilie and ghostly. For many men and women that stand now in the way of salvation, if I should, for the learning and reading of their beleeve, publish them therefore up to the bishops or to their unpiteous ministers, I know some deale by experience that they should be so distroubled and diseased with persecution or otherwise, that many of them (I thinke) would rather chuse to forsake the way of truth than to be travelled, scorned, slandered, or punished, as bishops and their ministers now use for to constraine men and women to consent to them.

But I find in no place in holy Scripture, that this office that ye would now infeaffe me with [4], accordeth to any priest of

[2] *How Susan said.*] "Then Susanna sighed, and said, I am straitened on every side: for if I do this thing, it is death unto me: and if I do it not, I cannot escape your hands." *Hist. of Susanna*, v. 22.

[3] *I should become an appealer.*] An appealer is "one who hath committed some felony, or other crime, which he confesses, and now *appeals*, that is, accuses others who were complices with him." Blount's *Law Dictionary*, v. Appellor. It is explained somewhat differently in the preceding Life of Wickliffe, p. 245, "according to the manner then of certaine theeves that were named Appellatores, accusers or peachers of others which were guiltless."

A Summoner "is a small officer that calls or cites men to any court." Blount, in V.

[4] *Would now infeaffe me with.*] It was very nearly coincident with the date of this examination, that the work of persecution received further tremendous powers, by the enactment in convocation of the constitutions which go gene-

Christs sect, nor to any other Christian man: and therfore to doe this, were to me a full noious bond to be bounden with, and

rally by the name of archbishop Arundel, and of which Lewis gives the following account, abstracted from bishop Gibson's *Codex*.

"In the year 1408, archbishop Thomas Arundel made a constitution at Oxford, that henceforth none should preach any doctrine contrary to the determination of the church, nor call in question what the church hath determined, upon pain of excommunication *ipso facto*, and submitting to penance; and of being for the second offence declared a heretic. The penance before mentioned, to be the retractation of his errors publicly in the place where they were preached, and preaching and teaching without fraud the determinations of the church.

"It was likewise ordained that none should read the books of John Wickliffe, or of his contemporaries, unless they be first examined and approved by one of the universities, upon pain to suffer as a promoter of schism and heresy; and that none should advance propositions or conclusions, (though in the schools,) that tend to subvert the catholic faith, upon pain of the greater excommunication, till he confess his fault and retract.

"It was further ordained, that none should presume to dispute publicly or privately about articles determined by the church, or to call in question their authority, or to teach contrary to their determination. And because the university of Oxford was greatly infected with Lollardy, therefore every Head should *enquire* monthly whether any scholar hath maintained doctrines against the determinations of the church: and if he should find reason to *suspect* any one, or that any scholar was *defamed* of maintaining any such doctrines, he should effectually admonish him to desist: and if, after such admonition he continued obstinate, he should, besides suffering the other punishments decreed, be *ipso facto* excommunicate and expelled his college: that the Heads being *found negligent* herein, shall be excommunicated and deprived; as also if they were detected of holding any the said unsound doctrines. And that persons *suspected* of heresy, being cited in due form and not appearing, shall be summarily proceeded against, and sentence shall be given according to the crime.

"Lastly, it was ordained, that nobody hereafter, should, by his own authority, translate any texts of holy Scripture into English, or any other language by way of a book, little book or tract; and no book, little book or tract, of this nature, now newly composed in the time of John Wickliffe, or since, should be read, either in part or all, publicly or privately, under pain of the greater excommunication, until, by the diocesan of the place, or if the case should require, by a provincial council, the translation should be approved." P. 130—2.

"After this, in the 2 Henry V. (A.D. 1414), a parliament at Leicester enacted that the chancellor, treasurer, justices of the peace, sheriffs, &c., should take an oath for destroying all manner of heresies, commonly called lollardies, to be assistant to the ordinary therein; that persons convict of heresy should lose their fee-simple land; that justices of the King's Bench, of the peace, and of assize, should *enquire* of all holding any errors or heresies, as lollards; of their maintainers, receivers, fautors, &c.; and to that

over grievous charge. For I suppose, that if I thus did, many men and women would, yea sir, might justly to my confusion say to me, that I were a traytor to God and to them: since (as I thinke in mine heart) many men and women trust so mikle in this case, that I would not for saving of my life, doe thus to them. For if I thus should doe, full many men and women would (as they might full truly) say that I had falsly and cowardly forsaken the truth, and slandered shamefullie the word of God. For if I consented to you to doe heere, after your will, for bonchefe or mischiefe that may befall unto me in this life, I deeme in my conscience, that I were worthie herefore to bee cursed of God and also of all his saints: fro which inconvenience, keep me and all Christian people, almightie God now and ever for his holy name!

And then the archbishop said unto mee, Oh, thine heart is full hard indurate, as was the heart of Pharao, and the divell hath overcomen thee, and perverted thee, and hee hath so blinded thee in all thy wit, that thou hast no grace to know the truth, nor the measure of mercie that I have profered to thee. Therefore, as I perceive now by thy foolish answere, thou hast no will to leave thine old errors.

But I say to thee leaud losell, other quicklie consent thou to mine ordinance and submit thee to stand to my decrees; or by Saint Thomas thou shalt be degraded, and follow thy fellow[5] into Smithfield. And at this saying, I stood still and spake not, but I thought in mine hart that God did to me great grace, if he would of his great mercie bring me to such an end. And in mine heart I was nothing afraid with this manasing of the archbishop. And I considered there two things in him. One, that he was not yet sorrowfull for that hee had made William Sautre wrongfully to bee burnt; and as I considered[6], that the archbishop thirsted yet after more shedding out of innocent bloud. And fast therefore I was mooved in all my wits, for to hold the archbishop neither for prelate nor for priest of God. And for that mine inward man was thus altogether departed from the

end, that a clause be put into the commissions of justices of the peace." Twisden's *Historical Vindication*, p. 159, 60. Compare also Lewis's *Life of Wickliffe*, p. 133.

[5] *Follow thy fellow.*] "He meaneth God's martyr, William Sautrey." Fox. See above, p. 253.

[6] *And* as *I considered.*] Perhaps we should read "and *als* (also) I considered."

archbishop, me thought I should not have any dread of him. But I was right heavie and sorrowfull, for that there was no audience of secular men by[7]: but in my heart I prayed the Lord God, for to comfort me and strength me against them that there were against the soothfastnesse. And I purposed to speake no more to the archbishop and his clerks than me need behooved: and all thus I praide God for his goodnesse to give mee then and alway grace to speake, with a meeke and an easie spirit: and whatsoever thing that I should speake, that I might thereto have true authorities of Scriptures, or open reason. And for that I stood thus still and nothing spake, one of the archbishops clerkes said unto me; What thing musest thou? Do thou as my lord hath now commanded to thee here.

And yet I stood still and answered him not: and then soone after, the archbishop said to me, Art thou not yet bethought, whether thou wilt do as I have said to thee? And I said then to him, Sir, my father and my mother, (on whose soules God have mercie, if it be his will), spent mikle monie in divers places about my learning, for the intent to have made mee a priest to God. But when I came to yeeres of discretion, I had no will to be priest, and therefore my friends were right heavie to mee; and then mee thought their grudging against me was so painefull to me, that I purposed therefore to have left their companie. And when they perceived this in me, they spake sometime full faire and pleasant words to mee: but for that they might not make me to consent of good heart to bee a priest, they spake to

[7] *No audience of secular men by.*] The company, besides the Archbishop, consisted of only three persons, one beneficed Clerk (a physician), and two others, Civilians. Thorpe's disappointment on this account is fully illustrated by a passage in Barlowe's *Dialogue concerning the Lutheran Factions*, written about the year 1530, against the principles and practices of the Reformers, and reprinted in the beginning of the reign of queen Mary by the Popish party, when Barlowe had again returned to the side of the reformation. "*William.* Thoughe they do fall in harme, yet have they hope to wynne theyr favour, or els why are they so desyrous to have so many *ley men* present at their examinations? *Nicholas.* They make of it a reasonable cause for two considerations. One is to the intent they might not be wrongefully oppressed in corners; another is, because they would that people shulde bear witnes of their constancy in confessynge the trouthe for Christes sake. *William.* These consyderations in theym, yf they were true as thei be false; were yet of small efficacite, and against the evangelike perfection. As touchynge the fyrste, &c." Signat. H. 8 edit. 1553.

me full oftentimes very grievous words, and manased mee in divers manners, shewing to mee full heavie cheere. And thus one while in faire manner, another while in grievous, they were long time (as me thought) full busie about me, or I consented [8] to them to be a priest.

But at the last, when in this matter they would no longer suffer mine excusations, but either I should consent to them, or I should ever beare their indignation, yea, their curse (as they said) then I seeing this, prayed them that they would give me licence for to goe to them that were named wise priests, and of vertuous conversation, to have their counsell, and to know of them the office and the charge of priesthood. And hereto, my father and my mother consented full gladly, and gave me their blessing and good leave to goe, and also money to spend in this journie. And so I went to those priests whom I heard to be of best name, and of most holy living, and best learned, and most wise of heavenly wisdome: and so I communed with them, unto the time that I perceived by their vertuous and continuall occupations, that their honest and charitable works passed their fame which I had heard before of them.

Wherefore sir, by the example of the doctrine of them, and speciallie for the godly and innocent workes which I perceived then of them, and in them, after my cunning and power, I have exercised me then and in this time, to know perfectlie Gods law, having a will and desire to live thereafter, which willeth that all men and women should exercise themselves faithfully thereabout. If then sir, either for pleasure of them that are neither so wise, nor of so vertuous conversation to my knowledge, nor by common fame to any other mens knowledge in this land, as these men were of whom I tooke my counsell and information, I should now forsake thus suddenlie and shortlie, and unwarned, all the learning that I have exercised myselfe in these thirtie winters and more, my conscience should ever be herewith out of measure unquieted; and as sir I know wel, many men and women should be therthrough greatly troubled and slandered. And as I said sir, to you before, for mine untruth and false cowardnesse, many a one should bee put into full great reproofe: yea sir, I dread that many one (as they might then justly) would curse me full bitterlie: and

[8] *Or I consented.*] In old English, (says Lye in Junius's *Etymologicum*, v. *ere*), the words *ere* and *or* are used indiscriminately.

sir I feare not, but the curse of God, which I should deserve herein, would bring me to a full evill end, if I continued thus. And if through remorse of conscience I repented me any time, returning into the way, which you do your diligence to constraine mee now to forsake; yea sir, all the bishops of this land, with full many other priests, would defame me, and pursue me as a relapse; and they that now have (though I be unworthy) some confidence in me, hereafter would never trust to me, though I could teach and live never so vertuouslie, more than I can or may. For if after your counsell I left utterly all my learning, I should heereby first wound and defile mine owne soule, and also I should herethrough give occasion to many men and women of full sore hurting: yea sir as it is likely to mee, if I consented to your will, I should herein by mine evill example in it, as farre as in mee were, slea many folke ghostly, so that I should never deserve for to have grace of God, to the edifying of his church, neither of my selfe, nor of none other mans life, and should be undone both before God and man.

But sir, by example chiefly of some, whose names I will not now rehearse, of H. of I. P. and B.[9] and also by the present doing of Philip Rampington[1], that now is become bishop of Lincolne; I am now learned (as many moe hereafter through Gods grace shall be learned) to hate and to flee all such slander that these foresaid men chiefle have defiled, principallie themselves with; and in it that in them is, they have envenomed al the church of God. For the slanderous revoking at the crosse of Pauls, of H. P. and of B. and how now Philip Rampington pursueth Christs people; and the faining that these men dissemble by worldly prudence, keeping them cowardlie in their preaching and communion within the bonds and tearmes (which without blame may be spoken and shewed out to the most worldly livers) will not bee unpunished of God. For to the point of truth that these men shewed out sometime, they will not now stretch forth their lines. But by example, each one of them as their words

[9] *Of H. of I. P. and B.*] These initials probably denote Nicolas Herford (Fox, p. 461.); John Purvey (Fox, p. 498); and John Becket. (Fox, p. 485. Wilkins's *Concil.* vol. iii. p. 247). Compare above, p. 235, &c.

[1] *Philip Rampington.*] Repington, Bishop of Lincoln, received the nickname of Rampington from the Lollards, on account, probably, of the vehemence of his persecution against them. See Fox, p. 409. "Philip Repington, otherwise called of the brethren afterward Rampington."

and their works shew, busie them through their faining, for to slander, and to pursue Christ in his members, rather than they will be pursued.

And the archbishop said to me, These men the which thou speakest of now, were fooles and heretikes, when they were counted wise men of thee and other such losels. But now they are wise men, though thou and such other deeme them unwise. Neverthelesse I wist never none that right said, that any while were envenomed with your contagiousnesse, that is, contaminated and spotted doctrine.

And I said to the archbishop, Sir, I thinke well that these men and such other are now wise as to this world: but as their words sounded sometime, and their works shewed outwardly, it was like to move mee that they had earnest of the wisedome of God, and that they should have deserved mikle grace of God, to have saved their owne soules and many other mens, if they had continued faithfully in wilfull povertie, and in other simple vertuous living: and speciallie if they had with these foresaid vertues continued in their busie fruitfull sowing of Gods word: as to many mens knowledge they occupied them a season in all their wits, full busily to know the pleasant wil of God, travelling all their members ful busilie for to do thereafter, purely and chiefly to the praising of the most holy name of God, and for grace of edification and salvation of Christian people. But wo worth false covetise, and evill counsell and tyrannie, by which they and many men and women are led blindly into an evill end.

Then the archbishop said unto mee, Thou, and such other losels of thy sect, would shave your beards full neere for to have a benefice. For by Jesu, I know none more covetous shrewes then ye are, when that ye have a benefice. For loe, I gave to John Purvie a benefice but a mile out of this castle, and I heard more complaints about his covetousness, for tithes, and other misdoings, then I did of all men that were advanced within my diocesse.

And I said to the archbishop, Sir, Purvie is neither with you now for the benefice that you gave him, nor he holdeth faithfully with the learning that hee taught and writ before time; and thus hee sheweth himselfe neither to be hot nor cold: and therefore he and his fellowes, may sore dread, that if they turne not hastily to the way that they have forsaken, peradventure they be put out of the number of Christs chosen people.

And the archbishop said, Though Purvie bee now a false harlot[2], I quit mee now to him: but come hee more for such cause before me, or we part, I shall know with whom hee holdeth. But I say to thee, which are these holy men and wise, of whom thou hast taken thine information?

And I said, Sir, master John Wickliffe was holden of full many men, the greatest clerke that they knew then living, and therewith hee was named a passing rulie man and an innocent in his living: and herefore, great men communed oft with him, and they loved so his learning, that they writ it, and busilie inforced them to rule themselves thereafter. Therefore sir, this foresaid learning of M. John Wickliffe, is yet holden of full many men and women, the most agreeable learning unto the living and teaching of Christ and of his apostles, and most openly shewing and declaring how the church of Christ hath been and yet should bee ruled

[2] *A false harlot.*] A similar use of this term is by no means infrequent in the old writers. We shall meet with it again in the progress of this examination. And in a *Dialogue between Eusebius and Theophilus*, signat, b. 6. b. (12mo. 1556.) Eusebius, the advocate of the *old religion*, says, "Well, sir, then harken; first we are come to this poynt that betweene us is stryfe, whether we catholikes be the true church of Christ, and you protestaunts false prophetes, or els we the *false harlottes* and you the trewe men." So also in Fox's *Acts*, p. 497, p. 1109, and p. 1855. Lewis's *Hist. of Wickliffe*, p. 128, &c. Respecting the *origin*, or at least the *history* of the name, Fox gives us some particulars, which I am inclined to believe, are much better founded, than the common derivation suggested by Lambard in his Perambulation of Kent, p. 178. Junius in his Etymologicum, and by other writers.

"About this time," that is, in the concluding years of the reign of Henry III. "a redresse of certaine sects was intended; among which, one by name speciallie occurreth, and called the assemblie of *harlots*; a kind of people of a leaud disposition and uncivill. Of whose manners and life the king having beene informed, addressed his letters to the shiriffe of Oxfordshire, a place which they haunted, and wherein they practised their evill conversation: whose letter here followeth.

"Because we understand that there be certaine vagrant persons which *call themselves* harlots, maintaining idlenesse in divers parts of our realme, most shamelesselie making their meetings, assemblies, and unlawfull matches against the honestie of the church and good maners, which abuse we will not, neither ought we to suffer. We charge, &c. &c.

"What maner of persons these were, or what their conversation was, it doth not further appeare; nevertheless by the premisses it may seeme to be some pretenced order of religion. And it is most probable that the reproachful name of *harlot* had his beginning from hence." Fox's *Acts*, p. 305.

and governed. Therefore, so many men and women covet this learning, and purpose, through Gods grace, to conforme their living like to this learning of Wickliffe. M. John Ashton taught and writ accordingly, and full busily, where and when, and to whom that he might, and he used it himselfe right perfectly unto his lives end. And also Philip of Rampington, while he was a canon of Leicester, Nicolas Herford, Davie Gotraie of Pakring, monke of Byland, and a master of divinitie, and John Purvay, and many other which were holden right wise men and prudent, taught and writ busilie this foresaid learning, and conformed them thereto. And with all these men I was right homely, and communed with them long time and oft: and so before all other men I chose willinglie to be informed of them and by them, and specially of Wickliffe himselfe, as of the most vertuous and godly wise man that I heard of or knew. And therefore of him speciallie, and of these men I tooke the learning that I have taught: and purpose to live thereafter (if God will) to my lives end. For though some of those men be contrarie to the learning that they taught before, I wot well that their learning was true which they taught; and therefore with the helpe of God I purpose to hold and to use the learning which I heard of them, while they sate on Moses chaire, and specially while that they sat on the chaire of Christ. But after the works that they now do, I wil not do with Gods helpe. For they faine, and hide, and contrarie the truth, which before they taught out plainely and truely. For as I know well, when some of those men have been blamed for their slanderous doing, they grant not that they have taught amisse or erred before time, but that they were constrained by paine to leave to tell out the sooth; and thus they chuse now rather to blaspheme God, than to suffer a while here persecution bodily, for soothfastnesse that Christ shed out his heart bloud for.

And the archbishop said, That learning that thou callest truth and soothfastnesse, is open slander to holy church, as it is proved of holy church. For albeit, that Wickliffe your author was a great clerke, and though that many men held him a perfect liver; yet his doctrine is not approved of holy church [3], but many sen-

[3] *Not approved of holy church.*] So it was. In their synods and councils (as the Council of Trent did afterwards), they enacted canons and decrees, and on them they proceeded to censure and punish, even unto death, in

tences of his learning are damned as they well worthie are. But as touching Philip of Rampington, that was first canon, and after abbat of Leicester, which is now bishop of Lincolne ; I tell thee, that the day is commen, for which he fasted the eeven. For neither hee holdeth now, nor will hold, the learning that hee taught, when hee was a canon of Leicester. For no bishop of this land pursueth now more sharpely them that hold thy way, then he doth.

And I said, Sir, full many men and women wondereth upon him, and speaketh him mikle shame, and holdeth him for a cursed enemie of the truth.

And the archbishop said to me, Wherfore tariest thou me thus here with such fables, wilt thou shortly (as I have said to thee) submit thee to me or no ?

And I said, Sir, I tell you at one word ; I dare not for the dread of God submit me to you, after the tenor and sentence that yee have above rehearsed to me.

And thus as if hee had been wroth, hee said to one of his clerks, Fetch hither quickly, the certification that came to me from Shrewesburie under the bailiffes seale, witnessing the errors and heresies, which this losell hath venumously sowne there.

Then hastilie the clerke tooke out and laid forth on a cupbord, divers roles and writings, among which there was a little one, which the clerke delivered to the archbishop. And by and by the archbishop read this roll containing this sentence.

" The third Sunday after Easter, the yeere of our Lord 1407, William Thorpe came unto the towne of Shrewesburie, and through leave granted unto him to preach, he said openly in S. Chad's church in his sermon.

That the sacrament of the altar, after the consecration, was materiall bread ;

And that images, should in no wise be worshipped.

And that men should not go on pilgrimages.

And that priests have no title to tithes.

And that it is not lawfull for to sweare in any wise."

And when the archbishop had read thus this roll, he rolled it up againe, and said to me, Is this wholesome learning to be among the people ?

virtue of the mere principle of *the authority of the church,* and that church the pope or the church of Rome, without any sufficient regard whether their articles were grounded in Scripture, or in only undeniable reason.

And I said to him, Sir, I am both ashamed on their behalfe, and right sorrowfull for them that have certified you these things thus untruely; for I preached never, nor taught thus, privily nor apertly.

And the archbishop said to me, I will give credence to these worshipfull men which have written to me, and witnessed under their seales there among them. Though now thou deniest this, weenest thou that I shall give credence to thee? Thou losell, hast troubled the worshipfull communaltie of Shrewesburie, so that the bailiffes and communaltie of that towne have written to me, praying me that am archbishop of Canturbury primat and chancellor of England, that I will vouchsafe to grant them, that if thou shalt be made (as thou art worthie) to suffer open jouresse[4] for thine heresies, that thou may have thy jouresse openly there among them: so that all they whom thou and such other losels have there perverted, may through feare of thy deed be reconciled againe to the unitie of holie church. And also they that stand in true faith of holie church, may through thy deed be more established therein. And as if this asking well pleased the archbishop, he said, By my thrift, this heartie prayer, and fervent request, shall be thought on.

But certainlie, nother the prayer of the men of Shrewesburie, nor the manasing of the archbishop made mee any thing afraid. But in rehearsing of this malice, and in the hearing of it, my heart greatly rejoiced, and yet doth. I thanke God for the grace that I then thought, and yet thinke shall come to all the church of God here thorow, by the speciall mercifull doing of the Lord. And as having no dread of the malice of tyrants, by trusting steadfastlie in the helpe of the Lord, with full purpose for to knowledge the soothfastnesse, and to stand thereby after my cunning and power, I said to the archbishop, Sir, if the truth of Gods word might now be accepted as it should be, I doubt not to prove by likelie evidence, that they that are famed to be out of the faith of holie church in Shrewesbury, and in other places also, are in the true faith of holy church. For as their words sound, and their works shew to mans judgment (dreading and loving faithfully God) their will, their desire, their love and their busines are most set to dread to offend God, and to love for to please him

[4] *Open jouresse.*] There seems some difficulty about this word "jouresse;" but I apprehend it means "abjuration:"—that Thorpe should be carried to Shrewsbury, there *openly* to *abjure*. The Latin edition (p. 84) uses the term παλινῳδεῖν.

in true and faithfull keeping of his commandements. And again, they that are said to be in the faith of holie church in Shrewesburie and in other places, by open evidence of their proud, envious, malicious, covetous, and other foule words and workes, neither know, nor have will to know, nor to occupie their wits truelie and effectuouslie in the right faith of holie church. Wherefore all these, nor none that follow their manners, shall any time come verily in the faith of holy church, except they inforce them more truely to come in the way which now they despise. For these men and women that are now called faithfull and holden just, nother know, nor will exercise themselfe to knowe (of faithfulnesse) one commandement of God.

And thus full many men and women now, and speciallie men that are named to be principall lims of holy church, stir God to great wrath, and deserve his curse for that they call or hold *them* just men, which are ful unjust, as their vitious words, their great customable swearing, and their slanderous and shamefull works shew openly and witnesse. And therefore such vitious men and unjust in their owne confusion, call *them* unjust men and women, which after their power and cunning busie themselves to live justly after the commandement of God. And where sir, ye say, that I have distroubled the communaltie of Shrewesburie, and many other men and women with my teaching, if it thus bee, it is not to bee wondered of wise men, since all the communaltie of the citie of Jerusalem was distroubled of Christ's owne person, that was very God and man, and the most prudent preacher that ever was or shall be. And also all the synagogue of Nazareth was mooved against Christ, and so full filled with ire towards him for his preaching, that the men of the synagogue rose up and cast Christ out of their citie, and led him up to the top of a mountaine for to cast him downe there headlong. Also accordingly hereto, the Lord witnesseth by Moses, that *he shall put dissension betwixt his people, and the people that contrarieth and pursueth his people.* Who sir is he, that shall preach the truth of Gods word to the unfaithful people, and shall let the soothfastnesse of the gospell, and the prophecie of God Almightie to be fulfilled?

And the archbishop said to me, It followeth of these thy words, that thou and such other thinkest, that yee doe right wel for to preach and teach as yee doe, without authoritie of any bishop[5].

[5] *Without authoritie of any bishop.*] Among the celebrated constitutions of archbishop Arundel, agreed upon in a convocation holden at Oxford in

For you presume, that the Lord hath chosen you only for to preach, as faithfull disciples and speciall followers of Christ.

And I said, Sir, by authoritie of Gods law, and also of saints and doctors I am learned to deeme, that it is every priests office and dutie [6] for to preach busily, freely and truely the word of God.

the year 1407, and promulgated a second time by a convocation at St. Paul's, London, in the year following; it was enacted, in further prosecution of a law passed in parliament, A. D. 1400, "That no clerk, secular or regular, unless *authorised by law, or special privilege,* should preach to the people or clergy in Latin, or in the vulgar tongue, within a church, or without, unless he be first examined by the diocesan, and being found qualified both in manners and learning, be sent by him to preach to some certain parish or parishes, as to the same ordinary shall seem expedient." Wilkins's *Concil.* iii. p. 306 and 315. The words "law or special privilege" were designed to protect the powers granted by the see of Rome to the respective orders of friars; but these, not being always treated with due honour by the secular clergy, were more amply confirmed to them by a declaration published by the archbishop in the year 1409 (Wilkins, iii. p. 324); and thus, while the parochial clergy were subject to very severe but reasonable restrictions, the mendicant orders had liberty to preach where, and when, and how, they pleased. And as Thorpe said in another work, "Heremites and pardoners, ankerers, and strange beggars, are licensed and admitted of prelats and priests, for to beguile the people with flatterings and leasings slanderously, against all good reason and true beliefe, and so to increase divers vices in themselves, and also among all them that accept them, or consent to them." Thorpe's *Testament* in Fox's Acts, p. 499, 500.

[6] *Office and dutie.*] Yes: No doubt. But it is also equally true, that the church or the state has a right to limit and controul the exercise of this office in any particular case. Therefore the law, this constitution of Arundel, was a just and necessary one. The unhappiness was, (as will often fall out in human affairs,) that the application and exercise of it fell into bad hands, and for bad purposes, against good. And undoubtedly it was grievously hard, that they who by Scripture and reason, and all other legitimate arguments, saw clearly where the truth and where the error lay; that themselves were right, and the other party wrong, would not propound their knowledge, nor speak at all, except on conditions which stipulated for its previous abandonment and extinction. They would gladly enough have had the bishop's license, but, as Thorpe says just below, "we know well, that this cannot be, unless we oblige ourselves, not to pass the bounds and terms, which ye, sir, or other bishops, will limit to us." And here again, the condition doubtless was just and necessary. No government can be sustained on any other principles. And, I may observe, that Wickliffe himself appears to have held the doctrine which we are maintaining. For highly as he insisted on the obligation of the ordination vows, to preach and minister in the sanctuary, he taught, according to a passage in Lewis (p. 65. 1820), that "though the priestly power is not *more* or *less* sufficient in its essence: still the powers of

For no doubt every priest should propose first in his soule, and covet to take the order of priesthood chiefly for to make knowne to the people the word of God, after his cunning and power; approving his words ever to be true by his vertuous workes: and for this intent we suppose that bishops and other prelats of holy church, should chieflie take and use their prelacie, and for the same cause bishops should give to priests their orders. For bishops should accept no man to priesthood, except that he had good wil and full purpose, and were wel disposed and wel learned to preach. Wherefore sir, by bidding of Christ, and by the example of his most holy living, and also by the witnessing of his holie apostles and prophets, wee are bound under full great paine, to exercise us after our cunning and power (as every priest is likewise charged of God) to fulfill duly the office of priesthood. We presume not here of our selves for to bee esteemed, neither in our owne reputation nor in none other mans) faithfull disciples, and speciall followers of Christ. But sir, as I said to you before, wee deeme this, by authoritie chiefly of Gods word, that it is the chiefe dutie of every priest, to busie him faithfullie to make the law of God knowne to his people; and so to commune the commandements of God charitablie, how that we may best, where, when, and to whom that ever we may: and for the wil and businesse that we owe of due debt, to do justlie our office, through the stirring and speciall helpe (as we trust) of God, hoping stedfastlie in his mercie, wee desire to be the faithfull disciples of Christ, and we pray this gratious Lord for his holie name, that he make us able to please him with devout prayers, and charitable priestly works, that we may obtaine of him to follow him thankefully.

And the archbishop said to me, Leaud lozel, whereto makest

inferior priests are, at times, reasonably *restrained*, and at other times, are *relaxed*."

Meanwhile, so far as concerns the church of England herself, whether in her *legislative* or *executive* capacity, our consolation must be, that she has long relinquished all claim to be an infallible church: and as in her 19th Article, she maintains that the churches of Rome, Jerusalem, and Antioch, had erred, so she may, or rather must, now looking back, confess of herself, that under Arundel's primacy, she abused her lawful authority, and erred grievously in many matters of controversy, "not only in ceremonies, but also in matters of faith."

Upon the whole, then, much of Thorpe's reasoning here, and in what follows for some pages, is a mistake of the question.

thou such vaine reasons to me? Asketh not saint Paul, how should priests preach, except they be sent? But I sent thee never to preach. For thy venomous doctrin is so known throughout England, that no bishop will admit thee to preach, by witnessing of their letters. Why then leaud idiot, wilt thou presume to preach, since thou art not sent nor licensed of thy soveraigne to preach? Saith not saint Paul, *that subjects*[7] *ought to obey their soveraignes, and not onely good and vertuous, but also tyrants that are vitious?*

And I said to the archbishop, Sir, as touching your letter of licence or that of other bishops, which, yee say, wee should have to witnesse that we were able to be sent for to preach; we know well that neither you sir, nor any other bishop of this land, will grant to us any such letters of licence, but if we should oblige us to you, and to other bishops by unlefull othes, for to passe not the bounds and termes which ye sir, or other bishops, will limit to us. And since in this matter your termes bee some too large, and some too strait, wee dare not oblige us thus to be bounden to you for to keepe the termes, which you will limit to us, as you doe to friers and such other preachers: and therefore, though we have not your letter sir, nor letters of any other bishops written with inke upon parchment; wee dare not therefore leave the office of preaching, to which preaching, all priests after their cunning and power are bound, by divers testimonies of Gods law, and great doctors, without any mention making of bishops letters. For as mikle as wee have taken upon us the office of priesthood (though we are unworthy thereto) we claim and purpose to fulfill it with the help of God, by authoritie of his owne law, and by witnesse of great doctors and saints, according hereto trusting stedfastly in the mercie of God. For, in that he commandeth us to doe the office of priesthood, he will be our sufficient letters and witnesse, if we by example of his holy living and teaching, speciallie occupie us faithfullie to doe our office justlie: yea the people to whom we preach (be they faithfull or unfaithfull) shall be our letters, that is, our witnes-bearers; for the truth where it is sowne, may not be unwitnessed. For all that are converted and saved by learning of Gods word, and by

[7] *That subjects.*] The relative terms *subject* and *sovereign* were in these times very frequently used in the sense of *inferior minister* and prelate; or of *layman*, and *clerk*; and it is in this *ecclesiastical* meaning that the archbishop understands and applies the text of St. Paul.

working thereafter, are witnesse-bearers, that the truth and soothfastnes which they heard and did after, is cause of their salvation. And again, all unfaithfull men and women which heard the truth told out to them, and would not doe thereafter; also all they that might have heard the truth, and would not heare it because that they would not doe thereafter: all these shall beare witnes against themselves; and the truth which they would not heare, or else heard it, and despised to doe thereafter, through their unfaithfulnesse, is and shall be cause of their damnation. Therefore sir, since this aforesaid witnessing of God, and of divers saints and doctors, and of all the people good and evill, sufficeth to all true preachers, we think that we do not the office of priesthood, if that we leave our preaching, because that we have not, or may not have duly bishops letters, to witnesse that wee are sent of them to preach. This sentence approveth saint Paul, where he speaketh of himselfe and of faithfull apostles and disciples, saying thus, *We need no letters of commendations as some preachers doe, which preach for covetousnesse of temporall goods, and for mens praysing.*—And where ye say sir, that Paul biddeth subjects obey their soveraignes, that is sooth, and may not be denied. But there is two manner of soveraignes, vertuous soveraignes and vitious tyrants. Therefore, to these last soveraignes, neither men nor women that be subject, owe to obey in two maners. To vertuous soveraignes and charitable, subjects owe to obey wilfully and gladlie, in hearing of their good counsell, in consenting to their charitable biddings, and in working after their fruitfull works. This sentence Paul approveth, where he saith to subjects, *Be yee mindful of your soveraignes, that speake to you the word of God, and follow you the faith of them, whose conversation you know to be vertuous.* For as Paul saith after, these soveraignes, to whom subjects owe to obey in following of their maners, worke busilie in holy studying, how they may withstand and destroy vices, first in themselves, and after in all their subjects, and how they may best plant in them vertues. Also these soveraignes make devout and fervent prayers, for to purchase grace of God, that they and their subjects may over all things dread to offend him, and love for to please him. Also those souveraignes to whom Paul biddeth us obey, as it is said before, live so vertuouslie, that all they that will live well, may take of them good example, to know and to keepe the commandements of God. But in this foresaid wise, subjects ought not to obey

nor to be obedient to tyrants, while they are vitious tyrants, since their will, their counsell, their biddings, and their workes are so vitious, that they ought to be hated and left. And though such tyrants be masterfull and cruell in boasting and menacing, in oppressions and divers punishings, saint Peter biddeth the servants of such tyrants, to obey meekely such tyrants, (in) suffering patiently their malicious cruelnesse. But Peter counselleth not any servant or subject, to obey to any lord or prince, or soveraigne in any thing that is not pleasing to God.

And the archbishop said unto me, if a soveraigne bid his subject doe that thing that is vitious, this soveraigne herein is to blame; but the subject for his obedience, deserveth meed[8] of God. For obedience pleaseth more to God, then any sacrifice.

[8] *Deserveth meed.*] The archbishop here speaks precisely according to the doctrine afterwards inforced by bishop Pecock, who, though himself a severe sufferer in the cause of reformation, was a very zealous, and a most able and learned adversary of many tenets of the followers of Wickliffe.

"If a parish priest should teach his parishioner some grosse heresy instead of an article of faith, it were his duty to receive it, and would not only be excusable before God, but would be as *meritorious*, and equally *rewarded*, with the belief of any true article. Nay, if that man should lay down his life for defence of this heresy, imagining all this while that it is the doctrine of the church, he would be a true and undoubted martyr." *Rule of Faith*, p. 4, written A.D. 1450, and published by Henry Wharton, A.D. 1688, from a MS. in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge. Compare below, p. 333.

This doctrine of implicit submission to the authority of the church leads, by a species of inevitable necessity, to conclusions and consequences in the highest degree appalling and awful.

For example, an advocate for popery ventures to express himself thus, on its restoration by queen Mary, in a popular address in behalf of the queen's proceedings: —

"Therefore yf thys be a false fayth and belefe that we now have, then God both is, and hath bene most unkynde, not onlye to us, but to all Christendome besyde, whiche is in the same belefe, that we be: seeing that he hath not before these seven yeares laste passed, revealed and opened his trueth unto us; but hath suffered bothe us, and all our progenitours and elders too, yea and all Christendome, ever synce Christes incarnation even to these latter dayes, to lyve in blyndnes, and to let us continue styll in daunger of damnation. But God forbydde, that any man myght justly eyther thynke or saye thus. For then myght we, commynge before our Saviour Christ at the day of judgment, yf wee should for our belefe be there condemned, aunswere that we were not to blame, nor worthie of damnation therefore: because that hys blessed spouse the Catholike church hadde from tyme to tyme taught us thys belefe, and that he hadde promised to be with his churche to the worldes

And I said, Samuel the prophet said to Saul the wicked king, that God was more pleased with the obedience of his commandement, than with any sacrifice of beasts. But David saith, and S. Paul, and S. Gregorie accordinglie together, that not only they that doe evill, are worthy of death and damnation; but also they that consent to evill doers. And sir, the law of holy church teacheth in the decrees [9], that no servant to his lord, nor child to the father or mother, nor wife to her husband, nor monke to his abbat, ought to obey, except in lefull things, and lawfull [1].

ende; whyche promyse caused us alwaye to give credence to hys holye churche, whiche we thought could not erre, nor be deceaved in anye matter concerning our fayth." Christopherson's *Exhortation against Rebellion*, A.D. 1554. Signat. X 7, 8.

But even in our own days, the same daring representation is still habitually propounded to the Roman Catholic students in the sister kingdom. "One can scarcely imagine," says the Protestant annotator on the *Digest of Evidence taken before Parliament, on the State of Ireland*, 1824, 1825. *Part II. p.* 248. "One can scarcely imagine a condition of greater horror to a sensitive mind than that of a young priest, who, for the first time, became privy (in confession) to a design of murder; it would be an incident for Shakespeare or the author of Waverley. Nothing could quiet the mind in such dreadful circumstances, but the principle, which is so deeply impressed upon the youth destined for the ministry, that *obedience to the church*, though *it should lead to error*, is the *first of all duties*. The Maynooth Class Book, in a passage given in evidence by the archbishop of Dublin, contrasts the state of a Protestant and that of a Roman Catholic, at the last day: 'The Protestant,' it says, 'can plead no other principle of faith and action than his private judgment, with which he has searched the Scriptures for himself. How different the lot of the Catholic, *although* (which, yet God forbid that we should believe) *he should have fallen into error through his obedience to the decrees of the church*; can he not, when interrogated on this head, confidently say to the Supreme Judge, 'Lord, if that which we have followed be an error, THOU, EVEN THOU HAST DECEIVED US, by thy clear and reiterated precept that, unless we wished to have our part with the heathen, we should hear the church, as we hear THEE. *Thou thyself hast deceived us*, by the Apostles, *by the Pastors and Doctors*, whom thou hast ordained in the church for the perfecting of the saints, and the building up of Thy body. *Thou thyself hast deceived us*, by *thy church*, which is called by the apostle the pillar and ground of truth. For she has always exacted from her children a firm assent, in heart and mind, to her decrees; *in thy name denouncing an eternal anathema against the rebellious*. . . . . Confidently then we say, O Lord, if it be an error which we have followed, THOU THYSELF HAST DECEIVED US, AND WE ARE EXCUSED.'"

[9] *In the decrees.*] *Corp. Juris Canonici*, vol. i. 2306.

[1] *In lefull things, and lawfull.*] We have the same two words again made use of together in this examination; "to compell him to sweare, in *lefull*

And the archbishop said to mee. All these alleagings that thou bringest forth, are not else but proud presumptuousnesse. For hereby thou inforcest thee to proove, that thou and such other are so just, that ye ought not to obey to prelats. And thus against the learning of St. Paul that teacheth you not to preach, but if yee were sent of your own authoritie, ye will go forth and preach, and doe what yee list.

And I said, Sir, presenteth not every priest the office of the apostles, or the office of the disciples of Christ? And the archbishop said, Yea. And I said, Sir, as the x. chapter of Matthew, and the last chapter of Marke witnesseth, Christ sent his apostles for to preach. And the x. chapter of Luke witnesseth, that Christ sent his two and seventy disciples for to preach, in every place that Christ was to come to; and S. Gregorie in the Common Law saith, that every man that goeth to priesthood, taketh upon him the office of preaching. For as hee saith, that priest stirreth God to great wrath, of whose mouth is not heard the voice of preaching. And as other more glosses upon Ezekiel witnesse, the priest that preacheth not busilie to the people, shall be partaker of their damnation that perish through his default. And though the people be saved by other speciall grace of God, than by the priests preaching, yet the priests, in that they are ordained to preach, and preach not, as before God, they are manslayers. For as farre as in them is, such priests as preach not busilie and truely, slay all the people ghostly, in that they withhold from them the word of God, that is, the life and substance of mens soules. And S. Isidore said, priests shall be damned, for wickednesse of the people, if they teach not them that are ignorant, or blame not them that are sinners. For all the worke or businesse of priests standeth in preaching and teaching: that they edifie all men, as well by cunning of faith, as by discipline of works, that is, vertuous teaching. And as the gospel witnesseth, Christ said in his teaching, *I am borne and comen into this world, to bear witnesse to the truth; and he that is of the truth, heareth my voice.*

things and *lawfull.*" Fox, p. 495. The former occurs not unfrequently by itself, and seemingly in the sense of *lawful.* "Rich men sayen, that it is both *lefull* and needfull to them to gather riches together." Fox, p. 372. Also, p. 431, and p. 434. Perhaps it is no other than the word "*leave-full,*" allowable, permissable. "Therefore it is *leveful* to each man or person of this singular religion and profession to leave it (to) cleave fast to the rule of Jesu Christ, as more perfect." Wickliffe's *Complaint,* p. 2, A.D. 1608.

Then sir, since by the word of Christ specially, that is, his voice, priests are commanded to preach, whatsoever priest that it be, that hath not good will and full purpose to doe thus, and ableth not himselfe after his cunning and power to doe his office by the example of Christ and of his apostles: whatsoever other thing that he doth, displeaseth God. For lo, Saint Gregorie saith, that thing left, that a man is bound chiefly to doe, whatsoever other thing that man doth, it is unthankfull to the holy ghost: And therefore saith Lincolne [2], the priest that preacheth not the word of God, though he be seene to have none other default, he is antichrist and Sathanas, a night theef, and a day theefe, a sleyer of soules, and an angell of light turned into darkenesse. Wherefore sir, these authorities and other well considered, I deeme my selfe damnable, if I either for pleasure or displeasure of any creature, apply mee not diligently to preach the word of God. And in the same damnation I deeme all those priests which of good purpose and will, enforce them not busily to doe thus, and also all them that have purpose or will to let any priest of this businesse [3].

[2] *Saith Lincolne.*] Robert Grosthed, bishop of Lincoln.

[3] *Of this businesse.*] All this imperfect reasoning of this very extraordinary and interesting person, the student will learn satisfactorily to meet by the principles laid down in the inestimable first and second books of Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity*. We must be contented to cite a single passage from the former.

"There are in men operations, some natural, some rational, some supernatural, some politic, *some finally ecclesiastical:* which if we measure not each by his own proper law, whereas the things themselves are so different, there will be in our understanding and judgment of them, confusion; as that first error sheweth whereon our opposites in this cause have grounded themselves: for as they rightly maintain, that God must be glorified in all things, and that the actions of men cannot tend unto his glory, unless they be framed after his law; so it is their error to think that the *only* law which God hath appointed unto men in that behalf is the *sacred Scripture*. . . . Proceed we further: Let us place man in some politic society with others, whether civil or spiritual; and in this case there is no remedy but we must add yet a *further* law. For although even here likewise, the *laws of nature and reason* be of necessary use, yet somewhat over and besides them is necessary, namely, *human and positive law*, together with that law which is of commerce between grand societies, the *law of nations*, and of nations *christian*. For which cause the law of God hath likewise said, *Let every soul be subject to the higher powers* Rom. xiii. 1). The public power of all societies is above every soul contained in the same societies. And the principal use of that power is to give laws unto all that are under it: which laws, in such case, we must obey,

And the archbishop said to those three clerks that stood before him: Loe sirs, this is the maner and businesse of this losell and such other, to picke out such sharpe sentences of holy Scripture and doctors to maintaine their sect and lore against the ordinance of holy church. And therefore losell, it is that thou covetest to have againe the psalter that I made to bee taken from thee at Canterbury, to record sharpe verses against us. But thou shalt never have that psalter, nor none other booke, till that I know that thy heart and thy mouth accord fully, to be governed by holy church.

And I said: Sir, all my will and power is, and ever shall be (I trust to God) to be governed by holy church.

And the archbishop asked me, what was holy church?

And I said: Sir, I told you before, what was holy church.

unless there be reason shewed which may necessarily inforce, that the law of reason or of God doth enjoin the contrary: because, except our own private and but probable resolutions be by the law of public determinations overruled, we take away all possibility of sociable life in the world! A plainer example whereof than ourselves we cannot have. How cometh it to pass, that we are at this present day so rent with mutual contentions, and that the church is so much troubled about *the polity* of the church? No doubt, if men had been willing to learn how many laws their actions in this life had been subject unto, and what the true force of each law is, all these controversies might have died the very day that they were first brought forth.

"It is both commonly said, and truly, that the best men otherwise are not always the best in regard of society. The reason whereof is, that the law of men's actions is one, if they be respected only *as men*; and another, when they are considered as *parts of a politic body*. Many men there are, than whom nothing is more commendable when they are singled; and yet in society with others none less fit to answer the duties which are looked for at their hands. Yea, I am persuaded, that of them with whom in this cause we strive, there are whose betters amongst men would hardly be found, if they did not live amongst men, but in some wilderness by themselves. The cause of which their disposition so unframable to societies wherein they live, is, that they discern not aright what place and force these several kinds of laws ought to have in all their actions. Is their question either concerning the regimen of the church in general, or about conformity between one church and another, or of ceremonies, offices, powers, jurisdictions, in our own church;—of all these things they judge by that rule which they frame to themselves with some shew of probability, and what seemeth in that sort convenient, the same they think themselves bound to practise; the same by all means they labour mightily to uphold; whatsoever any law of man to the contrary hath determined, they weigh it not. Thus by following the law of *private reason*, where the law of *public* should take place, they breed disturbance. Book i. chap. xviii. § 5, 6. Keble's edit.; or, *Christian Institutes*, vol. i. p. 183.

But since ye aske me this demand; I call Christ and his saints holy church.

And the archbishop said unto me: I wot well that Christ and his saints are holy church in heaven, but what is holy church in earth?

And I said: Sir, though holy church be every one in charitie, yet it hath two parts. The first and principall part, hath overcomen perfectly all the wretchednesse of this life, and raigneth joyfully in heaven with Christ. And the other part is here yet in earth, busily and continually fighting day and night against temptations of the fiend; forsaking and hating the prosperity of this world; despising and withstanding their fleshly lusts; which onely are the pilgrims of Christ, wandring toward heaven by stedfast faith and grounded hope, and by perfect charitie. For these heavenly pilgrimes may not, nor will not, be letted of their good purpose, by the reason of any doctors discording from holy Scripture; nor by the flouds of any tribulation temporall, nor by the wind of any pride, or boast, or of manassing of any creature. For they are all fast grounded upon the sure stone Christ, hearing his word and loving it, exercising them faithfully and continually in all their wits to doe thereafter.

And the archbishop said to his clerks: See yee not how his heart is indurate, and how he is travelled with the divell occupying him thus busily to alleage such sentences to maintaine his errors and heresies? Certaine, thus he would occupie us here all day, if we would suffer him.

One of the clerks answered: Sir, he said right now, that this certification that came to you from Shrewesbury, is untruly forged against him. Therefore sir, appose you him now here in all the points which are certified against him, and so we shall heare of his owne mouth his answers, and witnes them.

And the archbishop tooke the certification in his hand, and looked thereon a while, and then he said to me.

Loe here it is certified against thee by worthy men and faithfull of Shrewesburie, that thou preachedst there openly in S. Chad's church; that the sacrament of the altar was materiall bread after the consecration; what saist thou? Was this truly preached?

And I said: Sir, I tell you truely, that I touched nothing there of the sacrament of the altar, but in this wise, as I will with God's grace tell you here. As I stood there in the pulpit,

busying me to teach the commandement of God; there knilled a sacring bell, and therefore mickle people turned away hastily, and with noise ran fro towards me. And I seeing this, said to them thus: Good men yee were better to stand here still and to heare God's word. For certes the vertue and the meede of the most holy sacrament of the altar standeth mikle more in the beleefe thereof that ye ought to have in your soule, then it doth in the outward sight thereof. And therefore, yee were better to stand still quietly to heare Gods word, because that through the hearing thereof, men come to very true beleefe. And otherwise sir, I am certaine I spake not there of the worthy sacrament of the altar.

And the archbishop said to me, I beleeve thee not whatsoever thou saist, since so worshipfull men have witnessed thus against thee. But since thou deniest that thou saidest thus *there*, what saist thou *now?* Resteth there after the consecration in the host, materiall bread or no[4]?

[4] *Materiall bread or no.*] This question was the grand test of heresy, so called, on the doctrine of the Eucharist, at this period. In the examinations of Lord Cobham (below) we shall find that he was required "to answere, *specially* unto this point: whether there remained material bread in the sacrament of the altar, after the words of consecration, or not?"—Fox, p. 516. In the Life of Wickliffe, p. 211, note (7), we saw the gross determination which the question received by his adversaries in the university of Oxford. The conduct of Thorpe here was regulated according to the same maxims which had been previously recommended by John Purvey.

"Therefore, when anti-Christ or any of his shavelings doth aske of thee that art a simple Christian, whether that this sacrament be the very body of Christ or not, affirme thou it manifestly so to bee. And if he aske of thee whether it be *materiall bread*, or what other bread else, say thou, that it is such bread as Christ understood and meant by his proper word, and such bread as the holy ghost meant in St. Paul, when he called that to be very bread which he brake; *and wade thou no further herein.* But yet, men of more knowledge and reason may more plainly convince the falsity of antichrist, both in this matter, and in others, by the gift of the holy ghost working in them. Notwithstanding, if those that be simple men will humbly hold and keepe the manifest and apparent words of the holie Scripture, and the plaine sense and meaning of the holy ghost, and proceed no further, but humbly commit that unto the spirit of God which passeth their understanding; then may they safely offer themselves to death, as true martyrs of Jesus Christ."—Fox, p. 501. This modest and prudent reserve in giving answers on this and other abstruse and hazardous points of controversy, is ridiculed, at some length, in a very uncharitable spirit, in Barlowe's *Dialogue concerning Lutheran Factions.* Signat. I 1, I 2; edit. 1553. Compare also above, notes on p. 186, and p. 229.

And I said; Sir, I know in no place in holy Scripture where this terme materiall bread is written: and therefore sir, when I speake of this matter, I use not to speake of materiall bread.

Then the archbishop said to me; How teachest thou men to beleeve in this sacrament?

And I said; Sir, as I beleeve my self, so I teach other men.

He said; Tell out plainely thy beleefe thereof.

And I said, with my protestation; Sir, I beleeve that the night before that Christ Jesu would suffer (wilfully) passion for mankind on the morne after, hee tooke bread in his holy and most worshipfull hands, and lifting up his eies, and giving thanks to God his father, blessed this bread and brake it, and gave it to his disciples, saying to them; *Take and eate of this all you, this is my bodie.* And that this is and ought to bee all mens beleefe, Matthew, Marke, Luke, and Paul witnesseth. Other beleefe sir I have none, nor will have, nor teach: for I beleeve, that this sufficeth [5] in this matter. For in this beleefe with Gods grace I

[5] *That this sufficeth.*] The judgment of this ancient confessor cannot be better sustained and substantiated than by the following sage, solemn, and profound sentiments of the inestimable Hooker:—

"These things considered, how should that mind, which loving truth and seeking comfort out of holy mysteries, hath not perhaps the leisure, perhaps not the will nor capacity to tread out so endless mazes, as the intricate disputes of this cause have led men into, how should a virtuously disposed mind better resolve with itself than thus? Variety of judgments and opinions argueth obscurity in those things whereabout they differ. But that which all parts receive for truth, that which every one having sifted is by no one denied or doubted of, must needs be matter of infallible certainty. Whereas, therefore, there are but *three* expositions made of 'this is my body,' the *first* 'this is in itself before participation, really and truly the natural substance of my body, by reason of the co-existence which my omnipotent body hath with the sanctified element of bread,' which is the Lutheran's interpretation; the *second*, 'this is itself, and before participation, the very true and natural substance of my body, by force of that Deity, which, with the words of consecration abolisheth the substance of bread, and substituteth in the place thereof my body,' which is the *popish* construction; the *last*, 'this hallowed food, through concurrence of divine power, is in verity and truth, unto faithful receivers, instrumentally a cause of that mystical participation, whereby as I make myself wholly theirs, so I give them in hand an actual possession of all such saving grace, as my sacrificed body can yield, and as their souls do presently need, this is *to them* and *in them* my body.' Of these three rehearsed interpretations, the last hath in it nothing but what the rest do all approve and acknowledge to be most true; nothing but that which the words of Christ are on all sides confessed to enforce; nothing but that which the church of God hath always thought necessary; nothing but

purpose to live and die, acknowledging as I beleeve and teach other men to beleeve, that the worshipfull sacrament of the altar,

that which alone is sufficient for every Christian man to believe concerning the use and force of this sacrament; finally, nothing but that wherewith the writings of all antiquity are consonant and all Christian confessions agreeable. And as truth in what kind soever is by no kind of truth gainsayed, so the mind which resteth itself on this is never troubled with those perplexities which the other do both find, by means of so great contradiction between their opinions and true principles of reason grounded upon experience, nature, and sense. Which albeit with boisterous courage and breath they seem often times to blow away, yet whoso observeth how again they labour and sweat by subtilty of wit to make some shew of agreement between their peculiar conceits and the general edicts of nature, must needs perceive they struggle with that which they cannot fully master. Besides sith of that which is proper to themselves their discourses are hungry and unpleasant, full of tedious and irksome labour, heartless and hitherto without fruit; on the other side, read we them or hear we others, be they of our own or of ancienter times, to what part soever they be thought to incline touching that whereof there is controversy, yet in this where they all speak but one thing their discourses are heavenly, their words sweet as the honeycomb, their tongues melodiously tuned instruments, their sentences mere consolation and joy, are we not hereby almost even with voice from heaven admonished which we may safeliest cleave unto?

"'He which hath said of the one sacrament, 'Wash and be clean,' hath said concerning the other likewise, 'Eat and live.' If therefore without any such particular and solemn warrant as this is, that poor distressed woman coming unto Christ for health could so constantly resolve herself, 'May I but touch the skirt of his garment I shall be whole;'—what moveth us to argue of the manner how life should come by our bread, our duty being here but to take what is offered, and most assuredly to rest persuaded of this, that can we but eat we are safe? When I behold with mine eyes some small, and scarce discernible grain or seed, whereof nature maketh promise that a tree shall come, and when afterwards of that tree any skilful artificer undertaketh to frame some exquisite and curious work, I look for the event; I move no question about performance either of the one or of the other. Shall I simply credit nature in things natural; shall I in things artificial rely myself on art, never offering to make doubt, and in that which is above both art and nature refuse to believe the Author of both, except he acquaint me with his ways, and lay the secret of his skill before me? Where God himself doth speak those things which, either for height and sublimity of matter, or else for secresy of performance, we are not able to reach unto, as we may be ignorant without danger, so it can be no disgrace to confess we are ignorant. Such as love piety will as much as in them lieth know all things that God commandeth, but especially the duties of service which they owe to God. As for his dark and hidden works, they prefer, as becometh them in such cases, simplicity of faith before that knowledge, which, curiously sifting what it should adore, and disputing too boldly of that which the wit of man cannot search, chilleth

is the sacrament of Christs flesh and his blood, in forme of bread and wine.

And the archbishop said to mee; It is sooth, that this sacrament is very Christs bodie in forme of bread. But thou and thy sect teachest it to be substance of bread. Thinke you this true teaching?

And I said; Neither I, nor any other of the sect that yee damne, teach any otherwise then I have told you, nor beleeve otherwise, to my knowing. Neverthelesse sir, I aske of you for charitie, that ye will tell me here plainely, how ye shall understand the text of Saint Paul, where he saith thus; *This thing feele you in your selfe that is in Christ Jesu, while he was in the forme of God.* Sir, calleth not Paul here the forme of God, the substance or kind of God? Also sir, saith not the church in the Hours of the most blessed virgine [6] accordinglie hereto, where it

for the most part all warmth of zeal, and bringeth soundness of belief many times into great hazard. Let it therefore be sufficient for me presenting myself at the Lord's table to know what there I receive from him, without searching or inquiring of the manner how Christ performeth his promise; let disputes and questions, enemies to piety, abatements of true devotion, and hitherto in this cause but over patiently heard, let them take their rest: let curious and sharp-witted men beat their heads about what questions themselves will, the very letter of the word of Christ giveth plain security that these mysteries do as nails fasten us to his very cross; that by them we draw out, as touching efficacy, force, and virtue, even the blood of his gored side, in the wounds of our Redeemer. We there dip our tongues: we are dyed red both within and without; our hunger is satisfied and our thirst for ever quenched; they are things wonderful which he feeleth, great which he seeth, and unheard of which he uttereth; whose soul is possessed of this Paschal Lamb and made joyful in the strength of this new wine, this bread hath in it more than the substance which our eyes behold; this cup hallowed with solemn benediction availeth to the endless life and welfare both of soul and body, in that it serveth as well for a medicine to heal our infirmities and purge our sins, as for a sacrifice of thanksgiving; with touching it sanctifieth; it enlighteneth with belief; it truly conformeth us unto the image of Jesus Christ; what these elements are in themselves it skilleth not; it is enough that to me which take them they are the body and blood of Christ; his promise in witness hereof sufficeth; his word he knoweth which way to accomplish; why should any cogitation possess the mind of a faithful communicant but this, O my God, thou art true! O my soul, thou art happy!'" —Book v. chap. lxvii. § 12.

[6] *Of the most blessed Virgine.*] The words here referred to are these,

"Memento, salutis auctor,
Quod nostri quondam corporis,
Ex illibata virgine,
Nascendo *formam* sumpseris."

is written thus? *Thou author of health remember, that sometime thou tooke of the undefiled virgin, the forme of our bodie.* Tell me for charitie therefore, whether the forme of our bodie, be called here the kind of our bodie or no?

And the archbishop said to me; Wouldest thou make mee to declare this text after thy purpose, since the church now hath determined[7], that there abideth no substance of bread after the consecration, in the sacrament of the altar? Beleevest thou not this ordinance of the church?

And I said; Sir, whatsoever prelates have ordained in the church, our beleefe standeth ever whole. I have not heard, that the ordinance of men under beleefe[8], should be put into beleefe.

And the archbishop said to me; If thou hast not learned this before, learne now to know that thou art out of beleefe, if in this matter and other, thou beleevest not as the holy church beleeveth. —What say doctors treating of this sacrament?

[7] *The church now hath determined.*] The archbishop felt that his strength, such as it was, lay here. He was armed with the authority of the church; and against one so fortified, scripture or reason equally was of very little avail. There he had a short method for deciding all controversies: and he found it so easy and convenient in the application, that we shall see he resorted to it very frequently. The words before us are one instance. Immediately after, he says, "Thou art out of beleefe, if in this matter and other thou beleevest not, as the holy church beleeveth." Again, shortly after, "I purpose to make thee obey to the determination of holy church." Again, "As holy church hath suffered the images of the Trinitie, and all other images to be painted and shewed, it sufficeth to them that are members of holy church." "If Chrysostome meant accordingly to the ordinance of holy church, we will accept him." Nay, even of St. Paul, Arundel, or one of his brother bishops, said to Lord Cobham: "Paul *must be otherwise understood.* For it is sure *an heresie* to say that it is bread after the consecration: *for it is against the determination of holy church.*" And, to go no further, what confidence he had in his weapons, and how he was determined not to be sparing in the use of them, appears sufficiently from his words to Thorpe below: "God has brought me again into this land to destroy thee and the false sect that thou art of: and I shall pursue you so narrowly, that I shall not leave a slip of you in this land."

[8] *Men under beleefe.*] That is, I have never been taught, that the *determinations* of men *under beleefe,* posterior in time, or rather *living under the obligation of obedience* to the articles of Christian faith, should be elevated into equal *authority* with those articles. The passage is sufficiently illustrated by a similar declaration of Lord Cobham: "And as of Images, I understand, that they be not *of beleeve,* but that they were ordained, *sith* (since) *the beleeve was given of Christ,* by sufference of the church." Fox, p. 515, given below in this Collection.

And I said; Sir, Saint Paul, that was a great doctor of holie church, speaking to the people, and teaching them in the right beleefe of this most holy sacrament, calleth it bread that we breake. And also in the Canon of the masse[9] after the consecration, this most worthy sacrament is called holie bread. And every priest in this land, after that he hath received this sacrament, saith in this wise; That thing that wee have taken with our mouth, we pray God that we may take it with a pure and cleane mind: That is, as I understand, wee pray God that we may receive through very beleefe, this holy sacrament worthily. And sir, Saint Augustine saith; That thing that is seene, is bread; but that mens faith asketh to be informed of, is very Christs bodie. And also, Fulgence an ententife doctor[1] saith; As it were an error to say that Christ was but a substance, that is, very man, and not very God; or to say that Christ was very God, and not very man; so is it (this doctor saith) an errour to say, that the sacrament of the altar is but a substance; and also sir, accordingly hereto, in the secret of the mid masse[2] on Christmasse day, it is written thus; *Idem refulsit Deus, sic terrena substantia nobis conferat quod divinum est;* which sentence sir, with the secret of the fourth ferie, *quatuor temporum Septembris*[3]; I pray you sir declare here openly in English.

And the archbishop said to me, I perceive well enough whereabout thou art, and how the divell blindeth thee, that thou may not understand the ordinance of holy church, nor consent thereto. But I command thee now, answere me shortlie; beleevest thou that after the consecration of this foresaid sacrament, there abideth substance of bread or not?

And I said; Sir, as I understand, it is all one to grant or

[9] *Canon of the masse.*] In the whole of this paragraph, Thorpe closely follows the arguments of his master Wickliffe. See Lewis's *History of Wickliffe*, p. 79.

[1] *An ententife doctor.*] "Ententif. (Fr.); busie, earnest, intentive, &c." Cotgrave.

[2] *Secret of the mid masse.*] "Then after followeth a prayer secretly said, which is called the *secret of the Mass;* and that signifieth Christ's secret and privy conversation, which he kept with his disciples a little before his passion." Book of Ceremonies in Strype's *Ecclesiastical Memorials*, vol. i. p. 287, Records.

[3] *Quatuor temporum Septembris.*] The *fourth ferie (feria quarta) quatuor temporum Septembris* may be easily found in any Breviary. The *Quatuor tempora* denote the fasting-days in the *four* Ember weeks; which in September are the Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday next after the 14th.

beleeve, that there dwelleth no substance of bread, and to grant and to beleeve, that this most worthie sacrament of Christs owne body is accident without subject[4]. But sir, for as mikle as your asking passeth my understanding, I dare neither denie it nor grant it, for it is schoole matter, about which I busied mee never for to know: and therefore I commit this terme *accidens sine subjecto*, to those clerkes which delight them so in curious and subtle sophistry, because they determine oft so difficult and strange matters, and wade and wander so in them from argument to argument, with *pro et contra*, till that they wot not where they are, and understand not themselves. But the shame that these proud sophisters have to yeeld them to men, and before men, maketh them oft fooles, and to be concluded shamefully before God.

And the archbishop said to me; I purpose not to oblige thee to the subtle arguments of clerks, since thou art unable thereto: but I purpose to make thee obey to the determination of holy church.

And I said; Sir, by open evidence and great witnesse, a thousand yeere after the incarnation of Christ, the determination which I have here before you rehearsed, was accept of holy church[5] as sufficient to the salvation of all them that would beleeve it faithfully, and worke thereafter charitablie. But sir, the determination of this matter was brought in, since the feend was loosed[6] by frier Thomas Aquine, specially calling the most wor-

[4] *Without subject.*] Compare above, *Life of Wickliffe,* note on p. 186.

[5] *Was accept of holy church.*] This was expressly conceded, in after times, in the reign of queen Mary, by the learned and candid Tonstall, bishop of Durham, in his book *De Eucharistia.* P. 45. A.D. 1554. See also *Life of Bernard Gilpin,* in this collection.

[6] *Since the feend was loosed.*] "And I saw an angel come down from heaven, having the key of the bottomless pit, and a great chain in his hand. And he laid hold on the dragon, that old serpent, which is the devil and satan, *and bound him a thousand years,* and cast him into the bottomless pit, and shut him up, and set a seal upon him, that he should deceive the nations no more, till the thousand years should be fulfilled: *and after that he must be loosed* a little season." Revelation, chap. xx. ver. 1—3. To this passage in the Apocalypse, reference is here made by Thorpe, as it was by Wickliffe and his followers, on many other occasions, as prophetical, first, of the purer ages of Christianity, and also of the corruptions which overspread the church in the second millenary after Christ's ascension. See Lewis's *History of Wickliffe,* p. 87 and 124; Fox, p. 365, 6.

The words which follow, viz. "Frier Thomas Aquine," are printed thus in

shipfull sacrament of Christs owne bodie an accident without subject; which terme, since I know not that Gods law approveth it in this matter, I dare not grant, but utterlie I denie to make this friers sentence, or any such other, my beleefe; doe with me God what thou wilt.

And the archbishop said to me; Well, well, thou shalt say otherwise or that I leave thee.

But what saiest thou to this second point that is recorded against thee by worthie men of Shrewsburie, saying, that thou preachedst there, that images ought not to be worshipped in any wise?

And I said; Sir, I preached never thus, nor through Gods grace I will not at any time consent to think nor to say thus, neither privilie nor apertly. For loe, the Lord witnesseth by Moses, that the things which hee made were right good, and so then they were, and yet they are and shall be good and worshipfull in their kind. And therefore, to the end that God made them to, they are all praisable and worshipfull; and speciallie man that was made after the image and likenesse of God, is full worshipfull in his kind; yea, this holy image that is man, God worshippeth[7]. And herefore every man should worship other, in

all the editions of Fox, which I have had an opportunity of consulting; "Frier Thomas againe." The person intended is undoubtedly St. Thomas Aquinas; and the place cited may be found, *Summa Theolog.*: part 3, quest. 75, art. 5. I apprehend, therefore, that the alteration of "againe" into "Aquine" will be easily allowed of.

[7] *God worshippeth.*] Thus in bishop Pecock's *Treatise on the Rule of Faith*, p. 35. "This holi lyver after his death is accepted into salvacioun, and to be reverencid and worschipid and folowid as for a savyd soule, and moche lovyd and *worschipid of God.*"

The disputation between the archbishop and Thorpe upon this celebrated point, cannot be understood, without bearing in mind the ancient meaning of the word *worship*, of which we have traces still remaining in the marriage service, and in the word *worshipful*. It did by no means imply of itself so high a degree of reverence as we now usually apply to it. But, as Tyndal says, "*worshipping* and *honouring*, these two termes are both one."—Works, p. 269. The reader, who is desirous of further information upon the controversy respecting image worship at the commencement, and in the earlier years of the Reformation, will find much to his purpose by consulting Lewis's *Life of Pecock*, p. 79—114; Lewis's *History of Wickliffe*, p. 345—350; Fox, p. 369. 433. 518. 605, 606; Tyndal's *Works*, p. 269. 275; Barnes's *Works*, p. 335. 355; Sir Thomas More's *Works*, p. 113. 124. 187. 203. See also the index of this work, and that of the *Christian Institutes*, under *Images, worship of.*

kind, and also for heavenly vertues that men use charitably. And also I say, wood, tin, gold, silver, or any other matter that images are made of, all these creatures are worshipfull in their kind, and to the end that God made them for. But the carving, casting, and painting of an imagery, made within mans hand, albeit that this doing be accept of men of highest state and dignitie, and *ordained of them* to bee a calendar to leaud men, that neither can, nor will be learned to know God in his word, neither by his creatures, nor by his wonderfull and divers workings; yet this imagerie ought not to be worshipped in forme, nor in the likenesse of mans craft. Neverthelesse, that very matter the painters paint with, since it is Gods creature, ought to be worshipped in the kind, and to the end that God made and ordained it to serve man.

Then the archbishop said to me, I grant well that no body, ought to doe worship to any such images for themselves[8]. But a crucifix ought to be worshipped for the passion of Christ that

[8] *Images for themselves.*] This was well enough said by the archbishop; and if he and his party would have stopped here, there needed to have been no more controversy on this point, or it would have been merely some verbal disputation about the force and import of the word "worship," or the like. The Lollards, Reformers, Protestants, all were willing enough to accede to the usage of images, as "calendars of lewd men," or "lay-men's books." But what availed this, when all the time, it is unquestionable, that the *practice in the church* differed very widely from the *teaching in the schools:* and *that,* by the connivance or encouragement, and for the direct gain of the clergy themselves? What else could be the meaning of the "engines that were in the images, whereby they could beckon, either with their heades or handes, or move their eyes, or manage some parte of their bodies, to the purpose that the freers and priests would use them?" (*Works of William Thomas,* p. 61.) Why do we hear so much of the *miracles* wrought at this shrine and at that? and of the blood of Hayles, or the blood of St. Januarius? The "rood of grace, at Boxley, in Kent, was able to bow down and lift up itself, to shake and stir the hands and feet, to nod the head, roll the eyes, bend the brows, and finally to represent a lively, significant show of a well-contented or displeased mind." (Lewis's *Life of Pecock,* p. 82.) Can we wonder then at the scandal occasioned by these things to reflecting minds; and at the zeal of Tindal, Bilney, and the like? Bernard Gilpin, we shall read below, in this collection, "was much troubled, hearing the papists condemn idolatry in their discourses, and yet permitting to the people every where the adoration of images." Again, he says: "I beheld for the space of three years at Paris, Antwerp, and Loraine, and in some other places, very gross idolatry. This thing did more and more estrange one from the popish religion: most of all because the learneder papists did in their disputations in the schools deny the adoration of images, yet allowed the intolerable use thereof in their churches."

is painted therein, and so brought therethrough to mans mind: and thus the images of the blessed Trinitie, and of the Virgin Marie Christs mother, and other images of saints, ought to be worshipped. For loe, earthly kings and lords which use to send their letters ensealed with their armes, or with their privie signet to them that are with them, are worshipped of these men. For when these men receive their lords letters, in which they see and know the wils and biddings of the lords, in worship of their lords they doe off their caps to these letters[9]. Why not then, since in

[9] *Doe off their caps to these letters.*] This old custom must not be passed by without one or two notices, which will also afford further illustration to the archbishop's argument, "Saynt Austyn sayth, the mynde of Crystys passion puttethe awaye all temptacyons, and the power of all wycked spyrytes. And for this cause roodes and ymages ben set on hye in the chirche; for as soone as a man cometh into the chirche, he sholde see it, and have it in his mynde, and thynke on Crystys passion. Wherefore crosses and other ymages be full necessary and needefull, whatsomever these *Lollers* say: for and it had not be full profitable, holye faders wolde have destroyed them many yeres agone. For ryght as the people *done worshyp to the kynges seale*, not for love of the seale, but for reverence of the kyng that it cometh fro, so roodes and ymages be set for the kynges seale in heven, and other sayntes in the same wyse. For ymages ben lewde peples bokes; and as Johan Belet sayth, ther ben many thousandes of peple that can not ymagyn in ther hertes how Cryst was done on the crosse, but as they se by ymagis in the chirches, and in other places."—*Festival*, fol. 51. b. In so much favour was this argument, that even Sir Thomas More and bishop Gardiner condescended to make use of it. "When a man at the receite of his *princes letter putteth off his cappe* and kisseth it, doth he this reverence to the paper, or to his prince? In good faith to saie the trouth these heretiques rather trifle than reason in this matter. For where thei saie that ymages be but lay mennes bokes, thei cannot yet saie nay but that thei be necessary, if thei were but so." Works, p. 117. See Fox's *Acts*, p. 1219, 20. Letter of bishop Gardiner. By the time of the reign of Henry VIII. it should appear, that this courtesy was already contracted within narrower limits. In Coverdale's dedication of his translation of the Bible to that monarch, in which he inforces the king's supremacy with much zeal, he observes in the course of that argument, "as ther is nothing above God, so is ther no man above the king in his realme; but that he only under God is the chief head of all the congregation and church of the same. And in token that this is true, ther hath been of old antiquitie, and is yet unto this day, a loving ceremonie used in your realme of England, that when your grace's subjects *read your letter, or begin to talk or commune of your highnesse*, they move their bonnets for a sign and token of reverence unto your grace, as to their most sovereign lord and head under God, *which thing no man useth to do to ony bishop:* whereby if our understandyng were not blynded, we might evidently perceave, that even very nature teacheth us the same that scrypture commaundeth us." If this custom still any where remains, perhaps it may

images made with mans hand, wee may read and know many divers things of God, and of his saints, shall we not worship their images?

And I said; within my foresaid protestation I say, that these worldly usages of temporal lawes that yee speake now of, may be done in case without sinne. But this is no similitude to worship images, made by mans hand, since that Moses, David, Solomon, Baruch, and other saints in the bible forbid so plainely the worshipping of such images.

Then the archbishop said to mee; Leaud losell, in the old law before that Christ tooke mankind, was no likenesse of any person of the Trinitie, neither shewed to man, nor knowne of man: but now since Christe became man, it is lefull to have images to shew his manhood. Yea, though many men which are right great clerkes and other also, held it an error to paint the Trinitie, I say it is wel done to make and to paint the Trinity in images. For it is great mooving of devotion to men, to have and to behold the Trinitie and other images of saints, carved, cast, and painted. For beyond the sea, are the best painters that ever I saw. And sirs I tell you, this is their manner, and it is a good manner: when that an image maker shall carve, cast in mold, or paint any images, he shall goe to a priest, and shrive him as cleane, as if he should then die; and take penance, and make some certaine vow of fasting or of praying or pilgrimages doing, praying the priest speciallie to pray for him, that he may have grace to make a faire and a devout image.

And I said; Sir, I doubt not if these painters that ye speak of, or any other painters understood truly the text of Moses, of David, of the Wise Man, of Baruch, and of other saints and doctors; these painters should be mooved to shrive them to God with full inward sorrow of heart, taking upon them to doe right sharpe penance for the sinfull and vaine craft of painting, carving, or casting they had used; promising God faithfully, never to doe so after; knowledging openly before all men their reprooveable learning. And also sir, these priests that shrive (as you doe say)

be found among the formal and ceremonious Spaniards. "If I should use the Count de Gondomar's action," says Lord Bacon to the Marquis of Buckingham, "I should first lay your last letter to my mouth, in token of thanks, and then to my heart in token of contentment, and then to my forehead in token of a perpetual remembrance."—Bacon's *Works*, vol. ii. p. 570. Edit. 1753.

painters, and enjoyne them to doe penance, and pray for their speed, promising to them helpe of their prayers for to be curious in their sinfull crafts, sinne herein more grievouslie, than the painters. For these priests doe comfort and give them counsell to doe that thing, which of great paine, yea under the paine of Gods curse, they should utterly forbid them. For certes sir, if the wonderfull working of God, and the holy living and teaching of Christ, and of his apostles and prophets, were made knowne to the people by holy living and true, and busie teaching of priests; these things (sir) were sufficient bookes and kalenders [10] to know God by, and his saints, without any images made with mans hand. But certes, the vitious living of priests and their covetousnesse, are chiefe cause of this error, and all other vitiousnesse that raigneth among the people.

Then the archbishop said unto me, I hold thee a vitious priest and accurst, and all them that are of thy sect; for all priests of holy church, and all images that move men to devotion, thou and such other goe about to destroy. Losell, were it a faire thing to come into the church and see therein none image?

And I said; Sir, they that come to the church for to pray devoutly to the Lord God, may in their inward wits bee the more fervent, that all their outward wits bee close from all outward seeing and hearing, and from all disturbance and lettings. And since Christ blessed them that saw him not bodily, and have beleeved faithfully in him, it sufficeth then to all men (through hearing and knowing of Gods word, and to doe thereafter) for to beleeve in God, though they never see images made with mans hand after any person of the Trinitie, or of any other saint.

And the archbishop said to mee, with a fervent spirit; I say to thee losell, that it is right well done to make and to have an image of the Trinitie. Yea, what saist thou? is it not a stirring thing to behold such an image?

And I said; Sir, yee said right now that in the old law or Christ tooke mankind, no likenesse of any person of the Trinitie was shewed to men: wherefore sir, yee said it was not then lefull to have images, but now ye say, since Christ is becomen man, it is lefull to make and to have an image of the Trinitie, and also of other saints. But sir, this thing would I learne of you: since

[10] *Bookes and kalenders.*] See below, under *Lord Cobham,* n. (5) p. 367. or Index, art. *Images, laymen's books.*

the father of heaven, yea and every person of the Trinitie was without beginning God almighty, and many holy prophets that were deadly men, were martyred violently in the old law, and also many men and women then died confessors: why was it not then as lefull and necessarie as now to have made an image of the father of heaven, and to have made and had other images of martyrs, prophets, and holy confessors, to have bin kalenders to advise men and move them to devotion, as ye say that images now doe?

And the archbishop said: The synagogue of the Jewes had not authoritie to approve those things as the church of Christ hath now.

And I said; Sir, saint Gregorie was a great man in the new law, and of great dignitie, and as the common law witnesseth, he commended greatly a bishop, in that he forbad utterly the images made with mans hand should bee worshipped.

And the archbishop said: Ungratious losell, thou savourest no more truth than an hound. Since at the rood at the north-dore at London[1], at our ladie at Walsingham[2], and many other divers

[1] *North-dore at London.*] "Towards the great north door was a crucifix, whereunto pilgrimages and offerings were frequently made, whereof the Dean and Canons had the benefit." Dugdale's *History of St. Paul's Cathedral*, p. 22. edit. 1716.

[2] *Our ladie at Walsingham.*] "The people in speaking of our lady; Of al our ladies, saith one, I love best our lady of Walsingham. And I, saith the other, our lady of Ippiswitch. In which woordes what meneth she but her love and her affeccion to the stocke that standeth in the chapel of Walsingham or Ippiswiche? What say you, when the people speke of this fashion in theyr paines and perils, Helpe holy crosse of Bradmen, helpe our dere lady of Walsingham? Doth it not plainly appere that thei trust in the images, in Christes stede?" Sir Thomas More's *Dialogue concerning Heresies.* Works, p. 140. "This village," says Camden, speaking of Walsingham, (Camden in Norfolk) "was much renowned throughout all England for a pilgrimage to our lady, the Virgin Mary; whom he who had not, in the former age, visited, and presented with offerings, was reputed irreligious." Erasmus in his Colloquy, intitled *Peregrinatio religionis ergo*, has described this place, and a pilgrimage made thither in a very entertaining manner. A small part of the description here follows, as it is translated by Camden. "In that church, which I said was unfinished, there is a small chapel, but all of wood, whereunto on either side at a narrow and little door, are such admitted as come with their devotions and offerings. Small light there is in it, and none other in a manner but by tapers or wax candles, yielding a most dainty and pleasant smell. Nay, if you look into it, you would say it were the habitation of heavenly saints indeed; so bright shining it is all over with precious stones, with gold and silver."

places in England, are many great and praisable miracles done; should not the images of such holy saints and places, at the reverence of God and our ladie and other saints, be more worshipped than other places and images, where no miracles are done?

And I said; Sir, there is no such vertue in any imagerie, that any images should herefore bee worshipped; wherefore I am certaine that there is no miracle done of God in any place in earth, because that any images made with mans hand should be worshipped. And herefore sir, as I preached openly at Shrewesburie and other places, I say now here before you; That no bodie should trust that there were any vertue in imagery made with mans hand, and therefore no bodie should vow to them nor seeke them, nor kneele to them, nor bow to them, nor pray to them, nor offer any thing to them, nor kisse them, nor encense them. For loe the most worthie of such images, the brasen serpent (by Moises made, at Gods bidding) the good king Hezechias destroyed worthily and thankfully, and all because it was encensed. Therefore sir, if men take good heed to the writing and to the learning of S. Augustine, of S. Gregorie, and of saint John Chrysostome, and of other saints and doctors, how they spake and wrote of miracles, that shall bee done now in the last end of the world; it is to dread, that for the unfaithfulnes of men and women, the feend hath great power for to worke many of the miracles that now are done in such places[3]. For both men and women delight now more to heare and know miracles, than they doe to know Gods word, or to heare it effectuouslie. Wherefore, to the great confusion of all them that thus do, Christ saith; *The generation of adulterers requireth tokens, miracles, and wonders.* Neverthelesse as divers saints say, now when the faith of God is published in

[3] *Done in such places.*] So in a dialogue between Bilney and friar Brusierd, Bilney says, "These wonders, which they call miracles, be wrought daily in the church, not by the power of God, as many thinke, but by the illusion of Satan rather; who, as the Scripture witnesseth, hath bin loose now abroad five hundred yeeres, according as it is written in the booke of the Apocalypse: *After a thousand yeeres, Satan shall be let loose;*" to which Brusierd, in his reply, says, "God saith, *I will not the death of a sinner, but rather that he convert and live.* And thou blasphemest him, as though hee should lay privie snares of death for us secretly, that we should not espie them. Which if it were true, we might well say with Hugh de Saint Victore in this maner; If it be an error, it is of thee, O God, that we be deceived; for these be confirmed with such signes and wonders, which cannot be done but by thee." Fox, p. 914. Compare Lewis's *Life of Pecock*, p. 112, 113.

Christendome, the word of God sufficeth to mans salvation, without such miracles; and thus also the word of God sufficeth to all faithfull men and women, without any such images. But good sir, since the father of heaven, that is God in his godhead, is the most unknowne thing that may bee, and the most wonderfull spirit, having in it no shape nor likenesse, and members of any deadly creature; in what likenesse [4] or what image may God the father be shewed or painted?

And the archbishop said; As holy church hath suffered the images of the Trinitie, and all other images to be painted and shewed, it sufficeth to them that are members of holy church. But since thou art a rotten member, cut away from holy church, thou favourest not the ordinance thereof. But since the day passeth, leave we this matter.

And then he said to me; What saiest thou to the third point that is certified against thee, preaching openly in Shrewsburie, that pilgrimage is not lefull? and over this thou saidest that those men and women that go on pilgrimages to Canturburie, to Beverley, to Karlington, to Walsingham, and to any such other places, are accursed and made foolish, spending their goods in wast.

And I said; Sir, by this certification I am accused to you that I should teach, that no pilgrimage is lefull. But I said never thus. For I know that there be true pilgrimages and leful, and full pleasant to God; and therefore sir, howsoever mine enemies have certified you of me, I told at Shrewsburie of two maner of pilgrimages.

And the archbishop said to me; Whom callest thou true pilgrimes?

And I said; Sir, with my protestation, I call them true pilgrimes travelling toward the blisse of heaven, which in the state, degree,

[4] *In what likenesse.*] Lewis, in his Life of bishop Pecock, p. 85, has published an engraving, of two of the usual representations of the Trinity, taken from the Salisbury primer, and has communicated, in the same place, several curious particulars, taken from documents of their own, respecting the gross and idolatrous practices of the church of Rome in reference to the same subject. On the customary representations more immediately referred to in this passage, the reader may also consult, bishop Taylor's *Dissuasive from Popery*, in his Polemical Discourses, p. 307, 308, and p. 550—555. But it is a topic which can impart no pleasure in further enlarging upon it.

or order that God calleth them to, doe busie them faithfully for to occupie all their wits bodilie and ghostly, to know truely, and to keepe faithfully the biddings of God, hating and fleeing all the seven deadly sins[5], and every branch of them; ruling them vertuouslie (as it is said before) with all their wits; doing discreetly, wilfully, and gladly, all the works of mercy, bodilie and ghostly, after their cunning and power; abling them to the gifts of the holy ghost, disposing them to receive them in their soules; and to hold therin, the right blessings of Christ; busying them to know and to keepe the seven principall vertues, and so then they shall obtaine here through grace, for to use thankfully to God, all the conditions of charitie. And then they shall be moved with the good spirit of God, for to examine oft and diligently their conscience, that neither wilfully nor wittingly they erre in any article of beleefe, having continually (as frailtie will suffer) all their businesse, to dread and to flie the offence of God, and to love over all, and to seeke ever to doe his pleasant will. Of these pilgrimes I said, whatsoever good thought that they any time thinke, what vertuous word that they speake, and what fruitfull worke that they worke; every such thought, word, and worke is a step numbred of God, toward him into heaven. These foresaid pilgrimes of God, delight sore when they heare of saints or of vertuous men and women, how they forsooke wilfully the prosperitie of this life, how they withstood the suggestion of the feend, how they restrained their fleshlie lusts, how discreete they were in the penance doing, how patient they were in all their adversities, how prudent they were in counselling of men and women, moving them to hate all sinnes, and to flie them, and to shame ever greatly thereof, and to love all vertues, and to draw to them, imagining how Christ, and his followers, by example of him, suffered scornes and slanders, and how patiently they abode and

[5] *The seven deadly sins.*] "Ye shall knowe that there are seven capitale, or pryncypall deadely sinnes, it is to witte, pride, envy, wrath or anger, slouth, covetousness, glottony, and lechery. And also there are seven pryncipall, or cheyfe vertues, it is to wytte, fayth, hope, charytie, prudence, temperance, justice, and fortitude or strength." Bonner's *profitable and necessarye Doctryne,* signat. B b b 2. The expressions which follow, viz. "all their wits," "works of mercy, bodily and ghostly," "gifts of the Holy Ghost," and "right blessings of Christ," are also all of them of the nature of technical divisions in the religion of those times. See also archbishop Peckham's Constitutions, the form of Confession in the primer of Cardinal Pole, signat. D d 3. A.D. 1555. Lewis's *Life of Wickliffe,* p. 136, n. edit. 1820, &c.

tooke the wrongfull manacing of tyrants; how homely they were and serviceable to poore men to releeve and comfort them bodily and ghostly, after their power and cunning; and how devout they were in prayers, how fervent they were in heavenly desires, and how they absented them from spectacles of vaine sayings and hearings; and how stable they were to let and destroy all vices, and how laborious and joyfull they were, to sow and to plant vertues.—These heavenly conditions and such other, have pilgrimes, or endevor them for to have, whose pilgrimage God accepteth.

And againe, I said, as their workes shew, the most part of men and women that goe now on pilgrimages, have not these foresaid conditions, nor loveth to busie them faithfullie for to have. For as I well know, since I have full oft assaid, examine whosoever will twenty of these pilgrimes, and hee shall not find three men or women that know surely a commandement of God[6], nor can say their Pater noster, and Ave Maria, nor their Creed readilie in any maner of language. And as I have learned, and

[6] *A commandement of God.*] For some ages before the Reformation, the ignorance of the people in regard to religion was almost universal, and pitiable in the extreme. In a *supplication* of certain inhabitants of Norfolk and Suffolk tendered to the commissioners of queen Mary, about the year 1556, they complain, in their expostulations, against the revival of the Latin service: "Afore the blessed reformation, begun by the most noble prince of godly memorie the queenes good father, and by our late holie and innocent king, her good brother, finished; it is not unknowne what blindnesse and error we were all in, when not one man in all this realme, unlearned in the Latine, could say in English the Lord's prair, or knew any one article of his beleefe, or rehearse anie one of the ten commandements. And that ignorance, mother of mischief, was the very root and wel-spring of all idolatry." Fox, p. 1727. Again, in a *Dialogue or familiar talk*, by Michael Wood, A.D. 1554. signat. C 2 b. "Who coulde twenty yeares agone saye the Lordes prayer in English? Who could tell anye one article of his faith? Who had once heard of anye of the ten commaundements? Who wist what Cathechisme ment? Who understoode anye point of the holye baptisme? If we were sycke of the pestylence, we run to sainte Rooke, if of the ague to saint Pernel, or master John Shorne. If men were in prison, thei praied to saint Leonarde. If the Welch-man wold have a pursse, he praied to Darvel Gathorne. If a wife wer weary of her husband, she offred otes at Poules at London, to saint Uncumber." In another part, the dialogue is thus carried on. "*Oliver.* Cannest thou saye the *Lordes praier?* *Nicholas.* Nay, nor our Ladies neither. I can say my *Pater Noster.* *Oliver.* What is Pater Noster? *Nich.* Mary, Pater Noster: what can ye make of it? *Oliver.* But why have you not learned the Lordes praier in English al this while? *Nich.* Sir John bad me kepe me to mi old pater noster, for he said the newe wold not abide alway. And nowe I see he is a true man." Signat. C 8.

also know somewhat by experience of these same pilgrimes, telling the cause, why that many men and women goe hither and thither now on pilgrimage; it is more for the health of their bodies, than of their soules; more for to have riches and prosperitie of this world, than for to bee enriched with vertues in their soules; more to have here worldly and fleshly friendship, than for to have friendship of God, and of his saints in heaven; for whatsoever thing man or woman doth, the friendship of God, nor of any other saint cannot bee had, without keeping of Gods commandements. Further with my protestation, I say now as I said in Shrewsburie, though they that have fleshly wils, travell farre their bodies and spend mikle money, to seeke and to visit the bones or images (as they say they do) of this saint or of that, such pilgrimage going is neither praiseable nor thankfull to God, nor to any saint of God, since in effect, all such pilgrimes despise God and all his commandements and saints. For the commandements of God they will nother know nor keepe, nor conforme them to live vertuouslie by example of Christ and of his saints. Wherfore sir, I have preached and taught openly, and so I purpose all my life time to do with Gods helpe, saying that such fond people wast blamefully Gods goods in their vaine pilgrimages, spending their goods upon vitious hostelars which are oft uncleane women of their bodies: and at the least, those goods with the which they should doe workes of mercie after Gods bidding, to poore needie men and women.

These poore mens goods and their livelode, these runners about offer to rich priests which have mikle more livelode than they neede. And thus those goods they wast wilfully, and spend them unjustly against Gods bidding upon strangers, with which they should helpe and relieve, after Gods will, their poore needie neighbours at home: yea and over this follie, oftentimes divers men and women, of these runners thus madly hither and thither into pilgrimage, borrow hereto other mens goods, yea and sometime they steale mens goods hereto, and they pay them never againe. Also sir, I know well that when divers men and women will goe, thus after their owne wils and finding out, on pilgrimage, they will ordaine with them before, to have with them both men and women, that can well sing[7] wanton songs; and some other

[7] *Can well sing.*] Mine host of the Taberde, in Southwarke, well understood this temper of his guests, the pilgrims, and so suggested the scheme of the Canterbury Tales. *Cantantes licet usque, minus via lædet, eamus.* [Fain

pilgrimes will have with them bagpipes; so that in everie towne that they come through, what with the noise of their singing, and with the sound of their piping, and with the jangling of their Canturburie bels, and with the barking out of dogs after them, they make more noise, than if the king came there away, with all his clarions, and many other minstrels. And if these men and women be a moneth out in their pilgrimage, many of them shall be an halfe yeare after, great janglers, taletellers, and liars.

And the archbishop said to me; Leaud losell, thou seest not far enough in this matter, for thou considerest not the great travell of pilgrims, therefore thou blamest that thing that is praiseable. I say to thee, that it is right well done, that pilgrims have with them both singers and also pipers, that when one of them that goeth barefoote, striketh his toe upon a stone, and hurteth him sore, and maketh him to bleed, it is well done that he or his fellow begin then a song, or else take out of his bosome a bagpipe, for to drive away with such mirth, the hurt of his fellow. For with such solace, the travell and wearinesse of pilgrimes, is lightly and merrily borne out.

Fain wold I don you mirth and I wist how.
Ye gon to Canterbury, God mote you spede,
The blissful martyr quite you your mede:
And well I wot, as ye gone by the way,
Ye shapen you to talken and to play:
For truly comfort ne mirth is there none,
To riden by the way as dumb as a stone:
And therefore wold I maken you disport,
As I said erst, and done you some comfort.

P. 7. Edit. 1687.

An elder satirist gives us a still less favourable picture.

Pilgrimes and palmers plyght hem togyther
For to seke S. James, and sayntes at Rome:
They went forth theyr way wyth many wyse tales,
And had leve to lye all hyr lyfe after.
Hermets on a heape wyth hoked staves
Wenten to Walsingham, and her wenches after,
Great loubeis and longe that loth were to swynke.

Visions of Pierce Ploughman, fol. 1. b.

Of the controversy respecting pilgrimages, as it was debated about this period, many further particulars may be learned, on both sides of the dispute, by consulting Lewis's *Life of Pecock*, p. 92—114. See also Sir Thomas More's *Dialogue concerning Heresies*, book i. Works, p. 105—40, and the Index of this work, and that of the *Christian Institutes*, under *Pilgrimages*.

And I said; Sir, S. Paul teacheth men to weepe with them that weepe.

And the archbishop said, What janglest thou against mens devotion? Whatsoever thou or such other say, I say that the pilgrimage that now is used, is, to them that doe it, a praiseable and a good meane[8] to come the rather to grace. But I hold thee unable to know this grace, for thou enforcest thee to let the devotion of the people: since by authority of holy scripture, men may lefully have and use such solace as thou reprovest. For David in his last psalme, teacheth men to have divers instruments of musicke for to praise therewith God.

And I said; Sir, by the sentence of divers doctors expounding the psalmes of David, that musicke and minstrelsie that David and other saints of the old law spake of, ought now nother to be taken nor used by the letter, but these instruments with their musicke ought to bee interpreted ghostly: for all those figures are called vertues and graces, with which vertues men should please God, and praise his name. For saint Paul saith all such things befell to them in figure. Therefore, sir, I understand, that the letter of this psalme of David and of such other psalmes and sentences doth slay them that take them now litterally. This

[8] *A good meane.*] The religious ceremonies with which the pilgrims set out upon their journey, if the prayers had been in their mother tongue, were of an imposing and impressive character.

The following is an account of the office prepared for the occasion, and still extant in the Salisbury manual.

"First of all the pilgrims were to be *confessed* of all their sins. Then they were to prostrate themselves before the altar, and to have said over them the psalms and prayers there appointed. The pilgrims were then to stand up, and the priest was to bless their scrips and staves, praying to God that he would vouchsafe to sanctify and bless them; that whosoever, for the love of his name, should put that scrip to his side, or hang it about his neck, or carry that staff in his hands, and thus going on pilgrimage, should desire, with an humble devotion, to obtain the suffrages of the saints, might be protected by the defence of God's right hand, and deserve to come to the joys of the eternal mansion. And then, after sprinkling holy water on the scrips and staves, the priest put his scrip about each of the pilgrims' neck, and delivered his staff into his hand, with a set form of words. If any of the pilgrims were going to Jerusalem, they were to have their garments marked with a cross; and the crosses were to be blessed and sprinkled with holy water; and his garment so marked was to be delivered to every one of the pilgrims with a set form of words. All which being ended, a mass was said for their good journey."—Lewis's *Life of Bishop Pecock*, p. 94. edit. 1744.

sentence as I understand sir, Christ approveth himselfe, putting out the minstrels, or that he would quicken the dead damsell.

And the archbishop said to me; Leud losel, is it not lefull to us to have organs[9] in the church for to worship therewithall God?

[9] *To have organs.*] When in the next century the objections against instrumental church music were revived by the puritans, Hooker noticed an argument similar to that alleged by Thorpe in the preceding paragraph, that the ceremonial law was abrogated, and that the texts referred to in the book of Psalms were to be understood, under the gospel dispensation, *spiritually*, in the following terms.

"They which, under pretence of the law ceremonial abrogated, require the abrogation of instrumental musick, approving nevertheless the use of vocal melody to remain, must show some reason wherefore the one should be thought a legal ceremony and not the other. In church musick curiosity and ostentation of art, wanton, or light, or unsuitable harmony, such as only pleaseth the ear, and doth not naturally serve to the very kind and degree of those impressions which the matter that goeth with it leaveth, or is apt to leave in men's minds, doth rather blemish and disgrace that we do, than add either beauty or furtherance unto it. On the other side the faults prevented, the force and efficacy of the thing itself, when it drowneth not utterly, but fitly suiteth with matter altogether sounding to the praise of God, is in truth most admirable, and doth much edify, if not the understanding, because it teacheth not, yet surely the affection, because therein it worketh much. They must have hearts very dry and tough, from whom the melody of the Psalms doth not sometime draw that wherein a mind religiously affected delighteth." *Ecclesiastical Polity*, book v. sect. 38: where may be found much more very beautifully composed, in vindication of the use of musick in churches; and from which I apprehend a sufficient answer may be derived, built on the sure foundations of sound wisdom, and true religion, to the principles and practices of all those who have renounced the use of it.

It must be confessed indeed, that before the Reformation, this part of religious worship was much corrupted. Nor was it to be wondered at, where the service was in an unknown tongue, that efforts to please or to astonish the ear by the tricks of art, and by passages of a laborious and rapid execution, should take the place of simple, grave, and solemn melodies. Wickliffe expresses himself with great severity on this subject. See Lewis's *History*, p. 132—135. And in the same place, says very beautifully, in reply to an argument that might be urged on the other side, "And if they seyn that angels hearen *(praise)* God by song in heaven; seye that *we* kunnen *(know)* not that song; but *they* ben in full victory of their enemies, and *we* ben in perilous battle, and in the valley of weeping and mourning; and our song letteth us fro better occupation, and stirreth us to many great sins, and to forget ourselves." Erasmus, in one of his epistles, attributes the ignorance so prevalent in his times partly to the want of sober and sound preaching of God's word, and partly to the incroachments made upon divine service by the unbounded usage in churches of elaborate and artificial musick. (Lib. xxv. epist. 64.) And in his annotations on the New Testament, written about the

And I said, Yea sir, by mans ordinance; but by the ordinance of God, a good sermon to the peoples understanding were mikle more pleasant to God.

year 1512, he gives a description which displays the same evil in very striking terms. "We have introduced into the churches a certain elaborate and theatrical species of music, accompanied with a tumultuous diversity of voices. All is full of trumpets, cornets, pipes, fiddles, and singing. We come to church as to a play-house. And for this purpose, ample salaries are expended on organists and societies of boys, whose whole time is wasted in learning to sing. These fooleries are become so agreeable, that the monks, especially in England, think of nothing else. To this end, even in the Benedictine monasteries of England, many youths, boys, and other vocal performers, are sustained, who, early every morning, sing to the organ the mass of the Virgin Mary with the most harmonious modulations of voice. And the bishops are obliged to keep choirs of this sort in their families." Annot. in Epistle i. ad Corinth. (chap. xiv. ver. 19.)

"At the time of the Reformation (says Sir John Hawkins), such abuses had crept into the choral service, which had departed from its primitive simplicity and dignity, that not only the council of Trent passed a decree against curious and artificial singing, but the thirty-two commissioners in the *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum*, expressed their disapprobation of it in very strong terms. Queen Mary, who loved music, and played on several instruments, laboured to support it, and in her reign the formulary *In Usum Sarum* was republished. At the accession of her sister Elizabeth to the crown, the clergy were divided in their opinions about the use of church music. The first statutes of uniformity seemed to consider it as a thing indifferent; but the queen by her injunctions made it a part of cathedral worship. In this she is supposed to have had the concurrence of Parker, archbishop of Canterbury, who had been taught to sing in his youth, and was a great lover of music, as was also the queen." See notes to the *Northumberland Houshold Book*, p. 444, 445.

In his *Complaint to the King and Parliament*, Wickliffe has taken upon him to say, in very strong language, "as Christ saved the world by the writing and teaching of the *four* evangelists, so now the fiend casteth to damne the world, in letting" (hindering) "to preach the gospel, by *these foure*; by fayned contemplation;—by songs;—by Salisburie use;—and by worldly buysines of priests."—Wickliffe's *Two Short Treatises*. 1608. 4to. p. 17.

Of two of these—the "new song"—or church-music, and the "Salisbury Use," he elsewhere expresses himself with much seriousness, and cogency of observation, as follows:

First, of the church-music. "Wonder it is why men praise so much this *new praying* by *great crying and high song*, and leave the still manner of praying as Christ and his apostles used. It seems that we seek our own liking and pride in this song, more than the devotion and understanding of that which we sing. This is great sin: for Augustine saith in his Confessions, 'As oft as the song delights me more than that which is sung, so oft I acknowledge that I trespass grievously.' Therefore, saith Paul, 'I had rather

And the archbishop said, that organs and good delectable songs, quickned and sharpened more mens wits then should any sermon.

But I said; Sir, lustie men and worldly lovers, delight and covet and travell to have all their wits quickened and sharpened with divers sensible solace: but all the faithfull lovers and followers of Christ have all their delight to heare Gods word, and to understand it truely, and to worke thereafter faithfully and continually. For no doubt, to dread to offend God, and to love to please him in all things quickneth and sharpeneth all the wits of Christs chosen people; and ableth them so to grace, that they joy greatly to withdraw their eares and all their wits and members, from all worldly delight, and from all fleshly solace. For saint Hierome (as I thinke) saith, No body may joy with this world and reigne with Christ.

And the archbishop (as if he had beene displeased with mine answere) said to his clerks; What gesse ye that this idiot will speake there, where he hath no dred; since he speaketh thus now here in my presence? Well, well, by God thou shalt bee ordained for. And then he spake to me all angerly:

What saiest thou to this fourth point, that is certified against

five words in understanding, than ten thousand in tongue.' Paul's will is for devotion and true understanding. In *tongue*, is what a man understands not, and has no devotion. The Lord's Prayer, once said with devotion and good understanding, is better than many thousands without devotion and understanding. And this *new praying* occupies men so much that they have no space to study holy writ, and teach it. Where shall this *new song* excuse us from learning and preaching the gospel that Christ taught and commanded? Therefore ye that are priests, live well, pray devoutly, and teach the gospel truly and freely, as Christ and his apostles did."

And then, in a tract, *On the Song of the Ordinal of Salisbury*, he pleads, "If all the study and labour that men have now, about *Salisbury Use*, with multitudes of new costly portesses, and all other such books, were turned into making of bibles, and in studying and teaching thereof, how much should God's law be furthered, and known, and kept! And now it is so much hindered, unstudied, and unkept. How should rich men be excused that spend so much in costly books of men's ordinance, for fame of the world, and will not spend so much about books of God's law, and to study them, and teach them, since this were without comparison better, easier and safer?"—*Writings of Wickliffe*, p. 147, 8. A.D. 1831. The *portesse* is the portuass, portuis, or portal; *i. e. portiforium:* see Gutch's *Collectanea*, vol. ii. p. 174. Oxford, 1781.

thee, preaching openly and boldly in Shrewsbury, that priests have no title to tithes[1]?

And I said; Sir, I named there no word of tithes in my preaching. But more then a moneth after that I was arested there in prison, a man came to me into the prison, asking me what I said of tithes. And I said to him; Sir, in this towne are many clerks and priests, of whom some are called religious men, though many of them be seculars: therefore aske ye of them this question. And this man said to me; Sir, our prelats say, that we are obliged to pay our tithes of all things that renue to

[1] *No title to tithes.*] "It ought to be observed, that in this and the preceding reign (Henry IV. and V.), it was grievously objected to Wicliffe and his followers, that they denied the right of tithes, and would have divested the church of all the patrimony and endowments settled upon it. But this was no more than an artful slander; for Wicliffe only inveighed against the avarice of the monks, and justly enough denied their rights to tithes and offerings as divided from the proper cure of souls." Kennet *on Impropriations*, p. 111. This is true in part; and is, no doubt, in part a solution of Wicliffe's opinions and language on this subject. But, if the reader be desirous of a more detailed and accurate view of the judgment of the Lollards on this topic, he may consult James's *Apology for John Wickliffe*, p. 52—58. Lewis's *History of Wickliffe*, p. 119—124. *Brief History of Anabaptism in England*, by the same author, p. 13—15. A.D. 1738; and Fox's *Acts*, p. 368, 9. 425, 6. 446. It would carry us into too great a length, and can hardly be thought very necessary, to give an enarration of the several particulars comprised under these references: but we may take out one or two sentences from them, which will point at some of the sources of argument into which a more copious exposition would require us to enter.

"I will in a word or two inform you of the ground of this accusation. Wickliffe, in all his books and treatises, doth every where commend a kind of evangelical poverty, persuading clergymen to renounce the vain pomp and glory of the world; and to lead, if it were possible, an apostolical or evangelical life, to be content with food and raiment. This estate to priests, in those days unmarried, he commendeth as the better; yet he approved well enough of using the things of this world, and he himself enjoyed tithes, went well apparelled, and kept a good table, of that which was his own." James's *Apology*, p. 56. "As to Dr. Wicliff's calling the tithes, offerings, and glebes, *pure* and *free alms*, this signifies no more than a tenure or title in our common law; by which is intimated, that they are bestowed upon God, that is, given to such people as bestow themselves, or are employed, in the service of God, for pure and perpetual alms." Lewis's *Brief History*, p. 14. "Curates ben *more* cursed of God for withdrawing of teching in word and deed in good ensample, than the sujets or people in withdrawing tithes, when they don not well their gostly office." Wickliffe in Lewis's *Hist.* p. 121. Compare above, p. 208.

us; and that they are accursed[2] that withdraw any part wittingly fro them of their tithes. And I said (sir) to that man, as with my protestation I say now before you, that I wonder that any priest dare say men to bee accursed, without the ground of Gods word. And the man said, Sir, our priests say, that they curse men thus by the authoritie of Gods law. And I said, Sir, I know not where this sentence of cursing is authorised now in the bible. And therefore sir, I pray you that yee will aske the most cunning clerke of this towne, that yee may know where this sentence of cursing them that tithe not, is now written in Gods law: for if it were written there, I would right gladly be learned where. But shortly, this man would not goe from mee to aske this question, of an other body; but required mee there, as I would answere before God, if in this case, that cursing of priests were lawfull and approved of God. And shortly, herewith came to my mind the learning of saint Peter, teaching priests speciallie *to hallow the Lord Christ in their hearts, being evermore readie (as far as in them is) to answere through faith and hope to them that aske of them a reason.* And this lesson Peter teacheth men to use with a meeke spirit and with dread of the Lord. Wherefore sir, I said to this man in this wise; In the old law, which ended not fully, till the time that Christ rose up againe from death to life, God commanded tithes to be given to the Levites, for the great busines and dailie travell that pertained to their office. But priests, because their travell was mikle more easie and light, than was the office of the Levits, God ordained the priests should take for their livelode to doe their office, the tenth

[2] *They are accursed.*] This alludes to the *general sentence* which was denounced in all churches four times every year. The imprecations, which are numerous, commence with those which are designed for the protection of the state ecclesiastical. "I denounce and shewe for accursed all tho that fraunchyse of holy chirche breke or dystrouble, or are agen (against) the state of holy chirche, or therto assent with dede or counseyle. And also all tho that pryve holy chyrche of ony ryght, or make of holy chyrche ony laye fee that is halowed or santyfyed. And all tho that witholde the ryghts of holy chirche, the is for to saye, offrynges, tythes, rentes, or fredome of holy chyrche lette or dystrouble or breke." *Festival*, fol. 200. Or, as it stands in an older copy: "And alsoe all thoe that for malyce or wrathe of person, vicare or priest, or of any other, or for wrongful covetyse of himselfe, witholden rightful tyths, and offerings, rents or mortuaries, from her own parish chirch." Becon's *Reliques of Rome.* See Staveley *on Churches*, p. 236. See also Becon's Works, vol. iii. fol. 379.

part of those tithes that were given to the Levites. But now (I said) in the new law, neither Christ nor any of his apostles tooke tithes of the people nor commanded the people to pay tithes, neither to priests nor to deacons. But Christ taught the people to doe almes, that is, workes of mercie, to poore needie men of surplus[3], that is, superfluous of their temporall goods which they had, more then them needed reasonablie to their necessarie livelode. And thus (I said) not of tithes, but of pure almes of the people, Christ lived and his apostles, when they were so busie in preaching of the word of God to the people, that they might not travell otherwise for to get their livelode.—But after Christs ascension, and when the apostles had received the holy ghost, they travelled with their hands, for to get their livelode, when that they might thus doe for busie preaching. Therefore by example of himselfe, S. Paul teacheth al the priests of Christ for to travell with their hand, when for busie teaching of the people they might thus doe. And thus, all these priests whose priesthood God accepteth now, or will accept, did in the apostles time, and after their decease, and will doe to the worlds end. But (as Cisterciensis telleth) in the yeare of our Lord Jesus Christ 1271, one pope Gregorie the tenth ordained[4] new tithes first to bee given to priests now in the new law. But saint Paul in his time, whose traces or example all priests of God enforce them to follow, seeing the covetousnesse that was among the people, desiring to destroy the foule sinne, through the grace of God and true vertuous living and example of himselfe, wrought and taught all priests for *to follow him as he followed Christ*, patiently, willingly, and gladlie in high povertie. Wherefore Paul saith thus; *The Lord hath ordained that they that preach the gospell, shall live of the gospell: but we* (saith Paul) *that covet and busie us to be faithfull followers of Christ, use not this power.* For lo (as Paul witnesseth afterward) when he was full poore and needie, preaching

[3] *Of surplus.*] Compare above, *Life of Wickliffe*, p. 244.

[4] *Ordained.*] See Selden's *Works*, vi. 1155. But this is an important historical error; for this canon respected only tithes that had not been *previously* conveyed. "In truth," as Henry Wharton has remarked, "before the time of Edward the Confessor, that very division of parishes was generally fixed which now obtains in England, as appears from Domesday Book, in which the towns and parishes do very nearly agree to the present division." *Defence of Pluralities*, p. 100. And "the payment of tithes to the parish priest was *fully settled in the Saxon times.*" Ibid. p. 104.

among the people; he was not chargeous unto them, but with his hands he travelled not onely to get his owne living, but also the living of other poor and needie creatures. And since the people was never so covetous, nor so avarous (I gesse) as they are now; it were good counsell that all priests tooke good heed to this heavenlie learning of Paul, following him here in wilfull povertie, nothing charging the people for their bodilie livelode. But because that many priests do contrarie to Paul in this foresaid doctrine, Paul biddeth the people take heed to those priests that follow him as he had given them example. As if Paul would say thus to the people; Accept yee none other priests than they, that live after the forme that I have taught you. For certaine, in whatsoever dignitie or order that any priest is in, if hee conforme him not to follow Christ and his apostles in wilfull povertie, and in other heavenly vertues, and specially in true preaching of Gods word; though such a one be named a priest, yet he is no more but a priest in name, for the worke of a verie priest, in such a one wanteth. This sentence approveth Augustine, Gregorie, Chrysostome, and Lincolne plainely.

And the archbishop said to me; Thinkest thou this wholesome learning for to sow openly, or yet privilie among the people? Certaine, this doctrine contrarieth plainely the ordinance of holie fathers, which have ordained, granted, and licensed priests to be in divers degrees, and to live by tithes and offerings of the people, and by other duties.

And I said; Sir, if priests were now in measurable measure and number, and lived vertuouslie, and taught busilie and truelie the word of God, by example of Christ and of his apostles, without tithes, offerings, and other duties that priests now challenge and take, the people would give them freely sufficient livelode.

And a clerke said to me; How wilt thou make this good, that the people will give freelie to priests their livelode; since that now by the law everie priest can scarcelie constraine the people to give them their livelode?

And I said; Sir, it is now no wonder though the people grudge to give priests the livelode that they aske. Mekil people know now, how that priests should live, and how that they live contrarie to Christ and to his apostles. And therefore the people is full heavie to pay (as they do) their temporall goods to parsons and to other vicars and priests, which should be faithfull dispen-

sators of the parishes goods; taking to themselves no more, but a scarce living of tithes, nor of offerings, by the ordinance of the common law. For whatsoever priests take of the people (be it tithe or offering, or any other dutie or service) the priests ought not to have thereof no more, but a bare living[5]; and to depart

[5] *A bare living.*] Wickliffe also has said a great deal in commendation of evangelical poverty, and of the duty of the clergy to conform themselves to the simplicity and humility of Christ and his apostles. Still Wickliffe acknowledged principles, which, (their due rights still reserved to hospitality and charity), it should seem would easily have admitted, in other ages of the church, of both a very different *theory* and *practice*, and such as most people would consider to be sufficiently flexible and comprehensive. Thus, in his *Trialogus*, one of the works of his maturest years, he says expressly, "Non tamen video quin licet habere provisionem moderatam ultra necessitatem alimenti et tegumenti." P. 138. And, in another place, "Concedo tibi, quod *tam ratio*, quam *lex Dei* exigit, quod præcipuo Dei servo debite de temporalibus ministretur;" and the rule and measure by which he would allow these temporalities to the clergy is "de quanto habilitant eorum officium quoad Deum." P. 232. Again, "Et sicut avaritia est inordinatus amor temporalia possidendi, sic victus, sibi opposita, est *ordinatus amor temporalibus usitandi*; quod *consistit in hac regula*, quod quicumque secundum *illam mensuram* optet temporalia, secundum quam mensuram sibi proficiunt ad æterna. Et caveat ne sua affectio sit nimis in temporalibus profundata, sed conetur acquirere beatitudinem, cum parco usu temporalium, cum taliter fecit Christus cum suis apostolis indubie virtuose. Quia licet temporalium affluentia laudabiliter posset haberi, ut patet de patribus legis veteris, et multis in lege gratiæ, laudabilius tamen et securius est servare regulam Christi, cum magister optimus illam dedit. Ideo signanter dicit Apostolus, 1 Tim. vi. *Nihil intulimus*, &c. Nec video quin omnes clerici sint ad istam religiosam et benedictam regulam strictius obligati, quia quod amplius est, nedum a malo est, sed sapit avaritiam, et exponit cupidum periculo spirituali." P. 133.

We are assured also that Wickliffe "approved well enough of using the things of this world; himself enjoyed tithes; went well apparelled; and kept a good table of that which was his own." And it must be confessed he does occasionally seem to blame himself for indulgences of this kind. See James's *Apology for John Wickliffe*, p. 56. 1608. 4to. "Inter alia peccata de quibus timeo, hoc est unum præcipuum, quod consumendo in *excessivo victu* et *vestitu* bona pauperum deficio." And again, "Quod autem communem vitam vivendo, frequenter avide et laute manduco, dolenter profiteor."

Fox has given us a sermon preached before the Pope in 1364, by Nicholas Orem, in which the balance between the two parties on this subject, seems to be held with an equitable and discriminating hand.

"Some there have been," says he, "which fondly have disputed of the povertie of Christ, and have inveighed against the prelates, because they live not in povertie of the saints. But this phantasie cometh of the ignorance of

the residue[6] to the poore men and women specially of the parish of whom they take this temporall living. But the most deale of priests now wasteth their parishes goods, and spendeth them at their owne will after the world, in their vaine lusts: so that in few places poore men have duely (as they should have) their owne sustenance, nother of tithes nor of offerings, nor of other large wages and foundations that priests take of the people in divers maners above that they neede for needefull sustenance of meate and clothing: but the poore needie people are forsaken and left of priests to be sustained of the parishioners, as if the priests took nothing of the parishioners to help the people with. And thus sir, into over great charges of the parishioners they pay

moral philosophie and divinitie, and of the defect of natural prudence; for that, in all nations, and by common lawes, priestes have had, and ought to have wherewith to sustaine themselves more honestly than the vulgar sorte; and prelates more honourably than their subjects.—But yet, hereby is not permitted to them their great horses, their troupes of horsemen, their superstitious pomp of their waiting-men and great families, which scarslie can be maintained without pride, neither can be sustained with safe justice, and do move as few to due reverence, as they do many to indignation." Fox's *Acts*, p. 383.

[6] *To depart the residue.*] *to divide.* "Thenne he rose and *departed* his goodes into four *partyes*, and all his own parte he gave to poore men, and went and was a monke in an abbey that was nyghe the water syde." Festival. fol. 5.

In the mutual stipulations of the parties in our marriage service, the words "till death us *do part*," were formerly "till death us *depart*," as they still continue in the Scotish liturgy. But in the Savoy Conference, A.D. 1661, the nonconformist divines boldly asserted "this word *depart* is here improperly used," and in condescension to this assertion, the above alteration was adopted. The word *depart*, however, seems not to be a bad word, and certainly was not *improperly used*. It might have been supported by abundant and unquestionable authority. "Let ech man beware that he procure no false divorce for money, ne frenschip, ne enemyte, for Christ biddeth that no man *departe* or twayne that God hath ordeined. But only for Avoutrye that part that kepith him clene may be *departed* from the other." Wickliffe in Lewis's *History*, p. 347. "But, Lord, thy mariage is a common accorde betweene man and woman, to liven together to their lives end, and in thy service, either the better for others help; and thilke that thus ben ycome together ben joyned by thee; and thilke that God joyneth, may no man *depart*." *Ploughman's Complaint*. Fox, p. 374. "Neyther dyd the apostles put awaye their wyves, after they were called unto the ministery—but they continued with their wyves lovingly and faythefully, tyll death *departed* them, as we may se in auncient histories." *Humble Supplication unto God* (Becon's), signat. c 5, imprynted at Strasburgh, 1554.

their temporall goods twice, where once might suffice, if priests were true dispensators. Also sir, the parishioners that pay their temporall goods (be they tithes or offerings) to priests that do not their office among them justly, are partners of everie sinne of those priests: because that they sustaine those priests in their sin, with their temporall goods.—If these things bee well considered, what wonder is it then sir, if the parishioners grudge against these dispensators?

Then the archbishop said to me; Thou that shouldest bee judged and ruled by holy church, presumptuouslie thou deemest holie church to have erred in the ordinance of tithes and other duties to be payed to priests. It shall be long or thou thrive losell, in that thou despisest thy ghostly mother. How darest thou speake this (losel) among the people: Are not tithes given to priests for to live by?

And I said; Sir, saint Paul saith, that tithes were given in the old law to Levites and to priests, that came of the linage of Levi. But our priests he saith, came not of the linage of Levy, but of the linage of Juda, to which Juda no tithes were promised to be given. And therefore Paul saith, since the priesthood is changed from the generation of Levy to the generation of Juda, it is necessarie that changing also bee made of the law. So that priests live now without tithes and other dutie that they claime, following Christ and his apostles in wilful poverty, as they have given them example. For since Christ lived all the time of his preaching by pure almes of the people, and, by example of him, his apostles lived in the same wise, or else by the travel of their hands, as it is said above; everie priest, whose priesthood Christ approveth, knoweth well, and confesseth in word and in worke, that a disciple ought not to be above his master, but it sufficeth to a disciple to bee as his master, simple, and pure, meeke and patient: and by example specially of his master Christ, every priest should rule him in all his living? and so after his cunning and power, a priest should busie him to enforme and to rule, whomsoever he might charitablie.

And the archbishop said to me with a great spirit, Gods curse have thou and mine for this teaching: for thou would hereby, make the old law more free and perfect then the new law. For thou saiest that it is lefull to Levites and priests to take tithes in the old law, and so to enjoy their priviledges: but to us priests in the new law, thou saiest it is not lawfull to take tithes: and

thus thou givest to Levites of the old law, more freedome then to priests of the new law.

And I said, Sir, I marvel that yee understand this plaine text of Paul thus. Ye wot well, that the Levites and priests in the old law that tooke tithes, were not so free nor so perfect, as Christ and his apostles that tooke no tithes. And sir, there is a doctor (I thinke that it is saint Hierome) that saith thus, "The priests that challenge now in the new law, tithes, say in effect, that Christ is not become man, nor that he hath yet suffered death for mans love. Wherefore this doctor saith this sentense; Since tithes were the hires and wages limited to Levites and to priests of the old law, for bearing about of the tabernacle, and for slaying and fleing of beasts, and for burning of sacrifice, and for keeping of the temple, and for tromping of battell before the host of Israel, and other divers observances that pertained to their office; those priests that will challenge or take tithes, denie that Christ is come in the flesh, and doe the priests office of the old law, for whom tithes were granted: for else (as this doctor saith) priests take now tithes wrongfully."

And the archbishop said to his clerkes, Heard you ever losel speake thus? Certaine this is the learning of them all, that wheresoever they come, and they may be suffered, they enforce them to expugne the freedome of holy church.

And I said, Sir, why call yee the taking of tithes, and of such other duties that priests challenge now wrongfully, the freedome of holy church; since neither Christ nor his apostles, challenged nor tooke such duties? Herefore these takings of priests now are not called justly the freedome of holy church, but all such giving and taking ought to be called and holden the slanderous covetousnesse of men of the holy church.

And the archbishop said to me; Why losell, wilt not thou and others that are confederat with thee, seeke out of holy Scripture and of the sense of doctors, all sharpe authorities against lords, knights, and squires, and against other secular men, as thou doest against priests[7]?

[7] *Against priests.*] The same objection, as we learn from himself, was often urged against Wickliffe. "Sæpe impeditus sum, quia non reprobavi peccata temporalium dominorum. Ideo in excusatione omissionis illius dicam tibi fidem in isto quam habeo, et si Deus voluerit veniet ad aures temporalium dominorum." *Trialogus*, p. 234. It cannot be denied, however, that he often speaks of the degeneracy of the age as universal; and as infecting the laity alike with the clergy. Ibid, p. 87, 88. 131, &c.

And I said, Sir, whatsoever men or women, lords or ladies, or any other, are present in our preaching specially, or in our commoning, after our cunning, we tell out to them their office and their charges: but sir, since as Chrysostome saith, priestes are the stomacke of the people, it is needfull in preaching, and also in commoning, to be most busie about this priesthood; since by the vitiousnesse of priests both lords and commons are most sinfully infected and led into the worst. And the covetousnesse of priests, and their pride, and the boast that they have and make of their dignitie and power, destroyeth not onely the vertues of priesthood in priests themselves, but also over this, it stirreth God to take great vengeance both upon the lords, and upon the commons, which suffer these priests charitablie.

And the archbishop said to me, Thou judgest every priest proud that will not goe arraied as thou doest: by God I deeme him to be more meeke that goeth every day in a scarlet gowne, than thou in thy thred-bare blew gowne [8].—Whereby knowest thou a proud man?

And I said; Sir, a proud priest may be knowne, when he denieth to follow Christ and his apostles, in wilful povertie and other vertues; and coveteth worldly worship, and taketh it gladly, and gathereth together with pleading, manassing, or with flattering, or with simonie any worldly goods: and most, if a priest busie him not chiefly in himselfe, and after in all other men and women after his cunning and power to withstand sin.

And the archbishop said to me; Though thou knewest a priest to have all these vices, and though thou sawest a priest lovely lie now by a woman knowing her fleshly; wouldest thou therefore deem this priest damnable? I say to thee that in the turning about of thy hand, such a sinner may be verily repented.

And I said, Sir, I will not damne any man for any sinne that I know done or may bee done, so that the sinner leaveth his sinne. But by authority of holy Scripture, he that sinneth thus

[8] *Blew gowne.*] The pomp of the clergy in their dress and equipages was a frequent subject of censure among the Lollards. We find therefore that, to bear the testimony of their example against those practices, and in a supposed imitation of the *wilful poverty* and the example of Christ and his apostles, they accustomed themselves to go bare-footed, and in homely russet gowns. See Life of Wickliffe, p. 185. The ordinary dress of the dignitaries of the clergy, in those times, was of scarlet.

openly as ye shew here, is damnable for doing of such a sin: and most specially, a priest that should be example to all other for to hate and flie sinne. And in how short time that ever ye say that such a sinner may be repented, he ought not of him that knoweth his sinning, to be judged verily repentant, without open evidence of great shame and heartie sorrow for sinne. For whosoever (and specially a priest) that useth pride, envie, covetousnesse, lecherie, simonie, or any other vices; and sheweth not as open evidence of repentance as hee hath given evil example and occasion of sinning; if he continue in any such sinne as long as he may, it is likely that sinne leaveth him, and he not sinne. And as I understand, such a one sinneth unto death, for whom no body oweth to pray, as saint John saith.

And a clerke said then to the archbishop, Sir, the lenger that ye appose him, the worse he is[9]: and the more ye busie you to

[9] *The worse he is.*] The reasoning of Thorpe on the whole of this subject is infected by two or three important erroneous principles, which perhaps it may be right not to pass entirely without remark.

In the first place, instead of allowing any foundation for the claim of tithes in the Christian church from the existence of a command in their favour in the Jewish law, he seems almost inclined to derive from that circumstance a directly opposite conclusion. "In the *old law which ended not fully, till* the time that Christ rose again, God commanded tithes to be given; but now in the *new law*, neither Christ nor any of his apostles took tithes:" and again (on the alleged authority indeed of St. Paul) he says expressly, "Since in the new law, the priesthood is changed from the generation of Levi to that of Judah, it is necessary that a change be made of the law also." Finally he intimates that such loss is no impairing of the liberties and freedom of holy church, but the contrary: and he goes so far as to say (with St. Jerome) that "since tithes were the wages of priests in the old law, they who challenge or take them in the new, deny that Christ is come in the flesh."

At this point I may observe, we are reminded of a valuable remark of Hooker. "The church of Christ hath had in no one thing so many and so contrary occasions of dealing as about Judaism: some having thought the whole Jewish law wicked and damnable in itself: some, not condemning it as the former sort absolutely, have notwithstanding judged it either sooner necessary to be abrogated, or further unlawful to be observed than truth can bear: some of scrupulous simplicity urging perpetual and universal observation of the law of Moses necessary, as the Christian Jews at the first in the apostles' times: some, as heretics, holding the same no less, even after the contrary determination set down by consent of the church at Jerusalem: finally, some being herein resolute through mere infidelity, and with open profest enmity against Christ, as unbelieving Jews." (B. iv. c. xi. § 9.)

In truth, from many causes, which we need not stop even to name, an exceeding antipathy against the Jews has generally in different ages of the

amend him, the waywarder he is. For he is of so shrewd a kind that he shameth not onely to be himselfe a foule nest, but without shame he busieth him to make his nest fouler.

church, possessed itself very extensively of the minds of the Christians. Of this we have many proofs in our English annals; not the least about the times on which we are now occupied; and not the least, in the writings and minds of the Wickliffites. This abhorrence seems frequently to have extended itself much beyond the persons of the Jews; to spread itself in some degree to almost all that belonged to them; and so even to have tended to lessen the respect for the Jewish Scriptures, and the Mosaic law. But may we not ask of such a course of proceeding as is last mentioned, "Is it reasonable? Is it scriptural?" May we not, with much more justice, say of the question in general, in the language of Hooker, "God himself having been the author of their laws, herein they are still worthy to be honoured, and to be followed above others, as much as the state of things will bear." (B. iv. c. xi. § 3.) And therefore, for the maintenance of religion, and of the clergy, through this particular method and ordinance, may we not again say, with Hooker, "Albeit therefore, we be now free from the law of Moses, and consequently not thereby bound to the payment of tithes, yet because nature hath taught men to honour God with their substance, and Scripture hath left us *an example* of that *particular proportion* which for moral considerations hath been thought fittest by Him whose wisdom could best judge; furthermore seeing that the church of Christ hath long since entered into like obligation, and having made tithes *His*, whose they are,—let us be warned not to clip that coin which hath on it the mark of God?" (B. v. c. lxxix. § 12.) Or why not adhere to the lucid statements of Dean Prideaux, to the effect following? "Tithes (a *tenth* part), are *not* of *divine right*; there being no divine law, either natural or positive, binding us to that measure. But 2, they are of *divine original*: for they were not only commanded by Almighty God *under* the law, but practised by holy men *before* it. They have therefore, 3, the force on all mankind, of a *divine precedent*. And therefore, 4, *maintenance* being of *divine right*, and tithes of *divine precedent*, we cannot, without detracting from His infinite knowledge, or His infinite truth, vary, where the case is the same, from that particular proportion." *On the Original and Right of Tithes*, chap. 1.

But, secondly, if we waive all claim, whether from *divine right*, or *divine precedent*, still, in the next place, it cannot be denied, that tithes were granted long ago by those who had a right to grant them; and that the title to this property is, (or, must I now (1838) say *was*,) *as* ancient and venerable, as (or *more* ancient and more venerable than) that of any other kind in the kingdom:—and here then we come to Thorpe's *second* erroneous principle. He does not question the *fact* of the grant, but now again, on fresh reasons, he strongly denies its *lawfulness* and piety. It is against the example and practice of Christ and his apostles, "Accept, therefore," he says, "none other for priests but they that live after the form of poverty and alms taking, which these have taught us."—But is not this to forget that scriptural *examples* can be in no way binding as laws, except under precisely similar circum-

And then the archbishop said to his clerke; Suffer a while, for I am at an end with him; for there is another point certified against him, and I will heare what he saith thereto.

stances; while, at the same time, nothing can be more different than the circumstances of the two cases, than the endowments and gifts of the ministers of the word in the apostolic ages, and in any subsequent ones; than the condition of the church before Constantine, in its time of singleness and persecution, and when afterwards, by union with the state, "kings became its nursing fathers, and queens its nursing mothers."

And here again, therefore, may we not borrow the reasoning of Hooker? Thus he speaks in reference to the kindred particular of the *places* that may be set apart for God's worship. "In Egypt the state of God's people was servitude, and therefore his service was accordingly. In the desert they had no sooner aught of their own, but a tabernacle is required; and in the land of Canaan a temple. In the eyes of David it seemed a thing not fit, a thing not decent, that himself should be more richly seated than God." (B. vii. c. xxiii. § 4.) So likewise, on the special point of the maintenance of the clergy, in reference to such arguments as these of Thorpe, "where," he says, "they allege against the wealth of the clergy, how meanly Christ himself was provided for; against bishops' palaces, his want of a hole to hide his head in; against the service done unto them, that he came to minister not to be ministered unto in the world:" all these things, as they are not unfit to controul covetous, proud, or ambitious desires of the ministers of Christ, and even of all Christians, whatsoever they be; and to teach men contentment of mind, how mean soever their estate is, considering that they are but servants to him, whose condition was far more abased than theirs is, or can be:—so to prove such difference in state between us and him *unlawful*, they are of no force or strength at all." (B. vii. c. xxiii. § 11.) No. "As the son of Seraiah giveth verdict concerning those things which God hath wrought, 'A man need not say, This is worse than that; this more acceptable to God, that less: for in their season, they are all worthy praise:' the like we may also conclude touching the two ways of providing in meaner or in costlier sort for the honour of Almighty God. *A man need not say, This is worse than that; this more acceptable to God, that less:* for with him they are in their season both allowable: the one when the state of the church is poor, the other when God hath enriched it with plenty." *Hooker*, B. v. c. xv. § 3.

But, thirdly, When Thorpe and others argue so strenuously, that the clergy ought to be maintained (not by *tithes*, but) by *alms*, will it be permitted to us to remark and ask; "Well! be it so. Let the maintenance be alms! It already *is* so. For, in truth, (we ask,) what else are tithes? Were they not given "Deo et ecclesiæ," expressly as such? Is not that the very name and title by which they are holden? not *divine right;* not *divine precedent;* but they are given "in liberam, puram, et perpetuam *eleemosynam*."—Hence, therefore, was it not upon this very same plea, that their great adversaries, the begging friars and monks, sought to strip the parochial clergy of their livelihood, and to appropriate it to themselves? "All tithes," says Prideaux, "being held by the tenure of *frank-almoign*, the religious from

And so then he said to me; Loe it is here certified against

hence argued that all tithes were alms, and that it was in the power of every man freely to give his alms as he should think fit, and that they deserved them better than *the parish-priests.*" (*Rights to Tithes*, p. 203.) So that, from their zeal upon this point, one main result was to put arms into their enemies' hands for their own destruction.

But, it is rejoined, there is the word "perpetua;" in "liberam et *perpetuam* eleemosynam." True: and that, we confess, makes a very material, (and, as we think,) a very happy difference in the case. It goes a great way to destroy in succeeding ages, and in any case, except the original grant, the spontaneous and voluntary character for which Thorpe was here contending: contending, notwithstanding the existence of the word "perpetua;" and, notwithstanding the abundant proof as one would have thought he had before his eyes, of the mischief of his principles in the success which, (even notwithstanding the barrier of the word *perpetua,*) the frauds and falsehoods, and all the wicked devices of the friers had in deluding the people, in plundering the clergy, and therewithal in sorely endangering the purity, truth, and simplicity of the gospel.—And, in truth, of this pestilent nature, under various modifications and forms, it is certain will be the result of such a principle and system, in all ages.

And accordingly, I may remark, in the last place, that this simultaneous cry for alms, from the Wickliffites and the friars, showed about the same time its malignity, as was natural, under another and not inappropriate form; and in which I regret to say the name of Wickliffe is deeply involved. This was no other than a scheme of church spoliation of a very extensive and fearful kind; and which, if it had been carried into effect, must, so far as the order of bishops was concerned, have been fatal and entire. In order to bring about the evangelical poverty which was so desirable, he gravely proposes, in a serious and didactic work, that on the vacancy of the several sees, when the new bishops came successively before the king, to do homage, he should in all cases refuse to make restitution of the temporalities, seize them into his own hands, and dispose of them to whatever uses he might be advised to think good. (*Trialogus*, p. 239.) This plan seemed to promise a "root and branch" work of a very plausible, summary, noiseless, and peaceful kind. But, how came such a man as Wickliffe to overlook the capital and cardinal word "perpetua," with its kindred accompaniments? His omission of all notice and recognition of this portion of the case, seems, I grieve to say, to constitute a very grave impeachment, either of his discernment, or of his integrity.

That word, however, and the principles of which it was the exponent, presented an inviolable and insurmountable bar: and need I say, most happily, and most justly so, on every ground of argument? and among them, therefore, on *constitutional* grounds also—to notice no other.

I presume, it cannot be questioned, that Richard II. had no more right to refuse to any of the bishops the grant of his temporalities, than the crown would now have to deny to its faithful commons their privileges of liberty of speech, freedom from arrest, and the like, which, by the mouth of their

thee that thou preachedst openly at Shrewsburie, that it is not lawfull to sweare in any case [1].

speaker, they duly, dutifully, and humbly crave at the royal hand, on the opening of every new parliament. But which, if there were ever any disposition apparent to withhold, then doubtless we should soon hear a voice like that of thunder, echoing from every corner of the land. For the king, *Nihil potest, nisi quod jure potest.* And so in our case likewise, it is not possible but there must be the like echo: seconded too, by another voice of a more tremendous kind, coming from the firmament, from His throne Who is the avenger of the needy, and will not forget such wrongs as are done to His own kingdom, and that of His blessed Son.

I do not know whether it may be regarded as any excuse for Wickliffe, that he lived in a contentious, sophistical, and disputatious age. Certainly, in reading the works of those times, we are often left to doubt, whether we have before us the author's genuine sentiments; or he is merely flourishing upon us, designing to give proof of his own dexterity and skill, and trying whether we shall prove a match for him in the knack and trade of scholastic wrangling and disputation.

[1] *To sweare in any case.*] That they denied the lawfulness of oaths in all cases, has very often been affirmed both of Wickliffe and of his followers (see Hume, &c.). It would be too much to say, that their tenets afforded no grounds whatever for such an imputation; or even, perhaps, that some of those who were called Lollards, might not expressly avow such an opinion. Something of the kind appears in the *Complaint and Prayer of the Ploughman,* Fox, p. 371. But the most positive declaration of that nature which I have met with, occurs in the story of Walter Brute, who, for this and other opinions, made his submission to the church in the year 1393. The words are these: "As the perfection of the eminent men of the Old Testament was, not to forsweare themselves; so *the perfection of Christian men is not to sweare at all,* because they are so commanded of Christ, whose commandment must in no case be broken, although that the citie of Rome is contrarie to this doctrine of Christ, even as in many things she is found contrarie to herselfe." Fox, p. 461.

Such however was not the doctrine of Wickliffe, nor the prevailing doctrine among his followers. We shall see below, that Thorpe offers to take his oath, when business could not proceed without it. In language very similar to the well-tempered expressions afterwards made use of in the last of the Articles of the church of England, they affirmed, "that it is leeful to swere *bi God Almigti* in *a needeful case*, with three *circumstances, in truth, doom and right-fulnesse.*" And they proceeded to substantiate their judgment by the evidence of Scripture; "In the fifth chapter of Matthew, Christ forbid not to swere bi the *Creatour,* but bi the *creature.*—Christ swoor whanne he seide, *truli, truli, I seie to you.* And as Austyn witnessith in the 5th chapter of Matthew, Paul swoor oft in seinge thus; *God is witnesse to me,* or thus, *I clepe* (call) *God to witnisse to my soule.* And the aungil in the 10. chap. of Apocalypse swoor *bi God, lyvinge in worldis of worldis.*" Lewis's *Life of Pecock,* p. 154, 155. Compare James's *Apology for John Wickliffe,* p. 38. 60, 61.

And I said; Sir, I preached never so openly, nor I have taught in this wise in any place. But sir, as I preached in Shrewsburie,

There appear to have been two principal grounds for the vulgar imputation against them on this subject. The *first* was, that they remonstrated openly and frequently against a prevailing vice of the times, the profane, barbarous, and customable swearing in common discourse, or upon false and trifling pretences; and in which, according to the common result of a time and state of controversy, the people were upholden by those whose duty it was to have taught them better things. The writer of the Prologue to the Bible, published by Robert Crowley, under the title of the *Pathway to perfect knowledge*, and by him (but probably not justly) attributed to Wickliffe, complains: "Now in Englonde it is a common protection ayens persecution of prelatys and some lordys, if a man be customable to swere nedles, false, and unadvised by the bones, nayles, and sydys, and other membrys of Christe; and to absteyn fro othis nedelesse and not leful, and to eschew pride, and repreve sinne by waye of charitie, is matter and cause nowe, why prelatis and some lords slaunder men, and clepen him lowlardis, heretiks, reisars of debate, and of treason ayens the kynge." Signat. l 4. Hence we find the historian Knyghton stigmatizing it as a token of lollardy, that they abstained from the above blasphemies, and contented themselves with saying, when they wished their words to be believed, "I am syker" (sure) "it is soth" (truth). *De eventib. Angl.* p. 2706. So, on the other hand, Wickliffe describes the "Abbot or Priour riding with fourscore horse, with harness of silver and gold, and many ragged and fittred squires, and other men *swering heart, and bones, and nails, and other members of Christ.*" Lewis's *History*, p. 37. And Chaucer tells us of those "that delight them in swearing, and hold it a gentery or a manly deed to swear great othes, all be the cause not worth a straw." *Parson's Tale*, p. 183, edit. 1687. And in another place he has painted the manners of the times with exquisite humour.

Our host on his stirrops stoode anon,
And said,
Sir Parish priest (quod he) *for God's bones*,
Tell us a tale.
I see well that ye learned men in lore,
Can muckle good, by *Goddis dignite*.
The parson him answerd, Benedicite,
What eileth the man, so sinfully to swere?
Our host answerd, O Jenkin, be ye there?
Now good men (quod our host) harkneth to me;
I smell *a loller* in the wind (quod he)
Abideth for Gods digne passion,
For we sall have *a predication:*
This loller here woll preachen us somewhat.
Nay, *by my father's soule*, that shall he nat,
Saied the *squier*, here shall he nat preach,
Here shall he no Gospell glose, ne teach.—

[My

with my protestation I say to you now here: that by the authoritie of the gospel of saint James, and by witnes of divers saints and doctors, I have preached openly in one place or other, that it is not lefull in any case to sweare by any creature. And over

> My jolly body shall a tale tell,
> And I shall ringen you so merry a bell,
> That I shall waken all this companie.
>
> *Squire's Prologue*, p. 47, edit. 1687.

Here then was *one* ground for the charge of their denying the lawfulness of swearing.

The *other* arose from their entertaining scruples with regard to the *forms* and *manner* in which oaths were *administered*. They held it unlawful to swear *by any creature;* by heaven, by the hairs of their head, by saint, or angel. This was their grand principle; and building upon this, they maintained that it was forbidden (a *book* being a *creature)* to swear by a book; whether it were the Evangelists, mass-book, portuise, or whatever other sacred volume. We saw above that when Thorpe was called to lay his hand upon the book, he asked, "to what intent? to swear *thereby?*" And continued, "Sir, a booke is nothing else but a thing coupled together of divers creatures; and to swear *by any creature*, both Gods law and mans law is against it." Compare also Fox's *Acts*, p. 433. 485, &c. The scruple appears not very intelligible. It seems founded merely, like many controversies, in a misunderstanding and confusion of language. In the colloquial phrase, "swearing *by* a book," the word "by," it seems hardly necessary to observe, is used in quite a different sense from its acceptation in the command of swearing "by God only." Hence one does not see why they might not have consented, if not to swear *by*, at least to swear *upon* a book. But it is plain that such scruples would greatly augment the charge of their renouncing all oaths.

In the following extract we find the argument which we have been endeavouring to establish in this note, collected together in a very short summary. William Swinderby, in the year 1390, being, among divers other articles, charged with teaching, "that no man owes to sweare for anie thing, but simply withouten oath to affirme or to denye; and if he sweare he sinnes," replied thus: "This article said I not, that I have mind of, in this maner. But oft I have said, and yet will, that men should not sweare *by anie creature*, by the law of God; *and* that no man should *sweare in idel*, as welnigh all the people useth, and therefore me thinkes it is no neede to comfort the people in swearin. For from old unto the young, and *namely men of holie church*, breken this hest, and few bishops pursuen hem therefore." Fox's *Acts*, p. 433. The reader who is desirous of further information on this subject, may consult Cousins's *Apology for sundry proceedings by jurisdiction ecclesiastical*. 1593. 4to, Part III. chap. iv. p. 29. 37; where he shows that the ceremonies used in taking and giving corporal oaths with laying hands on the Bible or Testament, and swearing by the contents of it, are not unlawful. This is a very learned and valuable work, written at a time productive of many such in defence of the church of England.

this sir, I have also preached and taught by the foresaid authorities, that no body should sweare in any case, if that without oth in any wise hee that is charged to sweare might excuse him to them that have power to compell him to sweare, in lefull thing and lawfull. But if a man may not excuse him without oth, to them that have power to compel him to sweare, then he ought to sweare onely by God, taking him only, that is soothfastnesse, for to witnesse to soothfastnes.

And then a clerke asked me if it were not lefull to a subject at the bidding of his prelate, for to kneele downe and touch the holy gospell booke, and kisse it, saying; *So helpe me God and this holy dome?* for he should after his cunning and power do all things that his prelate commandeth him.

And I said to them; Sirs, ye speake here full generally or largely. What if a prelate commanded his subject to doe an unlawfull thing, should he obey thereto [2]?

And the archbishop said to me, A subject ought not to suppose, that his prelate will bid him doe an unlawful thing. For a subject ought to thinke that his prelate will bid him doe nothing but that hee will answere for before God, that it is lefull: and then, though the bidding of the prelate be unlawfull, the subject hath no perill to fulfill it, since that he thinketh and judgeth, that whatsoever thing his prelate biddeth him doe, that it is lefull to him for to do it.

And I said; Sir, I trust not thereto [3].—But to our purpose: Sir, I tell you, that I was once in a gentlemans house, and there were then two clerkes there, a master of divinitie, and a man of

[2] *Obey thereto.*] See above, p. 288, and note.

[3] *I trust not thereto.*] So Wickliffe, animadverting on the defaults of civil curates, specifies this; that "they magnify themselves above Christ, God and man: for they command their subjects, that they judge not clerks, nor their open works, nor their teaching; *but do according to* their *teaching*, be *it true or false.* But our Lord Jesus Christ commanded his enemies to judge of him a rightful doom. Also he bade his enemies to believe his works, though they would not believe him; and bade men not to believe him, if he did not the works of his Father. Also Christ bade his enemies bear witness of evil, if he had spoken evil.

"Also, they are antichrists, hindering Christian men from knowing their belief of holy writ; for they cry openly that secular men should not intermeddle with the gospel to read it in modern tongue, but listen to their spiritual father's preaching, and do after him in all things."—*Writings of John Wickliffe*, p. 133. A D. 1831.

law, which man of law was also communing in divinitie. And among other things, these men spake of othes, and the man of law said, at the bidding of his soveraigne, which had power to charge him to sweare, hee would lay his hand upon a booke, and heare his charge: and if his charge to his understanding were not unlefull he would hastily withdraw his hand upon the booke, taking there onely God to witnesse, that hee would fulfill that lefull charge, after his power. And the master of divinitie said then to him thus, Certaine, hee that layeth his hand upon a booke in this wise, and maketh there a promise to do that thing that he is commanded, is obliged thereby by booke oth, then to fulfill his charge. For no doubt, he that chargeth him to lay his hand thus upon a booke (touching the booke, and swearing by it, and kissing it, promising in this forme to doe this thing or that) will say and witnesse, that hee that toucheth thus a booke, and kisseth it, hath sworne upon that booke. And all other men that see that man thus doe, and also all those that heare thereof, in the same wise will say and witnesse, that this man hath sworne upon a booke. Wherefore, the master of divinitie said, it was not lefull neither to give nor take any such charge upon a booke: for every booke is nothing else, but divers creatures, of which it is made of. Therefore to sweare upon a booke, is to sweare by creatures, and this swearing is ever unleful. This sentence witnesseth Chrysostome plainely, blaming them greatly that bring forth a booke for to sweare upon, charging clerkes that in no wise they constraine any body to sweare, whether they thinke a man to sweare true or false.

And the archbishop and his clerkes scorned me, and blamed me greatly for this saying. And the archbishop manassed mee with great punishment and sharpe, except I left this opinion of swearing.

And I said, Sir, this is not mine opinion, but it is the opinion of Christ our Saviour, and of saint James, and of Chrysostome, and of other divers saints and doctors.

Then the archbishop bad a clerke reade this homilie of Chrysostome; which homilie this clerke held in his hand written in a roll; which roll the archbishop caused to be taken from my fellow at Canturburie. And so then this clerke read this roll, till he came to a clause where Chrysostome saith, that it is a sin to sweare well.

And then a clerke (Malveren, as I gesse) said to the arch-

bishop, Sir, I pray you wete of him, how he understandeth Chrysostome here, saying it to be sin to sweare well.

And so the archbishop asked mee, how I understood here Chrysostome.

And certaine, I was somewhat affraid to answere hereto: for I had busied me to studie about the sense thereof, but lifting up my mind to God, I prayed him of grace. And as fast as, I thought how Christ said to his apostles, *When for my name ye shall be brought before judges, I shall give into your mouth, wisdome that your adversaries shall not against say.* And trusting faithfully in the word of God, I said, Sir, I know well that many men and women, have now swearing so in custome, that they know not, nor will not know, that they do evill to sweare as they doe: but they thinke and say, that they doe well for to sweare as they do: though they know well that they swear untruely. For they say, they may by their swearing (though it be false) voide blame or temporall harme, which they should have if they sweare not thus. And sir, many men and women maintaine strongly that they sweare well, when that thing is sooth that they sweare for. Also full many men and women say now, that it is well done to sweare by creatures, when they may not (as they say) otherwise be believed. And also, full many men and women now say, that it is well done to sweare by God, and by our Ladie, and by other saints, for to have them in minde. But since al these sayings are but excusations, and sinne, me thinketh sir, that this sense of Chrysostome may be alleaged well against all such swearers; witnessing that all these sinne grievouslie, though they thinke themselves for to sweare in this foresaid wise, well: for it is evill done, and great sin for to sweare truth, when in any maner a man may excuse himselfe without oth.

And the archbishop said, that Chrysostome might bee thus understood.

And then a clerke said to me; Wilt you tarrie my lord no lenger, but submit thee here meekely to the ordinance of holy church, and lay thy hand upon a booke, touching the holy gospel of God, promising not onely with thy mouth, but also with thine heart to stand to my lords ordinance?

And I said; Sir, have I not told you here, how that I heard a master of divinity say, that in such case it is all one to touch a booke, and to sweare by a booke?

And the archbishop said; There is no master of divinitie in

England so great, that if he hold this opinion before me, but I shall punish him, as I shall doe thee, except thou sweare as I shall charge thee.

And I said; Sir, is not Chrysostome an ententife doctor?

And the archbishop said, Yea.

And I said; If Chrysostome proveth him worthie great blame, that bringeth forth a booke to sweare upon, it must needs follow, that hee is more to blame that sweareth on that booke.

And the archbishop said; If Chrysostome meant accordingly to the ordinance of holy church, we will accept him.

And then said a clerke to me; Is not the word of God and God himselfe equipollent, that is, of one authoritie?

And I said, Yea.

Then he said to me, Why wilt thou not sweare then by the gospel of God, that is, Gods word, since it is al one to sweare by the word of God and by God himselfe?

And I said: Sir, since I may not now otherwise be beleeved, but by swearing; I perceive (as Austine saith) that it is not speedefull that ye that should be my brethren should not beleeve me; therefore I am readie by the word of God (as the Lord commandeth me by his word) to sweare.

Then the clerke said to mee; Lay then thine hand upon the booke, touching the holie gospell of God and take thy charge.

And I said; Sir, I understand that the holy gospell of God may not be touched by mans hand.

And the clerke said I fonded, and that I said not truth.

And I asked this clerke, whether it were more to reade the gospell than to touch the gospell.

And he said it was more to reade the gospell.

Then I said; Sir, by authoritie of saint Hierome, the gospell is not the gospell for reading of the letter, but for the beleefe that men have in the word of God. That it is the gospell that we beleeve, and not the letter that we reade: for the letter that is touched with mans hand, is not the gospell, but the sentence that is verily beleeved in mans heart, is the gospell. For so Hierome saith; The gospell, that is the vertue of Gods word, is not in the leaves of the booke, but it is in the roote of reason. Neither the gospell (he saith) is in the writing alone of the letters, but the gospell is in the marking of the sentences of scriptures. This sentence approveth S. Paul, saying thus; *The kingdome of God is not in word, but in vertue.* And David saith; *The voice*

of the Lord, that is, his word, *is in vertue.* And after David saith; *Through the word of God the heavens were formed, and in the spirit of his mouth is all the vertue of them.* And I pray you sir, understand yee well how David saith then, in the spirit of the mouth of the Lord, is all the vertue of angels and of men.

And the clerke said to me; Thou wouldest make us too fond with thee. Say we not that the gospell is written in the masse booke?

And I said; Sir, though men use to say thus, yet it is an unperfect speech. For the principall part of a thing is properly the whole thing. For loe, mans soule that may not now bee seene here nor touched with any sensible thing, is properly man. And all the vertue of a tree is in the root thereof that may not be seene, for doe away the roote, and the tree is destroyed. And sir, as ye said to mee right now, God and his word are of one authoritie: And sir, saint Hierome witnesseth, that Christ (very God and very man) is hid in the letter of the law: thus also sir, the gospell is hid in the letter. For sir, as it is full likely many divers men and women here in the earth touched Christ and saw him, and knew his bodily person, which neither touched, nor saw, nor knew ghostly his godhead; right thus sir, many men now touch and see, and write, and reade the Scriptures of Gods law, which neither see, touch, nor reade effectually the gospell. For as the godhead of Christ (that is, the vertue of God) is knowne by the vertue of beleefe, so is the gospell, that is Christs word.

And a clerke said to me, These be full mistie matters and unsavorie that thou shewest here to us.

And I said; Sir, if ye that are masters, know not plainely this sentence, ye may sore dread that the kingdome of heaven be taken from you, as it was from the princes of priests, and from the elders of the Jewes.

And then a clerke (as I gesse, Malveren) said to me; Thou knowest not thine equivocations: for the kingdome of heaven hath divers understandings. What callest thou the kingdome of heaven in this sentence, that thou shewest here?

And I said; Sir, by good reason and sentence of doctors the realm of heaven is called here, the understanding of God's word.

And a clerk said to me; From whom thinkest thou that this understanding is taken away?

And I said; Sir, (by authoritie of Christ himselfe) the effec-

tuall understanding of Christs word is taken away from all them chieflie, which are great lettered men, and presume to understand high things, and will be holden wise men, and desire mastership and high state and dignitie, but they will not conforme them to the living and teaching of Christ and of his apostles.

Then the archbishop said; Well, well, thou wilt judge thy soveraignes. By God, the king doth not his dutie, but he suffer thee to be condemned.

And then another clerke said to me; Why (on Friday that last was) counselledst thou a man of my lords that hee should not shrive him to no man, but onely to God?

And with this asking I was abashed. And then by and by I knewe that I was subtillie betraied of a man that came to me in prison on the Friday before, communing with me in this matter of confession. And certaine, by his words I thought, that this man came then to me of full fervent and charitable will: but now I know he came to tempt me and to accuse me; God forgive him if it be his will. And with all my heart when I had thought thus, I said to this clerke, sir, I pray you that ye would fetch this man hither; and all the words as neare as I can repeate them, which that I spake to him, on Friday in the prison, I will rehearse now here before you al, and before him.

And (as I gesse) the archbishop said then to me, They that are now here suffice to repeat them. How saidst thou to him?

And I said; Sir, that man came and asked me in divers things, and after his asking, I answered him (as I understood) that good was. And as he shewed to me by his words, he was sorie of his living in court, and right heavie for his owne vicious living, and also for the viciousnes of other men, and specially of priests evill living: and herefore he said to mee with a sorrowful heart (as I gessed) that he purposed fully within short time for to leave the court, and to busie him to know Gods law, and to conforme all his life thereafter. And when hee had said to me these words and moe other which I would rehearse and he were present, he prayed me to heare his confession. And I said to him; Sir, wherefore come ye to me, to bee confessed of me? ye wote well that the archbishop putteth and holdeth mee here, as one unworthy either to give or to take any sacrament of holy church.

And he said to me; Brother I wote well, and so wote many other moe, that you and such other are wrongfully vexed, and therefore I commune with you the more gladly. And I said to

him; Certaine I wote well that many men of this court, and specially the priests of this houshold would be full evill apaid[4] both with you and me, if they wist that ye were confessed of me. And he said, that he cared not therefore, for he had full little affection in them. And as me thought, he spake these words and many other, of good will and of high desire, for to have knowne and done the pleasant will of God. And I said to him, as with my foresaid protestation I say to you now here; sir, I counsell you, for to absent you from al evill companie, and to draw you to them that love and busie them to know and to keepe the precepts of God: and then the good spirit of God will move you for to occupie busily all your wits in gathering together of all your sins, as far as ye can bethinke you, shaming greatly of them and sorrowing heartily for them: yea sir, the Holy Ghost wil then put in your heart a good wil and a fervent desire for to take and to hold a good purpose to hate ever and to flie (after your cunning and power) all occasion of sinne: and so then, wisdome shall come to you from above, lightening (with divers beames of grace and of heavenly desire) all your wits, informing you how ye shall trust stedfastly in the mercy of the Lord, knowledging to him onely all your vicious living, praying to him ever devoutly of charitable counsell and continuance, hoping without doubt, that if yee continue thus busying you faithfully to know and to keepe his biddings, that he will (for he onely may) forgive you all your sins. And this man said to me; Though God forgive men their sinnes, yet it behoveth men to be assoiled of priests, and to doe the penance that they enjoyne them.

And I said to him; Sir, it is all one to assoile men of their sinnes, and to forgive men their sinnes. Wherefore since it pertaineth onely God to forgive sinne, it sufficeth in this case, to counsell men and women for to leave their sinne, and to comfort them that busie them thus to do, for to hope stedfastly in the mercy of God. And againeward, priests ought to tell sharpely to customable sinners, that if they will not make an end of their sinne, but continue in divers sinnes while that they may sinne, all

[4] *Evill apaid.*] Ill-satisfied, ill-contented. Thus in Jack Upland against the friars. "Why be ye evill *apaid* that secular priests should preach the gospell, sith God himselfe hath bodden hem?"—Chaucer's *Works*, p. 618. edit. 1687. See also Fox's *Acts*, p. 239. 372; *Pathway to perfect Knowledge*, signat. c. 1. b. The word is used in the same meaning by archbishop Whitgift, in the year 1584. Strype's *Life of Whitgift*, p. 172.

such deserve paine without any end. And herefore, priests should ever busie them to live well and holily, and to teach the people busily and truely the word of God, shewing to all folke in open preaching and in privie counselling, that the Lord God onely forgiveth sinne. And therfore, those priests that take upon them to assoile men of their sinnes, blaspheme God; since that it pertaineth onely to the Lord, to assoile men of all their sinnes. For no doubt a thousand yeare after that Christ was man, no priest of Christ durst take upon him to teach the people, neither privilie nor apertly, that they behoved needs to come to be assoiled of them, as priests now doe. But by authoritie of Christs word, priests bound indurate customable sinners to everlasting paines, which in no time of their living would busie them faithfully to know the biddings of God, nor to keepe them. And againe, all they that would occupy all their wits to hate and to flie all occasion of sin, dreading over all things to offend God, and loving for to please him continually, to these men and women priests shewed how the Lord assoiled them of all their sinnes; and thus Christ promised to confirme in heaven, all the binding and loosing that priests by authority of his word, bind men in sin that are indurate therein, or loose them out of sin here upon earth, that are verily repentant. And this man hearing these words said, that he might well, in conscience consent to this sentence. But he said; Is it not needefull to the lay people that cannot thus doe, to goe shrieve them to priests? And I said, If a man feele himselfe so distroubled with any sinne, that he cannot by his owne wit avoide this sin without counsell of them that are herein wiser than he; in such a case, the counsell of a good priest is full necessarie. And if a good priest faile, as they do now commonly, in such a case, saint Augustine saith, that a man may lawfully commune and take counsell of a vertuous secular man. But certaine, that man or woman is overladen and too beastly, which cannot bring their owne sinnes into their mind, busying them night and day for to hate and to forsake all their sins, doing a sigh for them after their cunning and power. And sir, full accordinglie to this sentence upon Midlent Sunday (two yeare as I gesse now agone) I heard a monke of Feversam, that men called Morden, preach at Canterburie at the crosse within Christ church abbey, saying thus of confession: That as through the suggestion of the feend without counsell of any other body, of themselves many men and women can imagine and find meanes

and waies enough to come to pride, to theft, to lecherie, and other divers vices; in contrariwise this monke said, Since the Lord God is more readie to forgive sinne, than the feend is or may be of power to move any body to sinne; then whosoever will shame and sorrow heartily for their sins, knowledging them faithfully to God, amending them after their power and cunning, without counsell of any other body than of God and of himselfe (through the grace of God) all such men and women may find sufficient meanes to come to Gods mercy, and so to be cleane assoiled of all their sinnes. This sentence I said sir to this man of yours, and the selfe words as neere as I can gesse.

And the archbishop said, Holy church approveth not this learning.

And I said, Sir, holy church, of which Christ is head in heaven and in earth, must needs approve this sentence. For loe, hereby all men and women may, if they will, be sufficiently taught to know and keepe the commandements of God, and to hate and to flie continually all occasion of sinne, and to love and to seeke vertues busilie, and to beleeve in God stablie, and to trust in his mercie stedfastly, and so to come to perfect charity and continue therin perseverantly. And more the Lord asketh not of any man here now in this life. And certaine, since Jesu Christ died upon the crosse, wilfully to make men free; men of the church are too bold and too busie, to make men thrall, binding them under the paine of endles curse, as they say, to doe many observances and ordinances, which neither the living nor teaching of Christ nor of his apostles approveth.

And a clerke said then to me, Thou shewest plainely here thy deceit, which thou hast learned of them that travell to sow the popple[5] among the wheat. But I counsell thee to goe away cleane from this learning, and submit thee lowly to my lord, and thou shalt find him yet to be gratious to thee.

And as fast then, an other clerke said to me, How wast thou so bold at Paul's crosse in London, to stand there hard with thy tippet bounden about thine heade, and to reprove in his sermon the worthie clerke Alkerton, drawing away all that thou mightest? yea, and the same day at after noone, thou meeting the worthie doctor in Watlingstreet, calledst him false flatterer and hypocrite.

And I said; Sir, I thinke certainely that there was no man

[5] *The popple.*] See above, p. 230, note (7).

nor woman that hated verily sinne, and loved vertues (hearing the sermon of the clerke at Oxford, and also Alkertons sermon) but they said or might justly say, that Alkerton reproved that clerke untruly, and slandered him wrongfully and uncharitablie. For no doubt, if the living and teaching of Christ chieflie and of his apostles bee true, no body that loveth God and his law, will blame any sentence that the clerke then preached there: since by authority of Gods word, and by approved saints and doctors, and by open reason, this clerke approved all things cleerely that he preached there.

And a clerke of the archbishops said to me; His sermon was false, and *that* he sheweth openly, since he dare not stand forth and defend his preaching that he then preached there.

And I said; Sir, I thinke that he purposeth to stand steadfastly thereby, or else he slandereth fouly himself, and also many other that have great trust that he will stand by the truth of the gospel. For I wote well, this sermon is written both in Latine and English, and many men have it and they set great price thereby. And sir, If yee were present with the archbishop at Lambeth when this clerke appeared and was at his answer before the archbishop, ye wote well that this clerke denied not there his sermon, but two daies he maintained it before the archbishop and his clerks.

And then the archbishop or one of his clerks said (I wote not which of them) that harlot shall be met with, for that sermon. For no man but he and thou, and such other false harlots, praiseth any such preaching.

And then the archbishop said, Your cursed sect is busie, and it joyeth right greatly to contrary and to destroy the priviledge and freedome of holy church.

And I said; Sir, I know no men that travel so busilie as this sect doth (which you reprove) to make rest and peace in holy church. For pride, covetousnesse and simonie, which distrouble most holy church, this sect hateth and fleeth, and travelleth busilie to move all other men in like maner, unto meekenesse and wilfull povertie, and charitie, and free ministring of the sacraments. This sect loveth and useth, and is full busie to move all other folks thus to doe. For these vertues owe all members of holy church, to their head Christ.

Then a clerke said to the archbishop; Sir, it is farre daies, and ye have farre to ride to night; therefore make an end with him,

for he will none make: but the more sir, that ye busie you for to draw him toward you, the more contumaxe he is made and the further fro you.

And then Malveren said to me, William, kneele downe, and pray my lord of grace, and leave all thy fantasies, and become a child of holy church.

And I said; Sir, I have prayed the archbishop oft, and yet I pray him for the love of Christ, that hee will leave his indignation that he hath against me; and that he will suffer me after my cunning and power, for to doe mine office of priesthood, as I am charged of God to doe it. For I covet nought else but to serve my God to his pleasing in the state that I stand in, and have taken me to.

And the archbishop said to me; If of good heart thou wilt submit thee now here meekely, to be ruled from this time forth by my counsell, obeying meekely and wilfully to my ordinance, thou shalt find it most profitable and best to thee for to do thus. Therefore tarrie thou me no longer, grant to doe this that I have said to thee now here shortly, or deny it utterly.

And I said to the archbishop; Sir, owe we to beleeve that Jesu Christ was and is, very God and very man?

And the archbishop said, Yea.

And I said; Sir, owe we to beleeve that all Christs living and his teaching is true in every point?

And he said, Yea.

And I said; Sir, owe we to beleeve that the living of the apostles, and the teaching of Christ, and all the prophets, are true which are written in the bible, for the health and salvation of good people?

And he said, Yea.

And I said; Sir, owe all christian men and women after their cunning and power, for to conforme all their living, to the teaching specially of Christ, and also to the teaching and living of his apostles and prophets, in things that are pleasant to God, and for the edification of his church?

And he said, Yea.

And I said; Sir, ought the doctrine, the bidding, or the counsell of any body, to be accepted or obeyed unto; except this doctrine, these biddings or this counsell, may be granted and affirmed by Christs living and his teaching specially, or by the living and teaching of his apostles and prophets?

And the archbishop said to me: Other doctrine ought not to bee accepted, nor wee owe not to obey to any mans bidding or counsell, except we can perceive *that* his bidding or counsell, according with the life and teaching of Christ[6], and of his apostles and prophets.

And I said; Sir, is not all the learning, and biddings and counsels of holy church, meanes and healefull remedies, to know and to withstand the privie suggestions, and the apert temptations of the fiend? and also waies and healefull remedies, to stay pride and all other deadly sinnes, and the branches of them, and soveraigne meanes to purchase grace for to withstand and overcome all the fleshly lusts and movings?

And the archbishop said, Yea.

And I said; Sir, whatsoever thing ye or any other body bid or counsell me to doe, accordingly to this foresaid learning, after my cunning and power, through the helpe of God, I will meekely with all my heart obey thereto.

And the archbishop said to me; Submit thee then now here meekely and wilfully, to the ordinance of holy church, which I shall shew to thee.

And I said; Sir, accordingly as I have here now before you rehearsed, I will now be readie to obey full gladly to Christ the head of the holy church, and to the learning and biddings and counsels of every pleasing member of him.

Then the archbishop striking with his hand fiercely upon a cupbord, spake to me with a great spirit, saying; By Jesu, but if thou leave not such additions, obliging thee now here without any exception to mine ordinance (or that I goe out of this place) I shall make thee as sure, as any theefe that is in the prison of Lanterne[7]: advise thee now what thou wilt doe. And then as if he had beene angred, he went fro the cupbord where hee stood, to a window.

And then Malveren and an other clerke came neerer mee, and they spake to me many words full pleasantly: and an other while they manassed mee, and counselled full busilie to submit me, or else they said I should not escape punishing over measure: for they said, I should be degraded, cursed, and burned, and so then

[6] *Teaching of Christ.*] See Art. XX. of the Church of England.

[7] *Prison of Lanterne.*] See *Life of Wolsey,* given below in this collection: "And in the *Lanterne gate* a stool with carpets and cushions was set for him." This was at Calais.

damned. But now, they said, thou maiest eschew all these mischiefes, if thou wilt submit thee willfully and meekly to this worthie prelate, that hath cure of thy soule. And for the pittie of Christ (said they) bethinke thee, how great clerks the bishop of Lincolne, Herford, and Purvey were, and yet are, and also B. that is a well understanding man: which also have forsaken and revoked, all the learning and opinions, that thou and such other hold. Wherefore, since each of them is mikle wiser than thou art, we counsell thee for the best, that by the example of these foure clerks, thou follow them, submitting thee as they did.

And one of the bishops clerks said then there, that he heard Nicolas Herford say, that since he forsooke and revoked all the learning and Lollards opinions, he hath had mikle greater favour and more delight to hold against them, than ever hee had to hold with them, while he held with them.

And therfore Malveren said to me; I understand, and thou wilt take thee to a priest, and shrieve thee cleane, forsake all such opinions, and take the penance of my lord here, for the holding and teaching of them, within short time, thou shalt be greatly comforted in this doing.

And I said to the clerks, that thus busilie counselled me to follow these foresaid men; Sirs, if these men of whom ye counsell me to take example, had forsaken benefices of temporall profit, and of worldly worship, so that they had absented them, and eschewed from all occasions of covetousnesse and of fleshly lust, and had taken upon them simple living, and wilfull povertie, they had herein given good example to me and to many other, to have followed them. But now, since all these foure men have slanderouslie and shamefully done the contrarie, consenting to receive and to have and to hold temporall benefices, living now more worldly, and more fleshly than they did before, conforming them to the maners of this world; I forsake them herein, and in all their foresaid slanderous doing. For I purpose with the helpe of God (into remission of my sinnes, and of my foule cursed living) to hate and to flee privily and apertly, to follow these men; teaching and counselling whomsoever that I may, for to flee and to eschew the way that they have chosen to goe in, which will lead them to the worst end, (if in convenient time they repent them not) verily forsaking and revoking openly the slander that they have put, and every day yet put, to Christs church. For

certaine, so open blasphemy and slander as they have spoken and done, in their revoking and forsaking of the truth, ought not nor may not privily be amended, duly. Wherefore sirs, I pray you that you busie not for to move me to follow these men, in revoking and forsaking the truth, and soothfastnes, as they have done, and yet do; wherein by open evidence they stirre God to great wrath, and not onely against themselves, but also against all them that favour them, or consent to them herein, or that communeth with them, except it be for their amendment. For whereas these men first were pursued of enemies, now they have obliged them by oth for to slander and pursue Christ in his members. Wherefore (as I trust stedfastly in the goodnesse of God) the worldly covetousnesse, and the lustie living and the sliding from the truth of those runagates shall be to me and to many other men and women, an example and an evidence, to stand more stiflie by the truth of Christ. For certaine, right many men and women do marke and abhor the foulenesse and cowardnesse of these foresaid untrue men, how that they are overcome and stopped with benefices, and withdrawne from the truth of God's word, forsaking utterly to suffer therefore bodily persecution. For by this unfaithfull doing and apostasie of them especially that are great lettered men, and have knowledged openly the truth, and now, either for pleasure or displeasure of tyrants, have taken hire and temporall wages to forsake the truth, and to hold against it, slandering and pursuing them that covet to follow Christ in the way of righteousnes, many men and women therefore are now moved. But many moe thorow the grace of God, shall be moved hereby for to learne the truth of God, to doe thereafter, and to stand boldly thereby.

Then the archbishop said to his clerks; Busie you no longer about him, for he and other such as he is, are confedered together that they will not sweare to be obedient, and to submit them to prelats of holy church. For now since I stood here, his fellow also sent me word that he will not sweare, and that this fellow counselled him that he should not sweare to me. And losell, in that thing that in thee is, thou hast busied thee to lose this yong man; but blessed bee God, thou shalt not have thy purpose of him. For he hath forsaken all thy learning, submitting him to bee buxum and obedient to the ordinance of holy church, and weepeth full bitterly, and curseth thee full heartily for the venemous teaching which thou hast shewed to him, counselling

him to do thereafter. And for thy false counselling of many other and him, thou hast great cause to be right sorie. For long time thou hast busied thee to pervert whomsoever thou mightest. Therefore, as many deathes thou art worthie of, as thou hast given evill counsels. And therefore by Jesu, thou shalt goe thither, where Nicolas Herford and Thomas Purvey were harbored. And I undertake, or this day eight daies thou shalt be right glad for to do what thing that ever I bid thee to do. And losell, I shall assay, if I can make thee there as sorrowfull (as it was told mee) thou wast glad of my last going out of England [8]. By St. Thomas, I shall turne thy joy into sorrow.

And I said; Sir, there can no body prove lawfully that I joyed ever, of the maner of your going out of this land. But sir, to say the sooth, I was joyfull when ye were gone: for the bishop of London in whose prison yee left me, found in mee no cause for to hold mee longer in his prison, but at the request of my friends, he delivered me to them, asking of me no maner of submitting.

Then the archbishop said to me, Wherfore that I yede out of England, is unknowne to thee: but be this thing well knowne to thee, that God (as I wote well) hath called me againe, and brought me into this land, for to destroy thee and the false sect that thou art of: as by God, I shall pursue you so narrowly, that I shall not leave a slip of you in this land.

And I said to the archbishop; Sir, the holy prophet Jeremy said to the false prophet Anany; *When the word, that is, the prophecie of a prophet is knowne or fulfilled, then it shall bee knowne, that the Lord sent the prophet in truth.*

And the archbishop (as if he had not beene pleased with my saying) turned him awayward hither and thither, and said; By God, I shall set upon thy shinnes a paire of pearles, that thou shalt be glad to change thy voice.

These and many moe wondrous and convicious words, were spoken to mee, manassing mee and all other of the same sect, for to be punished and destroyed unto the uttermost.

And the archbishop called then to him a clerke, and rowned with him [9]: and that clerke went forth, and soone brought in the

[8] *Going out of England.*] In the year 1397, within twelve months after his translation to Canterbury, but not before he had given proofs of his active zeal against Lollardy, archbishop Arundel was tried on a charge of treason, condemned, and banished. After an absence of about two years he was restored.

[9] *Rowned with him.*] To *rowne* or *round* a person in the ear is much the

constable of Saltwood castle, and the archbishop rowned a good while with him: and then the constable went forth, and then

same as to *whisper* to him. The word is illustrated by the following extracts, which however would not have been given solely on that account: but are produced in the hope that they may administer to more important purposes. The first is taken from a sermon appointed to be read every year at the anniversary of the dedication of a parish church. "My hous is called an house of prayers: but is now made an house of *rownyng*, whysperynge, cryenge, claterynge, scornynge, tales, and symple spekeynge. We rede how saynte Gregory was at masse on a tyme, and saynte Austyne was his deken, and bad the people turne to the popes blessyng. Thenne he saw two wymmen *rowne* togyder in the popes chapell: and the fende sat in her neckes wrytying a grete rolle: and it lacked parchment, and he drewe it out with his tethe, and soo it felle out of his clawes: and saynt Austyn saw it, and went and toke it up. Thenne the pope was wroth, and asked hym why he laughed hym to scorne. And he shewed him what the fende had wryten of the wymen. And thenne he come to the wymmen, and asked theym what they hadde sayed alle this masse time. And they sayed, *our pater noster*. Then the pope bad rede the rolle to theim that the fende hadde wreten. And saint Gregory red it: and there was never a goode worde therein. Then they kneled downe, and asked mercy, and besought the pope to praye for theym: and so he dyd; and brought them out of the fendes bokes."—*Festival*, fol. 155, 156. The next extract is taken from the *Mirror of our Lady, very necessary for all religious persons*, a book composed more especially for the use of the nuns of Sion, being an exposition upon the service of that monastery, in a manner not unlike Wheatley's and other illustrations of our Liturgy. It supplies many particulars whereby we may judge of the state of religion at that period. "Spekers and slepers *(at service)* let others as well as themselves, and gyve occasion of yvel. How perylous this vyce ys, ye may se by this example. There was a yonge religyous vyrgyn aboute ten yere of age in the order of Cystews *(the Cistercians)* whose name was Gertrude, whyche after her deth cam agayne on a day at evensonge tyme, when all the convent was in the quyer, and enclyned lowe before the hye auter. She cam in to her place where she was wonte to stande in the quier; and at the ende of evensonge of our lady, she fel downe prostrate, tyl all was done, and then she rose and went her wayes. None saw her but another mayde of the same age, that was wont to stande by her in the quier, whiche was aferde, and tolde yt to the abbes; and on the next day, by byddyng of the abbesse, she asked of the same virgin, when she came agayne, and sayde unto her, syster Gertrude, good syster Gertrude, from whence comest thou now, and what doest thou amongest us after thy dethe? Then she answered and sayd, I come hyther to make amendes for my trespace, for I *rowned* to thee in the quyer *halfe wordes*, and therefore I am byden do satisfaccion in the same place, and but that thou be ware of the same vyce, thou shalte suffer the same payne after thy dethe. And after she had appered so foure tymes, she saide, sister I hope I have fulfylled my penaunce; from hencefurthe thou shalte no more se me; and so she went to blysse. But take ye hede, syth this yonge mayde of ten yere of age was punysshed so for halfe wordes, what shall they suffer

came in divers seculars, and they scorned mee on every side, and manassed me greatly. And some counselled the archbishop to burne me by and by, and some other counselled him to drowne me in the sea, for it is neare hand there.

And a clerke standing beside mee, there kneeled downe to the archbishop, praying him that hee would deliver me to him for to say mattens with him: and hee would undertake, that within three daies I should not resist any thing that were commanded me to do of my prelate.

And the archbishop said, that he would ordaine for me himselfe.

And then after, came againe the constable and spake privilie to the archbishop: and the archbishop commanded the constable to lead me forth thence with him, and so he did. And when we were gone forth thence, we were sent after againe. And when I came in againe before the archbishop, a clerke bad me kneele downe and aske grace, and submit me lowly, and I should find it for the best.

And I said then to the archbishop; Sir, as I have said to you divers times to day, I will wilfully and lowly obey and subject mee to be ordained ever after my cunning and power, to God and to his law, and to everie member of holy church, as far forth as I can perceive that these members accord with their head Christ, and will teach me, rule me, or chastise me by authoritie, specially of Gods law.

And the archbishop said, I wist well he would not without such additions submit him.

And then I was rebuked, scorned, and manassed on every side: and yet after this, divers persons cried upon me to kneele downe and submit me; but I stood still, and spake no word. And then there was spoken of me, and to me, many great words, and I stood and heard them manasse, curse, and scorne me: but I said nothing.

Then a while after, the archbishop said to me, Wilt thou not submit thee to the ordinance of holy church?

And I said; Sir, I will full gladly submit me as I have shewed you before.

And then the archbishop bad the constable to have me forth thence in haste.

that ar of greater age for hole wordes spoken in tyme or place of sylence." Fol. 21.

And so then I was led forth, and brought into a foule unhonest prison, where I came never before. But thanked be God, when all men were gone forth then from me, and had sparred fast the prison doore after them, by and by after, I therein by myselfe busied me to thinke on God, and to thanke him for his goodness. And I was then greatly comforted in all my wits, not onely for that I was then delivered for a time from the sight, from the hearing, from the presence, from the scorning, and from the manassing of mine enemies; but much more I rejoiced in the Lord, because that through his grace he kept me so, both among the flattering specially, and among the manassing of mine adversaries, that without heavinesse and anguish of my conscience, I passed away from them. For as a tree laid upon another tree, overthwart or crosse wise, so was the archbishop and his three clerks alwaies contrarie to me, and I to them.

Now good God for thine holy name, and to the praising of thy most blessed name, make us one together, if it be thy will, by authority of thy word, that is true perfect charity, and else not. And that it may thus be, all that this writing reade or heare, pray heartily to the Lord God, that hee for his great goodnesse that cannot bee with tongue expressed, grant to us, and to all other which in the same wise, and for the same cause specially, or for any other cause be at distance, to be knit and made one in true faith, in stedfast hope, and in perfit charitie. Amen.

What was the end of this good man and blessed servant of God, William Thorpe, I finde as yet in no storie specified. By all conjectures it is to be thought, that the archbishop Thomas Arundel, being so hard an adversary against those men, would not let him goe. Much less it is to be supposed, that he would ever retract his sentence and opinion, which he so valiantly maintained before the bishop; neither doth it seeme that he had any such recanting spirit. Againe, neither is it found that he was burned. Wherefore it remaineth most like to be true, that hee being committed to some strait prison (according as the archbishop in his examination before did threaten him) there (as Thorpe confesseth himselfe) was so straitly kept, that either he was secretly made away, or else there hee died by sicknesse.

LORD COBHAM.

Friars despisen lords and ladies that bee given to leave pride and vanitie of the world; and saien it was not merrie sithen lords and ladies tooken regard to the Gospel, and leften their ancestors manners, that weren worshipful to the world. WICKLIFFE.

ADVERTISEMENT.

In the year 1544, John Bale, afterwards bishop of Ossory, published *A brefe Chronycle concernynge the Examinacyon and Death of the Blessed Martyr of Christ Sir Johan Oldecastell the Lorde Cobham.* It would have been more agreeable to the design of the Editor, who aims at the production of original authorities, in preference to subsequent abridgements and compilations, to have reprinted that volume intire. But there is a degree of coarseness in the stile of this, as well as every other work of that zealous, but impure and inconsiderate writer[1], and so much intemperance in his language, wherever the Romish church, and its religion fall in his way, that it was impossible for the Editor to comply with his first desire. With one exception therefore, the following Narrative is taken from Fox; whose account comprises nearly all that is valuable in Bale's. The exception referred to consists in the description of the death of Lord Cobham, which is left very imperfectly told by Fox, and therefore is here borrowed correctly from Bale. The principal part of the whole process is derived from the Register of Archbishop Arundel, which is still extant in the Archiepiscopal Library at Lambeth; and from other documents of incontestable authenticity.

[1] *Inconsiderate writer.*] Of whom Henry Wharton, who was not in the habit of speaking at random, has said, "But Bale is scarcely to be believed, when he relates a matter upon his own knowledge, much less when he delivers any thing at 1200 years distance, without any authority."—*Specimen of Errors,* &c. p. 85.

Of the earlier life of Sir John Oldcastle, prior to the commencement of Fox's narrative, not many particulars are known. His services appear to have been confined chiefly to Wales. In Nov. 1401, he was constituted captain of Buelt, having under his command twenty men-at-arms and forty archers, and in 1403 he was captain of Kidwelly castle, with forty lances and 220 archers. In 1404 he had the custody, jointly with John Ap Herry, of the castles of Hay and Brecknock, and in the 8th Henry IV. (1406-7) he was high sheriff of Herefordshire. Hitherto his station had been, comparatively speaking, unimportant, and his influence small; but by his marriage with the heiress of the rich and powerful Lord Cobham, he became possessed of great estates, and was summoned to parliament as a baron *jure uxoris*.

John de Cobham, Lord Cobham, who appears in many of the most important transactions of the reigns of Edward III. and Richard II., and whom Walsingham calls "a very old man just and upright," died on the 10th of January, 1408; having had by his wife Margaret, one of the daughters of Hugh Courtenay, earl of Devonshire, an only daughter, Joane, who died in her father's lifetime, leaving issue by her husband, Sir John Delapole, a daughter of her own name, Joane. This lady, the granddaughter of the old lord, married first Sir Gerard Braybroke, knt., and secondly Sir Nicholas Hawberk, knt., governor of Flint Castle, who was living at the time of Lord Cobham's death, but died soon after; for in 1409 his widow, then about thirty years of age, had become the wife of Sir John Oldcastle.

It was on the 26th of October, 1409 (11th Henry IV.) that Sir John Oldcastle was first summoned to parliament, and in his own name: but he was summoned in the 12th and 14th years of Henry IV. and in the 1st of Henry V. as Lord Cobham, by which title he was afterwards known. In the 12th of Henry IV. he was sent beyond sea with the Earl of Arundel, and a considerable force, to aid the duke of Burgundy against the French. He was burned in the beginning of the year 1418, leaving no child: his widow married for her fourth husband Sir John Harpden, knt., and died in the 12th year of Henry VI. (1433-34.) Sir John Harpden was never summoned to parliament, but in the 23d of Henry VI. the title of Lord Cobham was revived in the person of Sir Edward Brooke, the grandson of Joane Cobham and her first husband, Sir Gerard Braybroke.

It is necessary to give these particulars, as Bale and Gilpin have in some instances confounded the actions of Sir John Oldcastle and his wife's grandfather, the old Lord Cobham.

LORD COBHAM.

After Henry the fourth, raigned Henry the fifth his sonne, which was borne at Monmouth in Wales, of whose other vertues and great victories gotten in France, I have not greatly to intermeddle; especially seeing the memory of his worthy prowesse, being sufficiently described in other writers in this our time, may both content the reader, and unburden my labour herein; especially seeing these latter troubles and perturbations of the church offer me so much, that unneth any vacant leasure shal be left to intermeddle with matters prophane.

After the coronation then of this new king, which was the ninth day of Aprill, (A.D. 1413) called then Passion Sunday[1], which was an exceeding stormy day, and so tempestuous, that many did wonder at the portent thereof; not long after the same, a parliament began to be called, and to be holden after the feast of Easter, at Westminster, an. 1413. At which time, Thomas Arundel, the archbishop of Canturbury, collected in

[1] *Passion Sunday.*] The fifth Sunday in Lent was so called, "Though I think (says Wheatley) that would be a more proper name for the Sunday following: but the reason, I suppose, why that title is thrown back to this, is because the Sunday next before Easter is generally called Palm-Sunday, in commemoration of our Saviour's triumphal entry into Jerusalem." *Illustration of the Common Prayer*, p. 205, edit. 1794. But, I apprehend, a much better account of the origin of this name may be derived from the Festival. "Dere frendes, this day is called the sondaye in passyon weke. This daye our Lord Jhesu Cryste *began his passyon:* for this daye the Jewes hadde such an envye to hym, bycause he tolde theyr defautes and vyces and meslyvynge, and soo for this cause they repreved hym: so *this daye* they *were full* assented *to do* hym *to dethe.*" Fol. 25. The gospel, appointed to be read in the church on that day, was then, as it still is, the 8th chap. of St. John, v. 46, &c. where the Jews take up stones to cast at Jesus; and thence the name appears to have originated.

Pauls church at London an universal synod of all the bishops and clergy of England.

The chiefe and principall cause of the assembling thereof (as recordeth the chronicles of S. Albons) was to represse the growing and spreading of the gospell, and especially to withstand the noble and worthy lord Cobham, who was then noted to be a principall favourer [2], receiver, and maintainer of them, whom the bishop misnamed to be Lollards, especially in the diocesses of London, Rochester, and Hereford, setting them up to preach whom the bishops had not licensed, and sending them about to preach, which was against the constitution provinciall, before remembered [3], holding also and teaching opinions of the sacraments, of images, of pilgrimage, of the keies and church of Rome, contrary and repugnant to the received determination of the Romish church.

In the meane time, as these were in talke amongst them, concerning the good lord Cobham, resorted unto them the twelve inquisitors of heresies (whom they had appointed at Oxford [4] the yeere afore, to search out heretikes, with all Wickliffes bookes), who brought two hundred and forty six conclusions [5], which they had collected as heresies out of the said bookes.

These things thus done, and the articles being brought in, further they proceeded in their communication, concluding among themselves, that it was not possible for them to make whole Christs coat without seame (meaning thereby their patched popish synagogue) unlesse certain great men [6] were brought out of the way, which seemed to be the chiefe maintainers of the said disciples of Wickliffe. Among whom this noble knight sir John Oldcastle the lord Cobham, was complained of by the generall proctors to be the chief principall. Him they accused, first, for a mighty maintainer of suspected preachers in the diocesse of London, Rochester, and Hereford, contrary to the minds of their ordinaries. Not only they affirmed him to have sent thither the said preachers, but also to have assisted them there by force

[2] *Principall favourer.*] See Wilkins, vol. iii. p. 329, 30.

[3] *Before remembered.*] See *Life of Thorpe,* p. 283, note.

[4] *Appointed at Oxford.*] See above, note on Thorpe's *Examination,* p. 272.

[5] *Two hundred and forty-six conclusions.*] These are printed at length in Wilkins's *Concil.* vol. iii. p. 333—349, to the amount of 267.

[6] *Certain great men.*] See Wilkins, vol. iii. p. 352.

of armes, notwithstanding their synodall constitution [7] made afore to the contrary. Last of all they accused him that he was far otherwise in beleefe of the sacrament of the altar, of penance, of pilgrimage, of image worshipping, and of the ecclesiasticall power, then the holy church of Rome had taught many yeeres before.

In the end it was concluded among them, that without any further delay, processe should be awarded out against him, as against a most pernitious heretike.

Some of that fellowship which were of more crafty experience than the other, thought it not best to have the matter so rashly handled, but by some preparation made thereunto before: considering the said lord Cobham was a man of great birth, and in favour at that time with the king, their counsell was to know first the kings mind, to save all things upright. This counsell was well accepted, and thereupon the archbishop Thomas Arundell with his other bishops, and a great part of the clergy, went straightwaies unto the king, then remaining at Kenyngton [8], and there laid forth most greevous complaints against the said lord Cobham, to his great infamy and blemish, being a man right godly. The king gently heard those bloud-thirsty prelats, and farre otherwise then became his princely dignitie: notwithstanding requiring, and instantly desiring them, that in respect of his noble stocke and knighthood, they should yet favourably deale

[7] *Their synodall constitution.*] See above, note on Thorpe's *Examination*, p. 272, 3.

[8] *At Kenyngton.*] The same day in which Lord Cobham appeared before the king at Kenyngton, a great many books of Wickliffe and others of his sect were burnt at St. Paul's cross, the archbishop preaching to the people, and stating the reasons for the conflagration. Among these volumes was one which contained several small tracts tending, as the register relates, to the subversion of the faith, and of holy church, which had been discovered at a limner's in Pater-noster row, where it was lying for the purpose of being illuminated. The artist being apprehended confessed that the book was Lord Cobham's. The meeting at Kenyngton, it seems, was a very full one. There were present almost all the prelates and nobles of England. Certain extracts had been made by the clergy from Lord Cobham's volume, which were recited aloud. The king is said to have shown very great abhorrence of them, and declared they were the most perilous and pestilent he had ever heard. Lord Cobham being demanded by the king, whether these tracts had been justly condemned, he owned that they had. Being asked again, why he kept and read a volume of that description, he denied that he had ever been in the habit of making use of it; nor had he read in it more than two or three leaves.—Arundel's *Register*, in *Wilkins*, vol. iii. p. 357.

with him. And that they would, if it were possible, without all rigor or extreme handling, reduce him againe to the churches unity. He promised them also, that in case they were contented to take some deliberation, his self[9] would seriously commune the matter with him.

Anon after, the king sent for the said lord Cobham. And as he was come, he called him secretly, admonishing him betwixt him and him, to submit himselfe to his mother the holy church, and as an obedient child to acknowledge himselfe culpable. Unto whom the Christian knight made this answer, "You most worthy prince," saith he, "I am alwaies prompt and willing to obey, forsomuch as I know you a Christian king, and the appointed minister of God, bearing the sword to the punishment of evill doers, and for safegard of them that be vertuous. Unto you (next my eternall God) owe I my whole obedience, and submit thereunto (as I have done ever) all that I have, either of fortune or nature, ready at all times to fulfill whatsoever ye shall in the Lord command me. But as touching the pope and his spirituality, I owe them neither sute nor service, forsomuch as I know him by the Scriptures to be the great antichrist, the sonne of perdition, the open adversary of God, and the abomination standing in the holy place."—When the king had heard this, with such like sentences more, he would talke no longer with him, but left him so utterly.

And as the archbishop resorted again unto him for an answere, hee gave him his full authority to cite him, examine him, and punish him according to their divellish decrees, which they called the lawes of holy church.

Then the said archbishop by the counsell of his other bishoppes and clergy, appointed to call before him sir John Oldcastle the lord Cobham, and to cause him personally to appeare, to answere to such suspect articles as they should lay against him. So he sent forth his chiefe summoner, with a very sharpe citation unto the castell of Cowling[1], where he at that time dwelt for his solace.

[9] *His self.*] This request of the king, the Register tells us, was acquiesced in by the archbishop and bishops, but not without murmuring on the part of the inferior clergy. See Wilkins, vol. iii. p. 352.

[1] *Castell of Cowling.*] In the fourth year of Richard II. John de Cobham, Lord Cobham, obtained a license to make a castle of his house at Cowling, near Rochester.

And as the said summoner was come thither, he durst in no case enter the gates of so noble a man without his licence; and therefore hee returned home againe, his message not done.

Then called the archbishop one John Butler unto him, which was then the doore keeper of the king's privy chamber; and with him he covenanted through promises and rewards, to have this matter craftily brought to passe under the kings name. Whereupon, the said John Butler took the archbishops sumner with him, and went unto the said lord Cobham, shewing him that it was the kings pleasure that he should obey that citation, and so cited him fraudulently.—Then said hee to them in few words, that hee in no case would consent to those most divellish practises of the priests.

As they had informed the archbishop of that answer, and that it was for no man privatly to cite him after that, without perill of life, he decreed by and by to have him cited by publike processe or open commandement. And in all the haste possible, upon the Wednesday before the nativity of our Lady, in September, he commanded letters citatory, to be set upon the great gates of the cathedrall church of Rochester (which was but three English miles from thence [2]), charging him to appeare personally before him at Ledis [3], the eleventh day of the same month and yeere, all excuses to the contrary set apart. Those letters were taken downe anon after, by such as bare favor unto the lord Cobham, and so conveied aside.—After that caused the archbishop new letters to be set up on the nativity day of our Lady, which also were rent downe and utterly consumed.

Then forsomuch as he did not appeare at the day appointed at Ledis (where the archbishop sat in consistory, as cruell as ever was Caiphas with his court of hypocrits about him) he judged him, denounced him, and condemned him of most deepe contumacie.—After that, when he had been falsely informed by his

[2] *From thence.*] i. e. from Cowling.

[3] *Before him at Ledis.*] Leeds castle, in Kent, about five miles from Maidstone. It had been the property of the Lords Badlesmere, but reverted to or was seized by the crown, 2 Edward III. It was afterwards inhabited by William of Wickham, who greatly enlarged it; by Richard II., and for a very short time by Henry IV. Archbishop Arundel procured a grant of this castle, where he frequently resided and kept his court, whilst the process against the Lord Cobham was carrying forward. Of late years the castle has been the property of the Lords Fairfax.

hired spies, and other glosing glaverers, that the said lord Cobham had laughed him to scorne, disdained all his doings, maintained his old opinions, contemned the churches power, the dignity of a bishop, and the order of priesthood (for all these was he then accused of), in his moody madnes without just proofe, did he openly excommunicat him[4]. Yet was he not with all this his fierce tyranny satisfied, but commanded him to be cited afresh, to appeare before him the Saturday before[5] the feast of S. Matthew the apostle; with these cruell threatnings added thereunto, that if he did not obey at the day, he would more extremely handle him. And to make himselfe more strong towards the performance thereof, he compelled the lay power by most terrible menacings of curses and interdictions, to assist him against that seditious apostata, schismatike, and heretike, the troubler of the publike peace, that enemy of the realme, and great adversary of all holy church;—for all these hatefull names did he give him.

This most constant servant of the Lord, and worthy knight sir John Oldcastle, the lord Cobham, beholding the unpeaceable fury of antichrist thus kindled against him, perceiving himselfe also compassed on every side with deadly dangers; he tooke paper and pen in hand, and so wrote a Christian confession or reckoning of his faith (which followeth hereafter) both signing and sealing it with his owne hand. Wherein he also answered to the foure chiefest articles that the archbishop laid against him. That done, he tooke the copie with him, and went therewith to the king, trusting to finde mercy and favor at his hand. None other was that confession of his, then the common beleefe or sum of the churches faith, called the Apostles Creed, of all Christian men then used, with a briefe declaration upon the same; as here under ensueth.

The Christian beliefe of the Lord Cobham.

"I Beleeve in God the father almighty, maker of heaven and earth. And in Jesus Christ his only Son our Lord, which was

[4] *Excommunicat him.*] See Wilkins, vol. iii. p. 354.

[5] *Saturday before.*] This is according to Bale; but it ought, both in this place, and where it occurs again below, to be Saturday *after*; as it is in the original Register. Wilkins, vol. iii. p. 354. Fox, p. 521. St. Matthew's Day is Sept. 21.

conceived by the holy Ghost, borne of the Virgin Mary, suffered under Ponce Pilat, crucified, dead and buried, went down to hell, the third day rose againe from death, ascended up to heaven, sitteth on the right hand of God the father almighty, and from thence shall come againe to judge the quicke and the dead. I beleeve in the Holy Ghost, the universall holy church, the communion of Saints, the forgivenesse of sins, the uprising of the flesh, and everlasting life, Amen.

" And for a more large declaration (saith he) of this my faith in the catholike church, I stedfastly beleeve, that there is but one God almighty, in and of whose godhead are these three persons, the Father, the Sonne, and the Holy Ghost, and that those three persons are the selfesame God almighty.

" I beleeve also that the second person of this most blessed Trinity, in most convenient time appointed thereunto afore, tooke flesh and bloud of the most blessed virgin Mary, for the safegard and redemption of the universall kind of man, which was afore lost in Adams offence.

" Moreover I beleeve, that the same Jesus Christ our lord thus being both God and man, is the only head of the whole Christian church, and that all those that have been, or shall be saved, be members of this most holy church. And this holy church I thinke to be divided into three sorts or companies:

" Whereof the first sort be now in heaven, and they are the saints from hence departed. These as they were here conversant, conformed alwaies their lives to the most holy lawes and pure examples of Christ, renouncing satan, the world, and the flesh, with all their concupiscence and evils.

" The second sort are in purgatory (if any such place be[6] in the Scriptures) abiding the mercy of God, and a ful deliverance of paine.

" The third sort are here upon the earth, and be called the church militant. For day and night they contend against crafty assaults of the divell, the flattering prosperities of this world, and the rebellious filthinesse of the flesh.

" This latter congregation by the just ordinance of God is also

[6] *If any such place be.*] According to Walden, in an address to the parliament, he denied the existence of purgatory. See Fox in the margin. For Wickliffe's doctrine on this point, see James's *Apology*, p. 41, 42, and Lewis's *History*, p. 131, 2.

severed into three divers estates, that is to say, into priesthood, knighthood, and the commons. Among whom the will of God is, that the one should aid the other, but not destroy the other. The priests first of all, secluded from all worldinesse, should conforme their lives utterly to the examples of Christ and his apostles. Evermore should they be occupied in preaching and teaching the Scriptures purely, and in giving wholesome examples of good living to the other two degrees of men. More modest also, more loving, gentle, and lowly in spirit should they be, than any other sorts of people.

"In knighthood are all they which beare sword by law of office. These should defend Gods lawes[7], and see that the gospell were purely taught, conforming their lives to the same, and secluding all false preachers: yea these ought rather to hazard their lives, than to suffer such wicked decrees as either blemish the eternall testament of God, or yet lett the free passage thereof, whereby heresies and schismes might spring in the church. For of none other arise they, as I suppose, than of erroneous constitutions, craftily first creeping in under hypocriticall lies, for advantage. They ought also to preserve Gods people from oppressors, tyrants and theeves; and to see the clergie supported so long as they teach purely, pray rightly, and minister the sacraments freely. And if they see them do otherwise, they are bound by the lawe of office to compell them to change their doings; and to see all things performed according to Gods prescript ordinance.

"The latter fellowship of this church, are the common people; whose duetie is, to beare their good mindes and true obedience to the foresaid ministers of God, their kings, civill governours and priests. The right office of these is justly to occupie everie

[7] *Defend Gods lawes.*] "Certes, the swerd that men yeve *(give)* first to a knight when he is new dubbed, signifieth, that he should defend holy church, and not robbe and pill *(pillage, spoil)* it; and who so doeth is traitour to Christ." Chaucer's *Parson's Tale*, p. 188. edit. 1687. And hence the custom in some countries, for the nobles to draw their swords, at the recital of the Creed. Lord Cobham in this three-fold division of the church follows his master Wickliffe. See James's *Apology*, p. 41. And with his three-fold division of the *Church militant*, the reader may compare a very curious and excellent sermon, printed A.D. 1582, said to have been preached in the year 1388 by R. Wimbledon, and found hid in a wall. It is reprinted intire by John Fox, *Acts and Monuments*, p. 503—509, and was printed separately A.D. 1745. 8vo. London. Lewis conjectures that the sermon was probably Wickliffe's. *History of Wickliffe*, p. 157.

man his facultie, be it marchandise, handicraft, or the tilthe of the ground. And so one of them to bee as an helper to another, following alwaies, in their sortes, the just commandements of the Lord God.

" Over and besides all this, I most faithfully beleeve that the sacraments of Christs church are necessarie to all Christian beleevers; this alwaies seene to, that they be truly ministred according to Christes first institution and ordinance.

" And forasmuch as I am maliciously and most falsly accused of a misbeliefe in the sacrament of the aultar to the hurtfull slander of many, I signifie here unto all men, that this is my faith concerning that: I beleeve in that sacrament to be contained very Christes bodie and bloud under the similitudes of bread and wine, yea the same bodie that was conceived of the Holy Ghost, borne of the virgin Mary, done on the crosse, died, that was buried, arose the third day from the death; and is now glorified in heaven.

" I also beleeve, the universall lawe of God to bee most true and perfect, and they which do not so follow it in their faith and workes (at one time or another) can never be saved: whereas he that seeketh it in faith, accepteth it, learneth it, delighteth therein, and performeth it in love, shall taste for it the felicitie of everlasting innocencie.

" Finally, this is my faith also, that God will aske no more of a Christian beleever in this life, but onely to obey the preceptes of that most blessed lawe. If any prelate of the church require more, or els any other kinde of obedience, than this to be used, hee contemneth Christ, exalteth himselfe above God, and so becommeth an open antichrist.

" All the premisses I beleeve *particularlie;* and *generally* all that God hath left in his holy Scripture, that I should beleeve; instantly desiring you my liege lord and most worthy king, that this confession of mine may be justly examined by the most goodly wise and learned men of your realme. And if it be found in all points agreeing to the veritie, then let it be so allowed; and I thereupon holden for none other than a true Christian. If it bee prooved otherwise, then let it be utterly condemned; provided alwaies, that I be taught a better beliefe by the word of God: and I shall most reverently at all times obey thereunto."

This briefe confession of his faith, the lord Cobham wrote (as is mentioned afore) and so tooke it with him to the court,

offering it with all meekenesse unto the king to reade it over. The king would in no case receive it, but commanded it to be delivered unto them that should be his judges. Then desired he in the kings presence, that an hundred knightes and esquires might be suffered to come in upon his purgation, which hee knew would cleare him of all heresies. Moreover hee offered himselfe after the lawe of armes[8], to fight for life or death with any man living,

[8] *After the lawe of armes.*] This is in perfect accordance with the notions of those times. "*Military persons* chose this kind of purgation," (in cases where the question could not be determined by legal proof or testimony,) "as most proper for them, and, after their example, so did other gentlemen and persons of quality; nay, not only men, but women also required to have their innocency cleared by champions fighting for them." Cockburn's *History of Duels*, p. 111. In the eighth year of this king's reign, a combat was permitted between Audley and Chatterton, in a charge of treason, for betraying the fort of St. Saviour's. See Cottoni *Posthuma*, p. 64. *Discourse of the Lawfulness of Combats.* A.D. 1651. Again, in the same reign, between the Dukes of Norfolk and Hertford, the time and place of combat were appointed: but when they appeared, and were ready to draw upon each other, the king commanded them to forbear. Cockburn, p. 121. Chaucer informs us in his Testament of Love, that he offered to prove his truth (about the year 1390) by entering the lists with his adversaries, according to the practice of that age. Even the offices of religion were made subservient to this barbarous custom. Sometimes the church seems to have complied further, even so as to have appointed public prayers for the success of duels; as appears in the instance of Henry, Duke of Lancaster, A.D. 1352, who "having been informed of some reproachful words spoken against him by the Duke of Brunswick, resolved to sail over to France to fight him. But before he committed his innocence to the trial of the sword, he desired the bishops of England to assist him with their prayers, and to recommend him and his cause to the mercy of God. Accordingly *Radulphus de Salopia*, Bishop of Bath and Wells, injoined all the clergy of his diocese to exhort the people in their several cures every Sunday and holiday, with all humility and devotion, to beg of God, who is the giver of victory, that he would appear for the honour of his holy name, and the clearing the truth of the noble Duke, and the glory of the English nation, by giving success to his arms." The original of the above account is in the Register of Bath and Wells. Comber's *Short Discourse against Duels.* See *Memoirs of the Life of Dr. Thomas Comber*, p. 235. A.D. 1799. An estate was bequeathed to St. John's College, Cambridge, "in trust and confidence that they would use all their interests and endeavours, to obtain of the Parliament a repeal of that ungodly trial by battle." North's *Life of the Lord Keeper Guilford*, vol. i. p. 131. edit. 2. See also Sir Thomas Smith's *Commonwealth of England*, b. ii. c. 8, of trial of judgment by battle; and b. iii. c. 3. Sir Henry Spelman mentions a case, in 1571, of a writ of right wherein the trial by battle was allowed of, and the judges and counsel actually proceeded to the lists in Tothill-fields, "*non sine*

Christian or heathen, in the quarrell of his faith, the king and the lords of his counsell excepted. Finally with all gentlenesse hee protested before all that were present, that he would refuse no maner of correction that should after the lawes of God be minstred unto him, but that he would at all times with all meekenesse obey it.

Notwithstanding all this, the king suffered him to bee summoned personally in his own privy chamber. Then said the lord Cobham to the king, that he had appealed from the archbishop to the pope of Rome [9], and therefore hee ought, he said, in no case to be his judge. And having his appeale there at hand readie written, hee shewed it with all reverence to the king. Wherewith the king was then much more displeased than afore, and said angerly unto him, that he should not pursue his appeale: but

magna jurisconsultorum perturbatione;" but the plaintiff did not appear, and was *nonsuited*. So lately even as in 1817 the gauntlet was thrown down on the floor of the court of Common Pleas, in an appeal of murder (Ashford *v.* Thornton; and, in fact, the trial by battle continued to disgrace the law of England until the year 1819, when, on the 22d of June, was passed "An Act to abolish Appeals of Murder, Treason, Felony, or other Offences, and Wager of Battel, or joining Issue and Trial by Battel, in Writs of Right." *Statutes at Large*, 59 Geo. III. c. xlvi.

[9] *To the Pope of Rome.*] To Mr. Gilpin's mind there is "something uncommonly strange" in this appeal of Lord Cobham to the Pope, "whose supremacy he had ever denied. No consistent reason can be assigned for it. As to the fact, however, we have only its improbability to allege against it." *Life of Lord Cobham*, p. 119. edit. 1765. I apprehend that it cannot be shown that Lord Cobham *did always deny* the Pope's supremacy, and his ecclesiastical jurisdiction. In which case the *strangeness* complained of may be thought to be much diminished.—Again: Mr. Gilpin wrote the Life of Wickliffe. Had he forgotten that Wickliffe did the very same thing? Lewis's *History*, p. 12. (or p. 15.) Mr. Gilpin also wrote the Life of Archbishop Cranmer. And if we must wonder, would it not be a great deal more *strange*, that even the enlightened, the protestant Cranmer, should appeal to the Pope of Rome? That he had it in contemplation so to do, and therein to follow the example of his great predecessor, Luther, is most certain. "But whether I should first appeale from the Judge delegate to the Pope, and so afterward to the general councell; or els leaving the Pope, I should appeale immediately to the councell, herein I stand in need of your counsell." Cranmer's Letter to a Lawyer, published with his *Answer to Gardiner*, edit. 1580, p. 426. Fox's Acts, &c.—There must be some supreme jurisdiction, some final court of appeal in all causes, in every country. If the king shrink from asserting his right; much more, if he abandoned or disclaimed it, who (in causes religious) could this be, but the Pope? to whom indeed, the monarchs, and their people, in their ignorance and degeneracy, had ceded it.—And while this was so,—what else could their people do?

rather he should tarry in hold, till such time as it were of the pope allowed. And then, would he, or nild he[1], the archbishop should be his judge. Thus was there nothing allowed that the lord Cobham had lawfully afore required. But forsomuch as hee would not bee sworne in all things to submit himself to the church, and so take what penance the archbishop would enjoyne him, hee was arested againe at the kings commandement, and so led forth to the Tower of London, to keepe his day (so was it then spoken) that the archbishop had appointed him afore in the kings chamber.

Then caused hee the foresaid confession of his faith to bee copied againe, and the answere also (which hee had made to the foure articles propounded against him) to be written in maner of an indenture in two sheets of paper; that when hee should come to his answer, he might give the one copie unto the archbishop, and reserve the other to himselfe.

As the day of examination was come, which was the 23. day of September, the Saterday before the feast of S. Matthew, Thomas Arundel the archbishop, sitting in Cayphas rowme in the chapter-house of Paules, with Richard Clifford bishop of London, and Henry Bolingbroke bishop of Winchester; sir Robert Worley knight and liefetenant of the Tower, brought personnallie before him the said L. Cobham, and there left him for the time: unto whom the archbishop said these words.

The first Examination of the Lord Cobham.

"Sir John, in the last generall convocation[2] of the clergie of this our province, yee were detected of certaine heresies, and by sufficient witnesses found culpable. Whereupon yee were by forme of spirituall lawe cited, and would in no case appeare. In conclusion, upon your rebellious contumacie[3], ye were both privately and openly excommunicated. Notwithstanding wee neither

[1] *Or nild he.*] *Or would he not.* The negative "ne" was combined anciently with many other words. "Nild" is contracted from "ne willed;" which in the Ploughman's Prayer occurs without any contraction. "God that is endlesse in mercy saith, that he *ne will* not a sinfull mans death, but that he be turned from his sin, and liven." In Wimbledon's Sermon we have *nis* for *ne is.* "What sinne I pray you will the fiend have sowen on men, that nis now yused?" P. 504, Fox's *Acts.* And *nought* for *ne ought, never* for *ne ever,* &c. &c. still continue in use.

[2] *In the last generall convocation.*] See above, p. 356.

[3] *Your rebellious contumacie.*] See above, Thorpe's *Examination,* note on p. 272.

yet shewed our selves unreadie to have given you absolution (nor yet doe not to this houre) would ye have meekly asked it." Unto this the L. Cobham shewed, as though he had given no eare, having his minde otherwise occupied, and so desired no absolution. But said he would gladly before him and his brethren make rehearsall of that faith which he held and intended alwaies to stand to, if it would please them to licence him thereunto. And then he tooke out of his bosome a certaine writing indented, concerning the articles whereof he was accused, and so openly read it before them, giving it unto the archbishop as hee had made thereof an end. Whereof this is the copie.

" I John Oldcastle knight[4], L. of Cobham, will that all Christian men weet and understand; that I clepe almighty God into witnesse, that it hath been, now is, and ever with the help of God, shall be mine intent and my will, to beleeve faithfully and fully all the sacraments that ever God ordained to bee done in holy church: and moreover,—to declare me in these foure points,—I beleeve that the most worshipfull sacrament of the aultar is Christes body in forme of bread, the same body that was borne of the blessed virgin our Lady Saint Mary, done on the crosse, dead and buried, the third day rose from death to life, the which body is now glorified in heaven.

" Also as for the sacrament of penance I beleeve, that it is needefull to every man that shall be saved to forsake sinne, and doe due penance for sinne before done, with true confession, very contrition, and due satisfaction, as Gods lawe limitteth and teacheth, and els may hee not bee saved: which penance I desire all men to doe.

" And as of images, I understand, that they be not of beleeve, but that they were ordained sith the beleeve was given of Christ, by sufferance of the church, to be calenders to lewd men[5], to represent and bring to minde the passion of our Lord

[4] *John Oldcastle.*] See Wilkins, vol. iii. p. 354, 5.

[5] *Calenders to lewd men.*] Wickliffe and his followers did not oppose the setting up of images in churches, as *laymen's books*. One of them may be taken as expressing sufficiently the general judgment of the lawful and unlawful use of images. " Nevertheless to those men *bene* images *good* to whom they have bene but kalendars; and through the sight of hem they knowen the better and worshippen of God and his Saints. And to such men they *done harme* that setten her hope and trust in hem, or done any

Jesu Christ, and martyrdome and good living of other saints: and that who so it be, that doth the worship to dead images that is due to God, or putteth such hope or trust, in helpe of them, as hee should doe to GOD, or hath affection in one more than in another, he doth in that the greatest sinne of maumetrie [6].

"Also I suppose this fully, that every man in this earth is a pilgrime toward blisse, or toward paine: and that he that knoweth not, ne will not know ne keepe the holy commandementes of God in his living here (albeit that he go on pilgrimages to all the world, and die so) hee shall be damned. He that knoweth the holy commandements of God, and keepeth them to his end, hee shal be saved though hee never in this life go on pilgrimage, as men now use to Canterbury [7], or to Rome, or to any other place."

worship to hem against Gods law and his hest." William Swinderby in Fox's *Acts*, p. 433.

We have before noticed the use of the term *lewd men* for lay men. It occurs very often in that sense: and accordingly it is met with as opposed to "learned," to "clerk," "priest," "deacon," &c. "*Clarkys*" (says the author of the Prologue to the Bible) "dispisin and stoppen holy writ as much as they moune (may), yet the *lewde* people cryethe after holye wryt to kun *(con, know)* it, and kepe it, with grete cost and perile of here lyfe." Signat. R 1.

Among the Harl. MSS. (No. 45) in the British Museum is a "Mirrour to Lewde Men and Wymmen; in whiche they may see God thorgh stedfast byleve and hemself thorgh mekenes, and what is vertu and what is synne."

[6] *Sinne of maumetrie.*] "We charge the prelatical clergy with popery, to make them odious, though we know they are guilty of no such thing; just as heretofore they called images mammets, and the adoration of images mammetry, that is, Mahomets and Mahometry; odious names, when all the world knows that Turks are forbidden images by their religion." Selden's *Table Talk*, Article *Popery*.

[7] *To Canterbury.*] The pilgrimage to the shrine of St. Thomas Becket, in the Abbey at Canterbury, was one of the most celebrated in England. Somner in his Antiquities tells us that his altar there was visited in one year by one hundred thousand votaries. The story of the comparative value of the offerings at *his* shrine, at that of the Virgin, and of Christ, in the same Cathedral, has been often told. They were as follows, for one year,

	£.	s.	d.
At Becket's shrine	832	12	6
— the Virgin's . .	93	5	6
— Christ's	3	2	6

But in another year the preference shown to the saint was still more decided. Thus:

	£.	s.	d.
At Becket's . . .	554	6	3
— the Virgin's . .	4	1	8
— Christ's	0	0	0

Yet

This answer to his articles thus ended and read, he delivered it to the bishops as is said afore. Then counselled the archbishop with the other two bishops, and with divers of the doctors, what was to be done in this matter; commanding him for the time to stand aside. In conclusion by their assent and information, hee said thus unto him, "Come hither sir John. In this your writing are many good things contained, and right catholicke also, we deny it not: but yee must consider that this day was appointed you to answer to other points concerning those articles, whereof as yet no mention is made in this your bill. And therefore yee must declare yet your minde more plainely.

"And thus; whether that ye hold, affirme, and beleeve, that in the sacrament of the aultar, after the consecration rightly done by a priest, remaineth materiall bread [8], or not: moreover, whether ye do hold, affirme, and beleeve, that as concerning the sacrament of penance (where a competent number of priests are) every Christian man is necessarily bound to be confessed of his sinnes to a priest ordained by the church, or not."

Yet others, besides the Wickliffites, as we are told, were guilty of heresy against the established rights of this saint. "In the year 1381, (says the monkish writer of *Speculum Parvulorum)*, in the fourth jubilee of the most famous martyr St. Thomas, the people from every place flocked in great multitudes to Canterbury. At the same time it happened that the venerable father, the Lord *Simon de Suthberi (Sudbury)*, then bishop of London *(afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury)*, was travelling towards Canterbury, who being misled by the spirit of error, positively assured the people that were going on pilgrimage thither, that *the plenary indulgence, which they hoped for at Canterbury, was of no profit or value;* on which many of the croud, with their eyes cast down to the ground, stood amazed at the sayings of so great a father; some went back again; others with loud voices cursed the bishop to his face, saying, and wishing, that *he* might die a base and shameful death, who was not afraid to do so great an injury to so glorious a martyr. A Kentish knight also, whose name the writer thinks was Sir Thomas de Aldoun, being moved with anger, came up to the bishop, and said to him, My lord bishop, because you have raised such a sedition among the people against St Thomas, at the peril of my soul, you shall die a shameful death; to which all the people cried, *amen, amen.* Accordingly, in the reign of Richard 2d, he was beheaded by the mob that rose under Wat Tyler and Jack Straw, that the voice of the people, saith the writer of this story, i. e. the voice of God, as it was foretold, might in due time be fulfilled." Wharton's *Anglia Sacra*, vol. i. p. 49, 50, according to the translation of Mr. Lewis, in his *Life of Bishop Pecock*, p. 56, &c.

[8] *Remaineth materiall bread.*] See above, Thorpe's *Examination*, note on p. 294.

After certaine other communication, this was the answer of the good lord Cobham. That none otherwise would hee declare his minde, nor yet answere unto his articles, than was expressely in his writing there contained. Then said the archbishop againe unto him, "Sir John, beware what yee doe. For if yee answere not clearely to those thinges that are here objected against you, (especially at the time appointed you only for that purpose) the law of holy church is[9], that compelled once by a judge, we may openly proclaime you an heretick." Unto whom hee gave this answer: "Doe as yee shall thinke best, for I am at a point[1]." Whatsoever hee or the other bishops did aske him after that, he bad them resort to his bill; for thereby would he stand to the verie death. Other answere would hee not give that day, wherewith the bishops and prelates were in a maner amased and wonderfully disquieted.

At the last the archbishop counselled againe with his other bishops and doctors; and in the end thereof declared unto him, what the holy church of Rome (following the saying of S. Augustine, S. Hierome, S. Ambrose, and of other holy doctors) had determined in these matters, no manner of mention once made of Christ. Which determination (saith he) ought all Christian men both to beleeve and to follow.

Then said the lord Cobham unto him, "that he would gladly both beleeve and observe whatsoever holy church of Christes institution had determined, or yet whatsoever God had willed him either to beleeve or to do. But that the pope of Rome with his cardinals, archbishops, bishops and other prelates of that church had lawfull power[2] to determine such matter as stood not with God's word throughly; that would he not (he said) at the time affirme." With this the archbishop bad him to take good advisement till the Munday next following (which was the 25. day of September) and then justly to answere, specially unto this point: "whether there remained matteriall bread in the sacrament of the aultar, after the words of consecration or not." He promised him also, to send unto him in writing those matters

[9] *The law of holy church is.*] See above, Thorpe's *Examination,* note on p. 272, 3.

[1] *At a point.*] Compare above, in the account of Thorpe (p. 301): "Do with me, God, what thou wilt!"

[2] *Had lawfull power.*] Here is clearly asserted the grand cardinal point of the 20th art. of the church of England.

clearely determined, that he might then bee the more perfect in his answere making.—And all this was nought els, but to blinde the multitude with somewhat.

The next day following, according to his promise, the archbishop sent unto him into the Tower, this foolish and blaspheamous writing, made by him and by his unlearned clergy.

The determination[3] *of the Archbishop, and Clergie.*

" The faith and determination of the holy church touching the blisful sacrament of the aultar, is this[4]: that after the sacramentall words be once spoken by a priest in his masse, the materiall bread, that was before bread, is turned into Christes very body. And the materiall wine, that was before wine, is turned into Christes very bloud. And so there remaineth in the sacrament of the aultar, from thenceforth, no materiall bread, nor materiall wine, which were there before the sacramentall words were spoken:—How beleeve ye this article?

" Holy church hath determined that every Christian man living here bodily upon the earth, ought to be shriven to a priest ordained by the church, if he may come to him:—How feele ye this article?

" Christ ordained S. Peter the apostle to be his vicar here in earth, whose see is the holy church of Rome: and he granted, that the same power which he gave unto Peter, should succeed to all Peters successors, which wee call now popes of Rome; by whose power in churches particular, he ordained prelates, as archbishops, bishops, parsons, curates, and other degrees more; unto whom Christian men ought to obey[4] after the lawes of the church of Rome. This is the determination of holy church.—How feele ye this article?

" Holy church hath determined, that it is meritorious to a Christian man to goe on pilgrimage to holy places: and there specially to worship holy reliques and images of saints, apostles, martyrs, confessors, and all other saints besides, approved by the church of Rome.—How feele ye this article?"

[3] *The determination.*] See Wilkins, vol. iii. p. 355.

[4] *Is this.*] Compare above, note on p. 211.

[5] *Ought to obey.*] The reader will notice in this article a formed and desperate design of the archbishop and clergy to bow the necks of the nobles and laity, and the whole realm of England, under the same yoke of shameful and slavish subjection to the see of Rome, with themselves.

And as the lord Cobham had read over this most wretched writing, he marvelled greatly of their madde ignorance: but that he considered againe, that God had given them over for their unbeliefes sake, into most deep errours and blindnesse of soule. Againe, he perceived hereby, that their uttermost malice was purposed against him, howsoever he should answere. And therefore hee put his life into the hands of God, desiring his onely spirit to assist him in his next answer.

When the said 25. day of September was come (which was also the Munday before Michaelmas) in the said yeare of our Lord 1413, Thomas Arundell the archbishop of Canturbury commanded his judiciall seate to be removed from the chapter house of Paules to the Dominicke friers within Ludgate at London. And as hee was there set with Richard bishop of London, Henry bishop of Winchester, and Bennet bishop of Bangor, he called in unto him his counsell and his officers, with divers other doctors and friers, of whom these are the names here following; maister Henry Ware, the officiall of Canterburie; Philip Morgan, doctor of both lawes; Howell Kiffin, doctor of the canon lawe; John Kempe, doctor of the canon lawe; William Carletan, doctor of the canon lawe; John Witnam, of the Newe colledge in Oxforde; John Whithead, doctor in Oxford also; Robert Wombewell, Vicar of S. Laurence in the Jewry; Thomas Palmer, the warden of Minors; Robert Chamberlaine, prior of the Dominickes; Richard Doddington, prior of the Augustines; Thomas Walden, prior of the Carmelites[6], all doctors of Divinitie: John Stevens also, and James Cole, both notaries, appointed there purposely to write all that should be either said or done. All these, with a great sort more of priestes, monkes, canons, friers, parish clarkes, belringers, pardoners, disdained him, with innumerable mockes and scornes, reckoning him to bee an horrible hereticke, and a man accursed afore God.

Anone the archbishop called for a masse booke, and caused all those prelates and doctors to sweare thereupon, that everie man should faithfully doe his office and duetie that day: and that neither for favour nor fear, love nor hate of the one partie nor the other, any thing should there be witnessed, spoken or done, but according to the trueth, as they would answer before God and all the world at the day of dome. Then were the two foresaid

[6] *Of the Carmelites.*] Thomas Walden. See note 1, p. 169.

notaries sworne also, to write and to witnes the proces that there should be uttered on both parties, and to saie their mindes (if they otherwise knew) before they should register it.—And all this dissimulation, was but to colour their mischiefes, before the ignorant multitude.

After that, came forth before them, sir Robert Morley, knight and liefetenant of the Tower, and he brought with him the good L. Cobham, there leaving him among them as a lamb among wolves, to his examination and answere.

Another examination of the Lord Cobham.

Then said the archbishop unto him: "Lord Cobham, ye be advised (I am sure) of the words and proces which wee had unto you upon Saterdaie last past in the chapterhouse of Paules: which proces were now too long to be rehearsed againe. I said unto you then, that you were accursed for your contumacie and disobedience to holy church, thinking that yee should with meekenesse have desired your absolution."

Then spake the L. Cobham with a chearful countenance, and said, "God said by his holie prophet, *Maledicam benedictionibus vestris*, which is as much to say as, *I shall curse where you blesse*."

The archbishop made then as though he had continued forth his tale and not heard him, saying: "Sir, at that time I gently profered to have assoiled you if you woulde have asked it. And yet I doe the same, if ye will humbly desire it in due forme and maner, as holy church hath ordained."

Then said the lord Cobham: "Nay forsooth will I not, for I never yet trespassed against you, and therefore I will not doe it." And with that he kneeled downe on the pavement holding up his hands towards heaven, and said: "I shrive me here unto thee my eternal living God, that in my fraile youth I offended thee (O Lord) most greevously in pride, wrath, and gluttony; in covetousnesse, and in letcherie. Many men have I hurt in mine anger, and done many other horrible sins, good Lord I aske thee mercie." And therewith weepingly hee stoode up againe and said with a mighty voice, "Loe, good people, loe: For the breaking of Gods lawe and his greate commandements, they never yet cursed me. But for their owne lawes and traditions, most cruelly doe they handle both me and other men. And therefore,

both they and their lawes, by the promise of God, shall utterly be destroied."

At this the archbishop and his company were not a little blemished. Notwithstanding, hee tooke stomacke unto him againe after certaine words had in excuse of their tyrannie, and examined the lord Cobham of his Christian beliefe.

Whereunto the L. Cobham made this godly answere, "I beleeve (saith he) fully and faithfully in the universall lawes of God. I beleeve that all is true which is contained in the holy sacred Scriptures of the bible. Finally I beleeve, all that my Lord God would I should believe."

Then demanded the archbishop an answere of that bill which he and the clergy had sent him into the Tower the day afore, in maner of a determination of the church concerning the foure articles whereof hee was accused; specially for the sacrament of the aultar, how hee beleeved therein.

Whereunto the L. Cobham said, "that with that bill he had nothing to doe. But this was his beliefe (he said) concerning the sacrament: That his lord and saviour Jesus Christ, sitting at his last supper with his most deare disciples, the night before hee should suffer, tooke bread in his hand, and giving thanks to his eternall father, blessed it, brake it, and so gave it unto them: saying, *Take it unto you, and eate thereof all; this is my body which shall be betraied for you: Doe this hereafter in my remembrance.* This doe I throughly beleeve (saith he); for this faith am I taught in the gospell of Mathew, in Mark, and in Luke, and also in the first epistle of S. Paule to the Corinthians, chapter the eleventh."

Then asked the archbishop, if he beleeved that it were bread after the consecration or sacramentall words spoken over it.

The lord Cobham said: "I beleeve that in the sacrament of the altar is Christs very bodie in forme of bread, the same that was borne of the virgin Marie, done on the crosse, dead, and buried, and that the third day arose from death to life, which now is glorified in heaven."

Then said one of the doctors of the law: "After the sacramentall words be uttered, there remaineth no bread, but onely the bodie of Christ."

The lord Cobham said then to one master John Whitehead: "You said once unto me in the castle of Cowling, that the sacred host was not Christs bodie. But I held then against you, and

proved that therein was his bodie, though the seculars and friers could not therein agree, but held each one against other in that opinion. These were my words then, if yee remember it."

Then shouted a sort of them together, and cried with great noise: "We say all, that it is God's bodie."

And divers of them asked him in great anger, whether it were materiall bread after the consecration or not?

Then looked the lord Cobham earnestly upon the archbishop, and said: "I beleeve surely that it is Christs bodie in forme of bread. Sir beleeve not you thus?"

And the archbishop said, "Yes mary doe I."

Then asked him the doctors, whether it were onely Christs bodie after the consecration of a priest, and no bread, or not?

And he said unto them, "it is both Christs bodie and bread. I shall prove it as thus: For like as Christ dwelling here upon the earth, had in him both Godhead and manhood, and had the invisible Godhead covered under that manhood, which was onely visible and seene in him; so in the sacrament of the altar, is Christs very bodie, and bread also, as I beleeve. The bread is the thing that we see with our eies: the bodie of Christ (which is his flesh and his blood) is there under hid, and not seene, but in faith.

"And moreover, to prove that it is both Christs bodie, and also bread, after the consecration, it is by plaine words expressed by one of your owne doctors writing against Eutyches, which saith; Like as the selfe same sacraments doe passe by the operation of the holy ghost, into a divine nature, and yet notwithstanding keepe the propertie still of their former nature; so, that principall mysterie declareth to remaine one true, and perfect Christ, &c." (Gelasius contr. Eutych.)

Then smiled they each one upon other, that the people should judge him taken in a great heresie. And with a great brag divers of them said; "It is a foule heresie."

Then asked the archbishop, what bread it was? And the doctors also enquired of him whether it was materiall or not?

The lord Cobham said unto them, "The scriptures make no mention of this word materiall, and therefore my faith hath nothing to doe therewith. But this I say and beleeve, that it is Christs body and bread. For Christ said in the vi. of Johns gospell, *Ego sum panis vivus, qui de cœlo descendi; I which came downe from heaven, am the living and not the dead bread.* There-

fore I say now againe as I said afore, as our Lord Jesus Christ is very God, and very man, so in the most blessed sacrament of the altar, is Christs very body and bread."

Then said they all with one voice: "It is an heresie."

One of the bishops stood up by and by, and said: "What? it is an heresie manifest, to say that it is bread, after the sacramentall words be once spoken, but Christs body onely."

The lord Cobham said: "S. Paul the apostle was (I am sure) as wise as you be now, and more godly learned, and hee called it bread, writing to the Corinthians; *The bread that we breake*, saith he, *is it not the partaking of the body of Christ?* Lo he called it bread and not Christs body, but a meane whereby we receive Christs body?"

Then said they againe: "Paul must be otherwise understood. For it is sure an heresie to say that it is bread, after the consecration, but only Christs body."

The lord Cobham asked, how they could make good that sentence of theirs?

They answered him thus: "For it is against the determination of holy church."

Then said the archbishop unto him: "Sir John we sent you a writing concerning the faith of this blessed sacrament, clearely determined by the church of Rome our mother, and by the holy doctors."

Then hee said againe unto him, "I know none holier than is Christ and his apostles. And as for that determination, I wote it is none of theirs: for it standeth not with the Scriptures, but manifestly against them. If it bee the churches as yee say it is, it hath been hers onely since she received the great poison of worldly possessions, and not afore."

Then asked they him, to stop his mouth therewith, if hee beleeved not in the determination of the church[7]?

[7] *In the determination of the church.*] "It appears, by the Acts against the Lollards in the diocese of Ely, that it was an usual interrogatory put by the ecclesiastical judges to those whom they suspected of Lollardy. An *in ecclesiam* credis? Dost thou believe *in the Church?*"—Lewis's *Life of Pecock*, p. 264. "They of Master Hardinge's side" (says Bishop Jewel, in his *Defence of the Apology*, p. 74.) "have evermore well liked this forme of speech, Credo in sanctam ecclesiam, I beleeve *in* the holy church." The expressions in the creed, "to *beleeve in God*," "*in* Christ," or "*in* the Holy Ghost," were, in the Latin church, principally upon the authority of St.

And he said unto them: "No forsooth, for it is no God. In all our creede, this word *(in)* is but thrice mentioned concerning beleefe: *In* God the Father, *in* God the Sonne, *in* God the holy Ghost, three persons and one God. The birth, the death, the buriall, the resurrection and ascension of Christ, hath none *(in)* for beleefe, but in him. Neither yet hath the church, the sacraments, the forgivenesse of sinne, the latter resurrection, nor yet the life everlasting, any other *(in)* than in the holy Ghost."

Then said one of the lawyers: "Tush, that was but a word of office.—But what is your beliefe concerning holy church?"

The lord Cobham answered: "My beliefe is, (as I said afore,) that all the Scriptures of the sacred bible are true. All that is grounded upon them I beleeve throughly. For I know, it is Gods pleasure that I should so doe. But in your lordly lawes and idle determinations, have I no beliefe. For yee be no part of Christs holy church, as your open deeds doe shew: but yee are very antichrists, obstinately set against his holy law and will. The lawes that yee have made, are nothing to his glory, but onely for your vaine glory and abominable covetousnesse."

This, they said, was an exceeding heresie (and that in a great fume) not to beleeve the determination of holy church.

Then the archbishop asked him, what he thought of holy church.

He said unto him, "my beliefe is, that the holy church is the

Augustin, ever conceived to imply much more than merely a belief that "God is, &c;" and, besides the act of faith, were accounted to comprise an addition of hope, love, or affiance. See Bishop Pearson's *Exposition on the Creed*, art. 1. The zealous supporters of the fading authority of the church appear therefore to have been anxious to avail themselves of this supposed and acknowledged efficacy of the preposition *in*, and to have endeavoured to get that word inserted into the orthodox belief respecting the church; presuming that, if they could succeed in so doing, it would be followed by a corresponding accession of submission and devotion to all her determinations. For, being thereby associated with a word which in the Creed was appropriated only to God, she would appear to be invested with a degree of authority like to the divine. Nay, had his predecessors succeeded in this their stratagem, they would have overstepped the modesty of the wishes even of Bishop Bonner himself. "Concernynge the Catholique churche, we must *beleve it*, that is to say, geve credite to it, but not beleve *in* it, for to beleve *in* it, were to make it God."—*Profitable and Necessary Doctrine*, signat. I 46. A.D. 1555. Bishop Pecock, in his *Treatise on Faith*, p. 30, shewed how little he approved of this usurpation; which freedom of his was probably one of the reasons that subjected him to the displeasure of his brethren.

number of them, which shall be saved, of whom Christ is the head. Of this church, one part is in heaven with Christ, another in purgatorie (you say); and the third is heere in earth. This latter part standeth in three degrees, in knighthood, priesthood, and the communalty, as I said afore[8] plainely in the confession of my beliefe."

Then said the archbishop unto him: "Can you tell me who is of this church?"

The lord Cobham answered: "Yea truely can I."

Then said doctor Walden the prior of the Carmelits; "It is doubt unto you who is thereof. For Christ saith in Matthew, *Nolite judicare, presume to judge no man.* If yee be heere forbidden the judgement of your neighbour or brother, much more the judgement of your superiour."

The lord Cobham made him this answere: "Christ saith also in the selfesame chapter of Matthew, that like as the evill tree is knowne by his fruit, so is a false prophet by his works, appeare they never so glorious: but that yee left behind yee. And in John he hath this text, *Operibus credite, beleeve you the outward doings.* And in an other place of John, *Justum judicium judicate;* when we know the thing to bee true, we may so judge it, and not offend. For David said also, *Rectè judicate filii hominum; Judge rightly alwaies yee children of men.* And as for your superioritie, were yee of Christ, yee should be meeke ministers, and no proud superiours."

Then said doctor Walden unto him, "Yee make here no difference of judgements: yee put no diversitie betweene the evill judgements which Christ hath forbidden, and the good judgements, which he hath commanded us to have. Rash judgement, and right judgement, all is one with you. So swift judges alwaies are the learned scholars of Wickliffe."

Unto whom the lord Cobham thus answered: "It is well sophistred of you forsooth. Preposterous are your judgements evermore. For as the prophet Esay saith, *Yee judge evill good, and good evill:* and therfore the same prophet concludeth, *that your waies are not Gods waies, nor Gods waies your waies.* And as for that vertuous man Wickliffe, whose judgements yee so highly disdaine, I sall say heere of my part, both before God and man, that before

[8] *As I said afore.*] Compare also Wickliffe's doctrine on this head, in Lewis's *Life of Wickliffe*, chap. viii. p. 151—3. (1820.)

I knew that despised doctrine of his, I never abstained from sinne. But since I learned therein to feare my Lord God, it hath otherwise I trust beene with me: so much grace could I never find in all your glorious instructions."

Then said doctor Walden againe yet unto him: "It were not well with me (so many vertuous men living, and so many learned men teaching, the scripture being also so open, and the examples of fathers so plenteous,) if I then had no grace to amend my life, till I heard the divell preach. S. Hierome saith, that he which seeketh such suspected masters, shall not find the midday light, but the mid-day divell."

The lord Cobham said: "Your fathers the old Pharisies, ascribed Christs miracles to Belzebub, and his doctrine to the divell. And you as their naturall children, have still the self-same judgement concerning his faithfull followers. They that rebuke your vicious living must needs be heretikes; and that must your doctors prove, when you have no scripture to doe it. Then said he to them all; to judge you as you be, we neede no further goe than to your owne proper acts. Where doe yee find in all Gods law, that yee should thus sit in judgement of any Christian man, or yet give sentence upon any other man unto death as yee doe heere daily? No ground have yee in all the Scriptures so lordly to take it upon you, but in Annas and Caiphas, which sat thus upon Christ, and upon his apostles after his ascension. Of them only have yee taken it to judge Christs members as yee doe, and neither of Peter nor John."

Then said some of the lawyers: "Yes forsooth sir, for Christ judged Judas."

The lord Cobham said: "No. Christ judged him not, but he judged himselfe, and thereupon went forth, and so did hang himselfe. But indeede Christ said, 'Woe unto him,' for that covetous act of his, as he doth yet still unto many of you. For since the venime of him was shed into the church, yee never followed Christ, neither yet have yee stood in the perfection of Gods law."

Then the archbishop asked him, what he meant by that venime?

The lord Cobham said: "your possessions and lordships. For then cried an angell[9] in the aire (as your owne chronicles mention)

[9] *Cried an angell.*] Bale, in his margin, refers to Ranulphus Cestrensis in Polychron. lib. iv. cap. 26. The time and events alluded to are those of the

Woe, woe, woe, this day is venime shed into the church of God. Before that time, all the bishops of Rome were martyrs in a maner. And since that time, we read of very few. But indeede since that same time, one hath put down an other, one hath poisoned an other, one hath cursed an other, and one hath slaine an other, and done much more mischiefe besides, as all the chronicles tell. And let all men consider well this, that Christ was meeke, and mercifull; the pope is proud, and a tyrant: Christ was poore and forgave; the pope is rich and a malicious manslaier, as his daily acts doe prove him. Rome is the very nest of antichrist, and out of that nest commeth all the disciples of him: of whom, prelates, priests, and monkes, are the body, and these pild[1] friers are the taile."

Then said the prior of the friers Augustines, "Alack sir, why doe you say so? that is uncharitably spoken."

And the lord Cobham said: "Not only is it my saying, but also the prophet Esayas, long afore my time. *The Prophet*, saith he, *which preacheth lies, is the taile behind.* For as you friers and monkes be (like Pharisies) divided in your outward apparell and usages, so make yee division among the people. And thus, you with such other, are the very naturall members of antichrist."

Then said he unto them all: "Christ saith in his gospell, *Woe unto you Scribes and Pharisies, hypocrites; for yee close up the kingdome of heaven before men; neither enter yee in your selves, nor yet suffer any other that would enter into it;* but yee stop up the waies therunto with your owne traditions, and therefore are yee the household of antichrist. Yee will not permit Gods veritie to have passage, nor yet to be taught of his true ministers, fearing

grant of the temporal rights and privileges to the church by the emperor Constantine: the story was often cited by the complainants against ecclesiastical degeneracy. "Narrant Chronica, (says Wickliffe, *Dialogor.* lib. iv. c. 18.) quod in dotatione ecclesiæ, vox audita est in aere angelica tunc temporis sic dicentis, *Hodie effusum est venenum in ecclesia sancta Dei.*" So also Pierce Ploughman's *Vision*, fol. 85. b. edit. 1550.

> "Whan Constantyne of curtesy, holy kyrke dowed
> With lands and leades, lordshyps and rentes,
> An Angel men harden on hyghe at Rome crye,
> *Dos ecclesiæ*, thys daie hath dranke *venyme*,
> And they that have Peters power are poysoned all."

Compare Lewis's *Wickliffe*, p. 149. edit. 1820.

[1] *Pild.*] Bald, shaven, devoid of hair: *defectus pilis: pilatus.*

> "Piel'd priest, dost thou command me to be shut out."
> *King Henry VI. Part I.*

to have your wickednesse reproved. But by such flatterers as uphold you in your mischiefes, yee suffer the common people most miserably to be seduced."

Then said the archbishop: "By our Lady sir, there shal none such preach within my dioces (and God wil,) nor yet in my jurisdiction (if I may know it) as either maketh division, or yet dissention among the poore commons."

The lord Cobham said: "Both Christ and his apostles were accused of sedition making, yet were they most peaceable men. Both Daniel and Christ prophecied that such a troublous time should come, as hath not beene yet since the worlds beginning. And this prophecie is partly fulfilled in your daies and doings; for many have ye slaine alreadie, and more will yee slay hereafter, if God fulfill not his promise. Christ saith also, if those daies of yours were not shortned, scarcely should any flesh be saved: therefore looke for it justly, for God will shorten your daies. Moreover, though priests and deacons for preaching of Gods word, and for ministring the sacraments, with provision for the poore, be grounded on Gods law, yet have these other sects no maner of ground hereof, so farre as I have read."

Then a doctor of law, called master John Kempe, plucked out of his bosome a copy of the bill which they had afore sent him into the Tower, by the archbishops counsell, thinking thereby to make shorter worke with him. For they were so amazed with his answeres (not all unlike to them which disputed with Stephen) that they knew not well how to occupie the time, their wits and sophistrie (as God would) so failed them that day.

"My lord Cobham (saith this doctor) we must briefely know your minde concerning these foure points heere following. The first of them is this; and then he read upon the bill; The faith and determination of holy church touching the blessed sacrament of the altar is this, That after the sacramentall words be once spoken of a priest in his masse, the materiall bread that was before bread, is turned into Christs very body: and the materiall wine is turned into Christs bloud. And so there remaineth in the sacrament of the altar from thenceforth no materiall bread nor materiall wine, which were there before the sacramentall words were spoken. Sir beleeve yee not this?"

The lord Cobham said: "This is not my beliefe. But my faith is (as I said to you afore) that in the worshipful sacrament of the altar, is Christs very bodie in forme of bread."

Then said the archbishop: "Sir John yee must say otherwise."

The lord Cobham said: "Nay, that I shall not, if God be upon my side (as I trust he is,) but that there is Christs body in forme of bread, as the common beliefe is."

Then read that doctour againe.

"The second point is this: Holy church hath determined, that every Christian man living heere bodily upon earth, ought to be shriven of a priest ordained by the church, if he may come to him. Sir, what say you to this?"

The lord Cobham answered and said: "A diseased or sore wounded man, hath need to have a sure wise chirurgian, and a true, knowing both the ground and the danger of the same; most necessarie were it therefore to be first shriven unto God which only knoweth our diseases, and can helpe us. I denie not in this the going to a priest, if he be a man of good life and learning: for the lawes of God are to be required of the priest, which is godly learned. (Malachi, 2.) But if he be an idiote, or a man of vitious living that is my curate, I ought rather to flie from him than to seeke unto him: for sooner might I catch evill of him that is naught, than any goodnesse towards my soules health."

Then read the doctour againe.

"The third point is this: Christ ordained S. Peter the apostle to be his vicar heere in earth, whose see is the church of Rome. And he granted that the same power which he gave unto Peter, should succeed to all Peters successours, which we call now popes of Rome; by whose speciall power in churches particular, be ordained prelates and archbishops, parsons, curates, and other degrees more, unto whom Christian men ought to obey after the lawes of the church of Rome. This is the determination of holy church. Sir, beleeve ye not this?"

To this he answered and said: "He that followeth Peter most nighest in pure living, is next unto him in succession. But your lordly order esteemeth not greatly the lowly behaviour of poore Peter, whatsoever yee prate of him. Neither care yee greatly for the humble maners of them that succeeded him, till the time of Silvester, which for the more part were martyrs, as I told you before. Yee can let all their good conditions goe by you, and not hurt your selves with them at all. All the world knoweth this well enough by you, and yet yee can make boast of Peter."

With that, one of the other doctors asked him; "Then what do yee say of the pope?"

The lord Cobham answered: "As I said before: He and you together maketh whole the great antichrist. Of whom he is the great head, you bishops, priests, prelates, and monkes are the body, and the begging friers are the taile, for they cover the filthinesse of you both with their subtile sophistrie. Neither will I in conscience obey any of you all, till I see you with Peter follow Christ in conversation."

Then read the doctor againe.

"The fourth point is this: Holy church hath determined, that it is meritorious to a Christian man, to goe on pilgrimage to holy places, and there specially to worship the holy reliques and images of saints, apostles, martyrs, confessors, and all other saints besides, approved by the church of Rome. Sir, what say yee to this?"

Whereunto he answered: "I owe them no service by any commandement of God, and therefore I minde not to seeke them for your covetousnesse. It were best ye swept them faire from copwebs and dust, and so laide them up for catching of scathe: or else to burie them faire in the ground as ye doe other aged people which are Gods images.

"It is a wonderfull thing, that saints now being dead, should become so covetous and needy, and thereupon so bitterly beg, which all their life time hated all covetousnesse and begging. But this I say unto you, and I would all the world should marke it, that with your shrines and idols, your fained absolutions and pardons, ye draw unto you the substance, wealth, and chiefe pleasures of all Christian realmes."

"Why sir (said one of the clerkes) will ye not worship good images?"

"What worship should I give unto them?" said the lord Cobham.

Then said frier Palmer unto him: "Sir, will ye worship the crosse of Christ, that he died upon?"

"Where is it[1]?" said the lord Cobham?

[1] *Where is it.*] Antiochus, a monk of Saba, in Palestine, who wrote in the seventh century, deplores the loss of the real cross, which he says was carried away into Persia after the defeat of the emperor Heraclius by Chosroës, in the year 614. See Fabricius, *Bibliotheca Græca*, vol. ix. p. 262.

In the beads or bidding prayer used *before*, or *in the course* of sermons, this

The frier said: "I put you the case sir, that it were heere even now before you."

The lord Cobham answered: "This is a great wise man to put me an earnest question of a thing, and yet he himselfe knoweth where the thing it selfe is. Yet once againe I aske you, what worship I should doe unto it?"

A clerke said unto him: "Such worship as Paul speaketh of, and that is this: *God forbid that I should joy, but only in the crosse of Jesu Christ.*" (Galat. 6.)

Then said the lord Cobham, and spread his armes abroad: "This a very crosse[2], yea, and so much better than your crosse

anciently was always one of the petitions directed to be put up. "Ye shall praye for the Holy londe, and for the holy-crosse that Jhesu Cryste dyed on for the redempcyon of mannes soule, that it may come into the power of Crysten men, the more to be honoured for our prayers."—*Festival*, fol. 203. And in the ancient form printed by Henry Wharton—"for the holy Lond, and for the holy Croys, that Jhesu Christ sendt it out of Hedne mennys honde, into Cristin mennys honde."—*Specimen of Errors*, &c., by Anth. Harmer, p. 166. The injury and error that was occasioned and cherished by the Crusades, and was consequent upon the various other species of devotion in honour of the *material* cross of Christ, so prevalent in those ages, was a frequent topic of complaint among the Reformers. Sir Thomas More tells us that "Luther wished in a sermon of his, that he had in his honde all the pieces of the holy crosse, and said that if he so had, he would throw them there as never sonne sholde shyne on them.—And for what worshipfull reason woulde the wretch do such villanye to the crosse of Christ? Bycause, as he saith, that there is so moche golde nowe bestowed about the garnyshynge of the peces of the crosse, that there is none lefte for poore folke. Is not this an high reason? As though all the golde that is nowe bestowed about the peces of the holy crosse would not have failed to have been geven to poore men, if they had not been bestowed about the garnishing of the crosse: And as though there were nothyng lost, but that is bestowed about Christes crosse."—*Dialogue concerning Heresies*, book i. chap. 2. Works, p. 119.

[2] *This is a very crosse.*] Thus, in the interesting story of Margery Backster, the wife of a common mechanic in the diocese of Norwich, we find it deposed against her, a few years after the execution of Lord Cobham, that "she demanded of the deponent what she did every day at church; who answered that shee kneeled downe and said five *Pater nosters*, in worship of the crucifix, and as many *Ave Maries*, in worship of our Ladie. Whom Margerie rebuked, saying: 'You do evill to kneele or pray to such images in the churches, for God dwelleth not in such churches, neither shall come downe out of heaven, and will give you no more reward for such prayer, than a candle lighted and set under the cover of the font, will give light by night to those which are in the church: saying moreover in English, Lewd wrights of stocks hew and forme such crosses and images, and after that, lewd painters

of wood, in that it was created of God: yet will not I seeke to have it worshipped."

Then said the bishop of London: "Sir, yee wote well that he died on a materiall crosse."

The lord Cobham said: "Yea, and I wote also that our salvation came not in by that materiall crosse, but alone by him which died thereupon. And well I wote, that holy Saint Paul rejoiced in none other crosse, but in Christs passion and death only, and in his owne sufferings of like persecution with him, for the selfesame veritie that he had suffered for afore."

Another clerke yet asked him; "Will yee then doe none honour to the holy crosse[3]?"

gleere them with colours. And if you desire so much to see the *true crosse of Christ*, I will shewe it you at home in your owne house; which this deponent being desirous to see, the said Margery, *stretching out her armes abroad*, said to this deponent, *This is the true crosse* of Christ, and this crosse thou oughtest, and maist every day behold and worship in thine owne house; and therefore it is but vaine to run to the church to worship dead crosses and images."—Fox's *Acts*, p. 610. Again, early in the reign of Henry VIII., in the severe persecution under Longlands, bishop of Lincolne, John Baker, being urged upon his oath, disclosed against John Edmunds, that in talking together of pilgrimages, the said Edmunds bade him go *offer* his money to the *Image of God*. When the other asked what that was, he said, that the image of God was the poore people, blind and lame; and said he offended Almighty God in going on pilgrimage.—Fox's *Acts*, p. 763. And hence was derived a frequent topic for argument and eloquence in popular discourses. "How think you?" (says Dr. Robert Barnes, after quoting a passage of St. Clement) "Doth not this condemne the worshyppyng of images, yea though it be in the honour of God? Hee sheweth you also that there is no other *true image* but man.—Which of you all goe a pilgrimage to that image? Which of you all doe *offer* to that image? Which of you all doe honour that image?—What say you to this? How can you avoide this? Is not this agreeable with Scriptures? And yet this image doe you despise. This image cast you in prison. This image do you stocke and chayne, and whippe from towne to towne, without any cause. This image dyeth in the streates beefore your doores for hunger and colde, and you runne to Walsingham and to Ipsewiche with great pompe and pride to honour your dead shadowes. It were better for you to burne idolles, and to warme this true image of God thereby. Yea, you have burnt many a poore man for speakyng against these dumme idolles."—Barnes's *Works*, p. 346. edit. 1572. "Man, that was made in the image and likeness of God, is full worshipful in his kind."—Thorpe's *Examination*, above, p. 301.

[3] *Honour to the holy crosse.*] The superstitious, not to say idolatrous, ceremonies which were used in honour of the holy cross, especially in processions, deservedly called forth the animadversions of the early Reformers.

He answered him: "Yes, if it were mine owne, I would lay him up honestly, and see unto him that he should take no more scath abroad, nor be robbed of his goods, as he is now a daies."

Then said the archbishop unto him: "Sir John, ye have spoken heere manie wonderfull words to the slanderous rebuke of the whole spiritualtie, giving a great evill example unto the common sort heere, to have us in the more disdaine. Much time have we spent heere about you, and all in vaine so far as I can see. Well, we must now be at this short point with you, for the day passeth away. Ye must otherwise submit your selfe to the ordinance of holie church, or else throw your selfe (no

"In *eeldir daies*, whanne procession was maad in Palme-Sunday, before masse, *the eucharist* was not brought forth, that the processioun of the clarkis and of the lay people schulde meete with him, but a *bare uncoverid crosse* was brought forth agens the processioun, as y have red in diverse oolde ordinalis of cathedrale churches, and of monasteries in Ynglond. In tho daies, and in tho placis whanne and where the processioun mette with the nakid crosse, summe of the clerkis were ordeyned for to stonde bifore the seid crosse, and for to turne hem toward the processioun, and seie in singing to al the clergie and peple thus, *Lo the kynge mylde and meke*, &c. And than the priestis and peple fellen down, kneling with all her knees to the grounde, seyin or singing, or in both maners, toward the seid discovered crosse thus, *Heil thou whom the peple of Hebrees meeting witnesseth to be Jesus*. Lastly, it was objected, that to whatever thing men offren in lowest wise, coming toward it by creping, and whose feet they kissen in devoutist maner they kunnen, thilk thing thei taken for her sovereignest and highest Lord;—but so it is, that to the crosse, in Good Fridai, men comen in lowest wise, creeping on alle her knees, and to this crosse in so low and devout maner thei offren, and the feet of thilk crosse thei in devoutist maner kissen, &c."—Lewis's *Life of Pecock*, p. 104. It may be a matter of curiosity to learn what was urged in reply to these objections. The sum of the defence made for these ceremonies is contained in a short extract from Bishop Pecock. 'Al this is doon (says he) not to the crosse itself, but to Christis persoun in his manhede, which is imagined there to be *in*, and *with* the ymage crucified, heed to heed, hond to hond, foot to foot, thoug it be not trowid so to be, but thoug the contrarie is trowid to be."—*Ibid.* p. 111. How far the Puritans, in the next age, carried their abhorrence against all ceremonial use whatever of the cross, need not in this place be insisted on. But even in earlier times, a learned and zealous enemy of the Reformation informs us that "Some sinfull wretches were there, that digged up, and overthrewe the crosses in highe wayes, which were sette up, partly to make men that passed by remember Christes death and passion, and partly to shewe *them* the right way, that knew not the same. Who I pray you would thinke, that these folkes bare any good affection to our Saviour Christ, which could neither abide his image, nor the holesome signe of his crosse?"—Christopherson's *Exhortation against Rebellion*, signat. U 1. b. A.D. 1554.

remedie) into most deepe danger. See to it in time, for anon it will be else too late."

The lord Cobham said, "I know not to what purpose I should otherwise submit me. Much more have you offended me, than ever I offended you, in thus troubling me before this multitude."

Then said the archbishop againe unto him, "Wee once again require you to remember your selfe well, and to have none other manner opinion in these matters, than the universall faith and beliefe of the holie church of Rome is. And so like an obedient child returne againe to the unitie of your mother. See to it I say in time, for yet yee may have remedie, whereas anon it will be too late."

The lord Cobham said expresslie before them all, "I will none otherwise beleeve in these points, than that I have told you here afore. Do with me what ye will."

Finallie, then the archbishop said, "Well, then I see none other but we must needs do the law: we must proceed forth to the sentence definitive, and both judge you, and condemne you for an heretike."

And with that, the archbishop stood up, and read there a bill of his condemnation, all the clergie and laitie vailing their bonets[4]. And this was the tenor thereof.

The definitive Sentence of his Condemnation[5].

"In the name of God: So be it. We Thomas by the sufferance of God, archbishop of Canterburie, metropolitan, and primate of all England, and legat from the apostolike see of Rome, willeth this to be knowne unto all men. In a certaine cause of heresie and upon divers articles, whereupon sir John Oldcastle knight, and lord Cobham, after a diligent inquisition made for the same, was detected, accused, and presented before us in our last convocation of all our province of Canturburie, holden in the cathedral church of Pauls at London: at the lawfull denouncement and request of our universall clergie in the

[4] *Vailing their bonets.*] "Then the bishop, after deliberation, *putting off his cap*, said, In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti, Amen. Exurgat Deus et dissipentur inimici ejus: and making a crosse on his forehead and his breast, by the counsell of the other bishops, he gave sentence against Maister Bilney, being there present."—Fox's *Acts*, p. 914.

[5] *His condemnation.*] See Wilkins, vol. iii. p. 356.

said convocation, we proceeded against him according to the law (God to witnesse) with all the favour possible. And following Christs example in all that we might, *which willeth not the death of a sinner, but rather that he be converted and live;* we tooke upon us to correct him, and sought all other waies possible to bring him againe to the churches unitie, declaring unto him what the holy and universall church of Rome hath said, holden, determined, and taught in that behalfe. And though we found him in the catholike faith farre wide, and so stifnecked, that he would not confesse his error, nor purge himselfe, nor yet repent him thereof: we yet pitying him of fatherlie compassion, and entirely de iring the health of his soule, appointed him a competent time of deliberation, to see if hee would repent and seeke to be reformed: but since that time we have found him worse and orse. Considering therefore, that he is not corrigible, we are d iven to the verie extremitie of the law, and with great heavinesse of heart, we now proceed to the publication of the sentence definitive, against him."

Then brought he forth another bill, containing the said sentence, and that he read also in his beggerlie Latine, *Christi nomine invocato, ipsumque solum præ oculis habentes. Quia per acta inactitata*, and so forth. Which I have also translated into English, that men may understand it.

"Christ we take unto witnesse, that nothing else we seeke in this our whole enterprise, but his only glorie.—For as much as we have found by divers acts done, brought forth and exhibited by sundrie evidences, signes, and tokens, and also by manie most manifest proofes, the said sir John Oldcastle knight, and lord Cobham, not only to be an evident heretike in his owne person, but also a mightie maintainer of other heretikes against the faith and religion of the holie and universall church of Rome; namely, about the two sacraments (of the altar, and of penance), besides the popes power, and pilgrimages: and that hee as the child of iniquitie and darknesse, hath so hardened his heart, that he will in no case attend unto the voice of his pastor; neither will he be allured by strait admonishments, nor yet be brought in by favourable words: the worthinesse of the cause first weighed on the one side, and his unworthinesse againe considered on the other side, his faults also aggravated or made double through his damnable obstinacie, wee (being loth that he which is nought should be worse, and so with his contagiousnesse infect the multitude)

by the sage counsell and assent of the very discreet fathers, our honorable brethren and lords bishops heere present, Richard of London, Henrie of Winchester, and Bennet of Bangor, and of other great learned and wise men heere, both doctors of divinitie, and of the lawes canon and civil, seculars and religious, with divers other expert men assisting us; we sententially and definitively by this present writing, judge, declare, and condemne the said sir John Oldcastle knight, and lord Cobham, for a most pernicious and detestable heretike, convicted upon the same, and refusing utterly to obey the church againe, committing him heere from henceforth as a condemned heretike to the secular jurisdiction, power, and judgment, to do him thereupon to death[6].—Furthermore, we excommunicate and denounce accursed, not onlie this heretike heere present, but so many else besides, as shall hereafter in favour of his error, either receive him or defend him, counsell him or helpe him, or any other way maintaine him, as verie fautors, receivers, defenders, counsellers, aiders, and maintainers of condemned heretikes.

"And that these premisses may be the better knowne of all faithfull Christian men, we commit it here unto your charges, and give you strait commandment thereupon by this writing also: that ye cause this condemnation and definitive sentence of excom-

[6] *Thereupon to death.*] The original reads thus: " . . . errantem judicamus, declaramus et condemnamus finaliter et definitive in hiis scriptis, relinquentes eundem exnunc, tanquam hæreticum, judicio seculari." Fox's words "to do him thereupon to death," are certainly not found in the original, but they only *express* what was *understood* in the Latin. The delivery of a condemned heretic by the ecclesiastical courts to the civil power was at this time invariably followed by punishment.

By the statute against heretics or Lollards (2 Hen. IV. c. 15), the whole authority was put into the bishop's hands, as he might direct his sentence to be executed without the intervention of the writ *de hæretico comburendo*; for it enacts that credence should be given to the diocesan by the sheriff, who was to receive the offender, and cause him to be burnt.

"If persons sententially convict refused to abjure their opinions, or after abjuration relapsed, a more rigorous course was directed. Such persons were by the canons to be left to the secular arm; and it was now enacted, that in such cases *credence should be given to the diocesan* or his commissary, and the sheriff, and mayor or bailiff of the place, should be present when the sentence was given, if required by the diocesan or commissary; and, after sentence promulgated, should receive, *and them before the people in a high place cause to be burnt*, to the example and terror of others."—Reeves's *History of the English Law*, 1787, vol. iii. p. 236.

munication, concerning both this heretike and his fautors, to bee published throughout all diocesses, in cities, townes, and villages, by your curats and parish priests, at such times as they shall have most recourse of people. And see that it be done after this sort: as the people are thus gathered devoutly together, let the curat everie where goe into the pulpit, and there open, declare, and expound this process in the mother tongue[7], in an audible and intelligible voice, that it may be perceived of all men, and that upon the feare of this declaration also, the people may fall from their evill opinions conceived now of late by seditious preachers. Moreover we will, that after wee have delivered unto each one of you bishops which are heere present, a copie hereof, that ye cause the same to be written out againe into divers copies, and to be sent unto the other bishops and prelats of our whole province, that they may also see the contents thereof solemnely published within their diocesses and cures. Finally, we wil that both you and they signifie againe unto us seriously and distinctly by your writings as the matter is, without fained colour in everie point performed, the day whereon ye received this processe, the time when it was of you executed, and after what sort it was done in everie condition, according to the tenour hereof, that we may know it to be justly the same[8]."

A copie of this writing sent Thomas Arundell the archbishop of Canturburie afterward from Maidstone the tenth day of October, within the same yeere of our Lord 1413, unto Richard Clifford the bishop of London, which thus beginneth; *Thomas permissione divina*, &c.

The said Richard Clifford sent another copie thereof, enclosed within his owne letters, unto Robert Maschall a Carmelite frier, which was then bishop of Hereford in Wales, written from Haddam the 23d day of October in the yeere, and the beginning thereof is this; *Reverende in Christo pater*, &c.

This Robert Maschall directed another copie thereof from London the 27th day of November in the same yeere, inclosed in his owne commission also, unto his archdeacon and deanes in Hereford and Shrewsburie. And this is thereof the beginning;

[7] *In the mother tongue.*] See Tindal, p. 151, above, in note on *Life of Wickliffe*, p. 221.

[8] *The same.*] The date is Oct. 10, 1413. Wilkins, vol. iii. p. 357.

Venerabilibus et discretis viris, &c. In like manner did the other bishops within their diocesses.

After that the archbishop had thus read the bill of his condemnation with most extremitie before the whole multitude; the lord Cobham said with a most cheerefull countenance, "Though ye judge my bodie which is but a wretched thing, yet am I certaine and sure, that ye can do no harme to my soule, no more then could Satan upon the soule of Job. He that created that, will of his infinite mercie and promise save it, I have therein no maner of doubt. And as concerning these articles before rehearsed, I will stand to them even to the verie death, by the grace of my eternall God."

And therewith he turned him unto the people, casting his hands abroad, and saying with a verie loude voice, "Good Christian people, for Gods love be well ware of these men, for they will else beguile you, and lead you blindling into hel with themselves. For Christ saith plainly unto you, *If one blind man leadeth another, they are like both to fall into the ditch.*" Matt. 10.

After this, he fell downe there upon his knees, and thus before them all praied for his enemies, holding up both his hands and his eies towards heaven, and saying, "Lord God eternall, I beseech thee of thy great mercies sake, to forgive my pursuers, if it be thy blessed will." And then he was delivered to sir Robert Morlie, and so led forth againe to the Tower of London. And thus was there an end of that daies worke.

While the lord Cobham was thus in the Tower, he sent out privilie unto his friends, and they at his request wrote this little bill heere following, causing it to be set up in divers quarters of London; that the people should not beleeve the slanders and lies that his enemies the bishops servants and priests had made on him abroad. And thus was the letter.

"For as much as sir John Oldcastle knight, and lord Cobham, is untruelie convicted and imprisoned, falsely reported and slandered among the common people by his adversaries, that he should otherwise both thinke and speake of the sacraments of the church, and speciallie of the blessed sacrament of the altar, then was written in the confession of his beliefe, which was indented and taken to the clergie, and so set up in divers open places in the citie of London: knowne be it heere to all the world, that he (never since) varied in any point therefro, but this

is plainlie his beliefe, that all the sacraments of the church be profitable and expedient also to all them that shall be saved, taking them after the intent that Christ and his true church hath ordained. Furthermore he beleeveth, that the blessed sacrament of the altar is verilie and truly Christs bodie in forme of bread."

After this, the bishops and priests were in much great discredit both with the nobilitie and commons, partlie for that they had so cruelly handled the good lord Cobham; and partlie againe, because his opinion (as they thought at that time) was perfect concerning the sacrament. The prelats feared this to grow to further inconvenience towards them both waies, wherefore they drew their heads together, and at the last consented to use another practise somewhat contrarie to that they had done afore. They caused it by and by to be blowne abroad by their feed servants, friends, and babling Sir Johns[9], that the said lord Cobham was becomen a good man, and had lowlie submitted himselfe in all things unto holy church, utterly changing his opinion concerning the sacrament. And thereupon, they counterfeited an abjuration in his name, that the people should take no hold of that opinion by any thing they had heard of him

[9] *Babling Sir Johns.*] *Sir John, Sir John Lack-Latin,* &c. were names of derision in common use among the reformers for the curates, and lower orders of the popish clergy. Thus William Tindall in his Practice of Prelates: "There one sort are your Grace, your Holines, your Fatherhode: another, my lord Bishop, my lord Abbot, my lord Pryor: another, master Doctour, father Bachelar, mayster Parson, maister Vicar, and at the last commeth in *simple Syr John.*" Works, p. 343. edit. 1572. Christopherson, master of Trinity College, Cambridge, gives the following querulous representation of the manner in which the orthodox clergy were teased by impertinent and heretical disputants, during the reign of heresy under Edward VI. "Yf a man were a good vertuous priest, he had bene better a great deale to have lived amonge Turkes and Saracenes, then among this kind of folke; by reason that whensoever they mette with him in anye place, they woulde aske him: Nowe *Syr John,* where fynde you your masse in Scripture: or who gave you authoritie to make God?" Christopherson *against Rebellion,* signat. T 4. A. D. 1554. Nor were these liberties taken merely with *simple Sir John. Master Parson* himself came in for his share. "Than begynneth one or another to move some subtyle question, saying, *Mayster person,* howe say ye to suche a texte of Paule? And if the priest be ignoraunt for lacke of lernynge, or maketh not answere satysfyenge his mynde; he is mocked and jested upon with scornefull derysyon." Barlowe's *Dialogue concerning the Lutheran Factions,* signat. L 4. edit. 1553. Compare Hoggard's *Displaying of Protestants,* fol. 87. A. D. 1556.

before; and so to stand the more in awe of them, considering him so great a man, and by them subdued.

" This is the abjuration" (say they) " of sir John Oldcastle knight, sometime the lord Cobham.

" In Dei nomine: Amen. I John Oldcastle denounced, detected, and convicted, of and upon divers articles savouring both heresie and errour, before the reverend father in Christ and my good lord, Thomas by the permission of God, lord archbishop of Canturburie, and my lawfull and rightfull judge in that behalfe, expressly grant and confesse, that as concerning the estate and power of the most holy father the pope of Rome, of his archbishops, his bishops, and his other prelats, the decrees of the church, and the holy sacraments of the same, specially of the sacraments of the altar, of penance, and other observances besides of our mother holie church, as pilgrimages and pardons: I affirme (I saie) before the said reverend father archbishop and elsewhere, that I being evill seduced by divers seditious preachers, have grievouslie erred, and hereticallie persisted, blasphemouslie answered and obstinatelie rebelled. And therefore I am by the said reverend father, before the reverend fathers in Christ also, the bishops of London, Winchester, and Bangor, lawfullie condemned for an heretike.

" Neverthelesse, yet, I now remembring my selfe, and coveting by this meane to avoid that temporall paine which I am worthie to suffer as an heretike, at the assignation of my most excellent Christian prince and liege lord, king Henrie the fifth, now by the grace of God most worthie king both of England and of France; minding also to preferre the wholesome determination, sentence, and doctrine of the holie universall church of Rome, before the unwholesome opinions of my selfe, my teachers, and my followers, I freelie, willinglie, deliberatelie, and thoroughlie confesse, grant, and affirme, that the most holie fathers in Christ, Saint Peter the apostle and his successors bishops of Rome, speciallie now at this time, my most blessed lord pope John, by permission of God, the three and twentieth pope of that name, which now holdeth Peters seat (and each of them in their succession) hath ful strength and power to be Christs vicar in earth, and the head of the church militant. And that by the strength of his office, he hath full authoritie and power to rule and governe, bind and loose, save and destroy, accurse and assoyle all other Christian men.

" And agreeably still unto this, I confesse, grant, and affirme all other archbishops, bishops, and prelats in their provinces, diocesses, and parishes (appointed by the said pope of Rome, to assist him in his doings or businesse) by his decrees, canons, or vertue of his office, to have had in times past, to have now at this time, and that they ought to have in time to come, authoritie and power to rule and governe, bind and loose, accurse and assoyle the subjects or people of their aforesaid provinces, diocesses, and parishes, and that their said subjects or people ought of right in all things to obey them. Furthermore, I confesse, grant, and affirme, that the said spirituall fathers, our most holie father the pope, the archbishops, bishops, and prelats, have had, have now, and ought to have hereafter, authoritie and power for the estate, order, and governance of their subjects or people, to make lawes, decrees, statutes, and constitutions, yea and to publish, command, and compell their said subjects and people to the observation of them.

" Moreover, I confesse, grant, and affirme, that all these foresaid lawes, decrees, statutes, and constitutions made, published, and commanded, according to the forme of spirituall law, all Christian people, and every man in himselfe is straitly bound to observe, and meekelie to obey, according to the diversitie of the foresaid powers: As the lawes, statutes, canons, and constitutions of our most holie father the pope, incorporated in his decrees, decretals, clementines, codes, charts, rescripts, sextiles, and extravagants over all the world: and also the provinciall statutes of archbishops in their provinces, the synodall acts of bishops in their diocesses, and the commendable rules and customes of prelats in their colledges, and curats in their parishes, all christian people are both bound to observe, and also most meekelie to obey.

Over and besides all this, I John Oldcastle utterlie forsaking and renouncing all the aforesaid errors and heresies, and all other errors and heresies like unto them, lay my hand here upon this booke or holie evangelie of God, and sweare, that I shall never more from henceforth hold these aforesaid heresies, nor yet anie other like unto them wittinglie. Neither shall I give counsell, aid, helpe, nor favour at anie time, to them that shall hold, teach, affirme, or maintaine the same, as God shall helpe me, and these holy evangelies.

" And that I shall from henceforth faithfully obey and inviolablie observe all the holie lawes, statutes, canons, and constitu-

tions of all the popes of Rome, archbishops, bishops, and prelats, as are contained and determined in their holie decrees, decretals, clementines, codes, charts, rescripts, sextiles, sums-papall, extravagants, statutes provinciall, acts synodall, and other ordinarie regules and customes constituted by them, or that shall chance hereafter directlie to be determined or made. To these and all such other, will I my selfe with all power possiblie applie. Besides all this, the penance which it shall please my said reverend father the lord archbishop of Canturburie, hereafter to enjoyne me for my sinnes, I will meekelie obey and faithfullie fulfill. Finallie, all my seducers and false teachers, and all other besides, whom I shall hereafter know suspected of heresie or errors, I shall effectuallie present, or cause to be presented unto my said reverend father, lord archbishop, or to them which have his authoritie, so soone as I can convenientlie do it, and see that they be corrected to my uttermost power [10]."

[10] *To my uttermost power.*] The reader will observe, that in this document, we have, on the part of the clergy of this great kingdom, an exemplification of a charter, as it were, of slavish subjection of themselves, and, as far as they can, of their country, in sundry, distinct, and most momentous articles, to the pope of Rome. Let us for a moment cast a glance on a part of them.

1. In the second paragraph, the pope is formally recognised as "the head of the church," and the king thereby treasonably disseized of one half of his prerogatives and duties: and in the same paragraph, there is a like surrender to the pope of "full authority and power to rule and govern, bind and loose, save and destroy, accurse and absolve all other Christian men."

2. In the third paragraph is basely tendered the subjection and thraldom of the whole body of the English clergy. The appointment is asserted to the pope, and for his service, and uses of the archbishops, bishops, &c., and all their authority and power is to be considered as accruing to them, in virtue of his decrees, canons, and office. And further, that he, together with these clergy, have had, "have now, and ought to have hereafter, authority and power to make laws for the governance of their subjects or people, and to compel the said people to the observance of the same."

3. Again, in the fourth paragraph, we have another fearful concession and usurpation. The whole body of the canon law, the pope's decrees, decretals, clementines, &c., with all their dreadful consequences and sanctions, is, at one stroke, received, engrafted into, and embedded in the code of law of the church and state of England.

Thus far for the establishment of tyranny in the gross, and by wholesale, as respects a whole kingdom, from generation to generation. The rest which follows, in violation of the rights of conscience, in an individual instance, is precisely of a like character; and so therefore we shall leave it.

Never came[10] this abjuracyon to the hands of the lorde Cobham, neyther was yt compyled of them for that purpose, but onlye therwith to bleare the eyes of the unlearned multytude. And when they perseyved that polycye wolde not helpe, but made more and more agaynst them, then sought they out another false practyse. They went unto the kynge with a most grevouse complaynte, lyke as they did afore in his fathers tyme, that in everye quarter of the realme, by reason of Wycleaves opynions and the sayd lorde Cobham, were wonderfull contencyons, rumours, tumultes, uproars, confederacyons, dyssencyons, divysyons, dyfferences, dyscordes, harmes, slaunders, scysmes, sectes, sedycyons, perturbacyons, perils, unlawfull assemblyes, varyaunces, stryfes, fyghtynges, rebellyouse ruffelynges, and daily insurreccyons. The churche (they sayde) was hated; the dyocesans were not obeyed; the ordynaryes were not regarded; the spirituall offycers, as suffraganes, archdeacons, chauncellors, doctours, commyssaryes, offycyals, deans, lawers, scrybes, and sommeners were every where despysed; the lawes and lyberties of holye churche were troden under fote; the Christian fayth was ruynouslye decayed; Gods servyce was laughed to scorne; the spirituale jurisdiccyon, auctoryte, honour, power, polycye, lawes, rytes, ceremonyes, curses, keyes, censures, and canonycall sanccyons of the churche were had in an uttre contempt: so that all in a maner was come to nought.

And the cause of this was, that the heretyques and lollars of Wycleaves opynyon, were suffered to preache abrode so boldelye, to gather conventycles unto them, to kepe scoles in mennys houses, to make bokes, compyle treatyses, and wryte balettes, to teache pryvatelye in angles and corners, as in wodes, feldes, medowes, pastours, groves, and in caves of the grounde. This wolde be (they sayde) a destruccyon to the common welthe, a subversyon to the lande, and an uttre decaye of the kynges estate ryall, yf remedye were not sought in tyme. And this was theyr polycye to cople the kynges auctoryte with that they had done in theyr former counsell of craft, and so to make yt therby the strongar: for they perseved themselves verye farre too weake els, to followe agaynst theyr enemyes that they had so largelye enter-

[10] *Never came.*] That which follows, from this place to the end, being not equally full, or well-told in Fox, is taken from Bale's *Brefe Chronycle.*

prysed. Upon this complaynt the kynge immedyatelye called a parlament[1] at Leycestre. It might not in those dayes be holden at Westmynstre, for the great fame that the lorde Cobham had both in London, and abought the cyte. In the seyd parlament the kynge made this most blasphemouse and cruell acte, to be as a lawe for ever: That whatsoever they were that shulde reade the Scripturs in the mother tonge (which was then called Wycleves learnyng) they shuld forfeit lande, cattele, bodye, lyfe, and goodes from theyr heyrs for ever, and so be condemned for heretyques to God, enemyes to the crowne, and moste errande trayters to the lande.

Besydes this, yt was enacted that never a sanyctwarye nor pryveyleged grounde within the realme should holde them, though they were styll permytted both to theves[2] and mourtherers. And yf in case they wolde not give over, or were after theyr pardon relapsed, they shulde suffre death in two maner of kyndes. That is, they shulde fyrst be hanged for treason agaynst the kynge, and then be burned for heresye agaynst God, and yet neyther of both commytted. The begynnynge of that acte[3] is this: *Pro eo quod magni rumores*, &c. Anon after was yt proclaymed through out the realme: and than had the bysshoppes, prestes, monkes, and fryers a worlde somewhat to theyr myndes. For than were many taken in dyverse quarters, and suffered most cruell death. And manye fledde out of the lande into Germanye, Boheme, Fraunce, Spayne, Portyngale, and into the wolde of Scotlande, Wayles, and Irelande, workynge there manye marvyls agaynst theyr false kyngedome, too longe to wryte.

In the Chrystmas folowynge was syr Roger Acton, knight, mastre Johan Brown, esqr. syr John Beverlaye[4], a learned

[1] *Called a parlament.*] April 30, 1414. 1 *Parl. Hist.* 324.

[2] *Both to theves.*] Thus Wickliffe complains, "that great houses of religion, as Westminster, Beverly, and other chalengen, usen and maynteynen this priviledge, that whatever thief or felon come to this holy house of religion, he shall dwell there all his lyfe, and no man impeach him, though he owe poor men much goods, and have enough to paye it; and though he rob and slay every night many men out of the franchises, and every day come agen, he shall be meynteyned thereto by virtue of this open heresie." Lewis's *History of Wickliffe*, p. 351. Compare Works of Sir Thomas More, p. 47. Blackstone's *Commentaries*, b. iv. c. 26.

[3] *The begynnynge of that acte.*] The Act is printed intire by Fox, p. 524, 525. But, in several particulars, it does not correspond with this description.

[4] *Syr John Beverlaye.*] "Such priests as have the addition *Sir* (says Fuller,

preacher, and dyverse other more attached for quarrellynge with certen prestes and so impresoned. For ale menne at that tyme coude not pacyentlye suffre theyr blasphemouse bragges.

The complaynte was made unto the kynge of them, that they had made a great assemblye in saynct Gyles felde at London, purposynge the destruccyon of the lande, and the subversyon of the common welthe. As the kynge was thus informed, he erected a banner (sayth Walden) with a crosse thereupon (as the pope doth commonlye by his legates, when he pretendeth to warre agaynst the Turke) and with a great numbre of menne entred the same felde, whereas he founde no soche companye: yet was the complaynt judged true, bycausse the bysshoppes had spoken yt at the infourmation of theyr prestes. All this hath Thomas Walden in dyverse of his workes, whych was at the same tyme a whyght or carmelyte fryre, and the kynges confessour: and partlye it is touched both by Robert Fabyane, and by Polydorus Vergilius, in theyr Englyshe chronycles, but not in all poyntes rightlye. In the meane season, syr Johan Oldcastele, the lorde Cobham, escaped out of the Tower of London in the nyght, and so fledde into Walys [5], where as he continued more than four years after.

Some wryters have thought this escape to come by the seyd syr Roger Acton, and other gentylmenne in dyspleasure of the prestes, and that to be the chefe occasyon of theyr deathes, which myght well be, but Walden doth not so uttre yt, which regned the same selfe tyme. In Januarye next followynge was the afore named syr Roger Acton, master Johan Browne, syr Johan Beverlaye, and thirty six more (of whom the more parte were gentyll menne of byrthe), convicted of heresye by the byshoppes, and condemned of treason by the temporalte, and

in his History of Abbies, p. 352) before their Christian name, were men *not graduated* in the university, being in *Orders* but not in *Degrees*." But according to other authorities, Sir was "a common title given formerly to clergymen of all degrees. See Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. vi. p. 86; and the Dramatis Personæ of many of Shakespeare's plays." Lowth's *Life of William of Wykeham*, p. 132. edit. 2d. Of a more recent date it has usually been appropriated to the degree of Batchelor. "*Sir* Barwick (to give him the stile of his degree) was deputed by the rest of his collegians." Barwick's *Life of Dr. John Barwick*, p. 12.

[5] *Fledde into Walys.*] Where, as we have seen, he had been chiefly employed before his marriage with Dame Joane Hawberk, and where in all probability his personal influence was great.

accordinge to the acte, were first hanged and than brente in the seyde saynct Gyles Felde. In the same yeare also was one Johan Claydon, a skynner, and one Richard Turmyne, a baker, both hanged and brente in Smythfelde by that vertuouse acte; besydes that was done in all other quarters of Englande, which was no small nombre yf yt were now thoroughlye knowen.

The latter Empresonynge and Death of the Lorde Cobham.

In the yeare of oure Lorde one thousand four hundred and fifteen, died Thomas Arrundell, which had beene archebyshoppe of Canterburye more than thirty two years, to the great destruccyon of Christen beleve. Yet dyed not his prodygyouse tyrannye[6]

[6] *His prodygyouse tyrannye.*] We borrowed above from Lewis, a recital of archbishop Arundel's achievements of this nature. (See note on Thorpe's *Examination*, p. 272, 3.) The narrative will not be complete without subjoining in this its proper place, the description of his successor Chicheley's performances, intended to supply what was found wanting to the complete efficiency of the work of Arundel.

"That these hated and persecuted men might no where be sheltered, but that all persons might deny them succour, archbishop Chicheley two years after the act of 2 Henry V." (described in the same note above-mentioned,) "in a convocation held at London, made a constitution, which he sent to the bishop of London, and his other suffragans to be put in execution; wherein he 'enjoined all suffragans and archdeacons in the province of Canterbury, with their officials and commissaries in their several jurisdictions, *diligently to inquire twice every year after persons suspected of heresy;* that where any reputed heretics were reported to dwell, *three or more of that parish should be obliged to take an oath* that they would certify in writing to the suffragans, archdeacons, or their commissaries what persons were heretics, or who kept private conventicles, or who differed in life and manners from the common conversation of the faithful, or who asserted heresies or errors, or who had any suspected books written in the vulgar English tongue, or who received, favoured, or were conversant with any persons suspected of errors or heresies. That the diocesans, upon information, should issue out process against the accused persons, and deliver them over to the secular court, or commit them to perpetual or temporary imprisonment, as the nature of the case required, at least until the sitting of the next convocation.'

"This was a most effectual way to ruin the poor Wickliffites. For now *an inquisition* was set up in every parish, and men were set at variance against their own fathers and mothers, and nearest relations: so that often a man's greatest foes were those of his own household and blood. Accordingly we find too frequent instances upon record, of the brother detecting the brother and sister, the husband the wife, the sons their own father and mother, the

with him, but succeded with his office in Henrye Chycheleye, and in a great sorte more of that spightfule spiritualte. For theyr malyce was not yet setled agaynst the goode lorde Cobham. But they confedered with the lorde Powys (which was at that tyme a great governour in Walys), fedynge him with lordlye gyftes and promyses to accomplyshe theyr desyre. He at the last thus monyed with Judas, and outwardlye pretendynge him great amyte and favour, most cowardlye and wretchedlye toke him, and in conclusyon so sent him up to London[7], where as he remayned a moneth or two imprysoned agayne in the Tower. And after longe processe they condemned him agayne of heresye and treason by force of the afore named acte, he renderynge thankes unto God, that he had so appoynted him to suffre for his names sake.

And upon the daye appoynted, he was broughte out of the Tower with his armes bounde behynde him, havynge a verye cheerefull countenaunce. Than was he layd upon an hardle, as though he had bene a most heynouse traytour to the crowne, and

servants their mistresses, and parents their own children." Lewis's *Life of Wickliffe*, p. 134, 5. edit. 1820, chap. 7.

And what, may we not now well ask, could be the prospects and condition of a country, in all the mighty interests of truth, religion, virtue, and piety, in public or private life, so long as these things were to bear sway in the land?

[7] *Sent him up to London.*] Of this part of the story the account is told more fully in Fox. "Being committed to the Tower, he escaped afterwards, and was in Wales about the space of foure yeares. In the which mean time a great summe of money was proclaimed by the king to him that could take the said Sir John Oldcastle, either quicke or dead. About the end of which foure yeares being expired, the Lord Powes, whether for love and greedinesse of the money, or whether for hatred of the true and sincere doctrine of Christ, seeking all maner of waies how to play the part of Judas, at length obtained his bloodie purpose, and brought the Lord Cobham bound up to London; which was about the yeare of our Lord 1417, and about the month of December; at which time was a parliament assembled at London. The records of which parliament doe thus say: that on Tuesday the 13th day of December, sir John Oldcastle, of Cowling, in the countie of Kent, knight, being outlawed in the King's Bench, and excommunicated before by the archbishop of Canturburie for heresie, was brought before the Lords, and having heard his said convictions, answered not thereto in his excuse. Upon which record and processe, it was adjudged, that hee should be taken as a traitor to the king and the realme; that he should be carried to the Tower of London, and from thence drawen through London unto the new gallowes in Saint Giles without Temple Barre, and there to be hanged, and burned hanging." Fox's *Acts*, p. 591.

so drawne forth into saynct Gyles Felde, where as they had set up a newe payre of gallowes. And as he was comen to the place of execution and was taken from the hardle, he fell down devoutlye upon his knees, desyerynge almyghtye God to forgeve his enemys. Than stode hee up and behelde the multytude, exhortynge them in most godlye maner, to followe the lawes of God wrytten in the Scripturs, and in anye wise to beware of soche teachers as they se contrarye to Christ in theyr conversacyon and lyvynge, with manye other specyall counsels. Than was he hanged up there by the myddle in cheanes of yron, and so consumed alyve in the fyre, praysynge the name of God, so longe as his lyfe lasted. In the ende he commended his sowle into the handes of God, and so departed hens most christenlye, his bodye resolved into ashes.

And this was done in the yeare of oure Lorde one thousand four hundred and eighteen, which was the sixt yeare of the regne of kynge Henrye the fyft, the people there present shewinge great dolour. How the prestes that time fared, blasphemed, and cursed, requyryinge the people not to praye for him, for that he departed not in the obedyence of theyr pope, yt were too long to wryte.

This terryble kynde of deathe, with galowes, cheanes, and fyre, apereth not very precyouse in the eyes of menne that be carnall, no more than did the deathe of Christ, when he was hanged up amonge theves. *The righteous seemeth to dye* (sayth the wise manne) *in the syghte of them which are unwyse, and theyr end is taken for verye destruccyon. Ungodlye foles thynketh theyr lyves verye madnesse, and theyr passage hens without all honour. But though they suffre payne before menne* (sayth he), *yet is theyr expectation full of immortalyte. They are accounted for the chyldren of God, and have theyr just porcyon amonge the sayncte. As golde in the fornace doth God trye his electes, and as a most pleasant brent offerynge receyveth he them to rest. The more harde the passage be, the more glorioust shall they apere in the latter resurreccyon. Not that the afflictyons of this lyfe are worthye of soche a glorye, but that it is Gods heavenlye pleasure so to reward them. Never are the judgements and wayes of menne lyke unto the judgements and wayes of God, but contrayre evermore, unlesse they be taught of him. In the latter time* (sayth the Lorde unto Daniel) *shall manye be chosen proved and puryfyed by fyre, yet shall the ungodlye live wickedly styll, and have no understandynge that is of faythe.*

By an angel from heven was Johan ernestlye commanded to wryte, that *blessed are the dead which hence departeth in the Lorde.* —*Ryghte dere* (saythe David) *in the sight of God is the dethe of his true servauntes.*

Thus resteth this valeaunt Christen knyghte Syr Johan Oldcastele, undre the aultre of God (which is Jesus Christ), amonge that godlye companye, which, in the kyngedome of patyence, suffred great tribulacyon with the deathe of theyr bodyes for his faythfull worde and testimonye, abydynge there with them the fulfyllynge of theyr whole nombre, and the full restauracyon of his electes. The which He grant in effect at his tyme appoynted, which is one God eternall! Amen.

SUPPLEMENTARY EXTRACTS.

INVENTION OF PRINTING—CHAUCER AND GOWER—PROGRESS OF REFORMATION AND OF PERSECUTION, &c.—MARTIN LUTHER.

How admirable are the ways of Providence! and how illustrious was its present dispensation! It directed the independent, the various, and the contrary revolutions of *these times*, to rectify the mischiefs occasioned by the *past:* whereby that very learning, which, in the first ages had been perverted to corrupt Christianity, was now employed to purify and restore it: that very philosophy which had been adopted to explain articles of faith, was now studied only to instruct us in the history of the human mind, and to assist us in developing its faculties, and regulating its operations: and those very systems, which had supported the whole body of school divinity, now afforded the principles proper to overturn it.

Bishop Warburton.

THE

BENEFIT AND INVENTION OF PRINTING.

In following the course, and order of yeeres, wee find the yeere of our Lord 1450, to be memorable, for the divine and miraculous invention of printing. Nauclerus [1], and Wymselingus [2] following him, referre the invention thereof to the yeere, 1440. In Paralip. Abbatis Urspergensis [3], it is recorded this facultie to be found, an. 1446. Aventinus [4] and Zieglerus [5] doe say, anno 1450. The first inventer thereof (as most agree) is thought to be a German, dwelling first in Argentine [6], afterwards citizen of Mentz, named John Faustus, a goldsmith. The occasion of this invention

[1] *Nauclerus.*] John Vergen, called *Nauclerus*, in his *Memorabilium Chronici Commentarii*, vol. ii. fol. 282, ed. Tubingen: Th. Anshelmi, 1516. The text of this edition was revised by Melancthon, who was then a corrector of the press in the printer's office.

[2] *Wymselingus.*] Jacobus Wimphelingius; in chap. lxv. of his *Epitome Rerum Germanicarum*, written in 1502, and printed at Strasburg in 1505.

[3] *Paralip. Abbatis Urspergensis.*] Fox must here allude to Schoeffer's own narrative of the invention of printing, preserved by John of Trittenheim *(Trithemius)*, abbot of St. James at Würtzburg, in his *Annales Hirsaugienses*, vol. ii. p. 421.

[4] *Aventinus.*] John Thurmaier, called *Aventinus* from his native place, Abensberg, in Bavaria. See his *Annalium Boiorum libri septem. Basil.* 1580. ad an. 1453, and the *Documenta et Testimonia Typographica*, appended to Ger. Meerman's *Origines Typographicæ*, ed. 1765.

[5] *Zieglerus.*] John Ziegler, a well-known theological and mathematical writer, who died at Passau in 1549. See Schelhorn's *Amœnitates Hist. Eccl. et Lit.* vol. ii. The passage will probably be found in Ziegler's *Encomia Germaniæ*, printed in the collection intituled, *Germanicarum Historiarum Illustratio*, ed. 1542.

[6] *Argentine, i.e.* Strasburgh.

first was by his engraving the letters of the alphabet in metal: who then laying blacke inke upon the metall, this gave the forme of letters in paper. The man being industrious and active, perceiving that, thought to proceed further, and to prove whether it would frame as well in words, and in whole sentences, as it did in letters. Which when he perceived to come well to passe, hee made certaine other of his counsell, one John Guttemberge[7] and Peter Schaffard, binding them by their oth, to keepe silence for a season. After ten yeeres, John Guttemberge compartner with Faustus, began then first to broche the matter at Strausborough. The art being yet but rude, in processe of time, was set forward by inventive wits, adding more and more to the perfection thereof. In the number of whom, John Mentell, John Prus, Adolphus Ruschius, were great helpers. Ulricus Han, in Latine called Gallus, first brought it to Rome. Whereof the epigram was made:

> Anser Tarpeii custos, vigilando quod alis
> Constreperes, Gallus decidit; ultor adest
> Ulricus Gallus, ne quem poscantur in usum,
> Edocuit pennis nil opus esse tuis.

Notwithstanding, what man soever was the instrument, without all doubt God himselfe was the ordainer and disposer thereof, no otherwise, than he was of the gift of tongues, and that for a similar purpose. And well may this gift of printing be resembled to the gift of tongues: for like as God then spake with many tongues and yet all that would not turne the Jewes; so now, when the holy Ghost speaketh to the adversaries in innumerable sorts of bookes, yet they will not be converted, nor turne to the gospell.

To what end and purpose the Lord hath given this gift of printing to the earth, and to what great utility and necessity it serveth, it is not hard to judge, who-so wisely perpendeth both the time of the sending, and the sequel which thereof ensueth.

And first, touching the time of this faculty given to the use of man, this is to be marked: that when as the bishop of Rome with all the whole and full consent of his cardinals, patriarkes,

[7] *Guttemberge.*] Meerman's *Origines Typographicæ* and Panzer's *Annales Typographici*, will supply all the information which a reader can desire on the subject of early printing and printers.

archbishops, bishops, abbats, priors, lawyers, doctors, provoses, deanes, archdeacons, assembled together in the councell of Constance, had condemned poore John Hus, and Hierome of Prage, to death for heresie, notwithstanding they were no heretickes; and after they had subdued the Bohemians, and all the whole world under the supreme authority of the Romish see; and had made all Christian people obedienciaries and vassals unto the same, having (as one would say) all the world at their will, so that the matter now was past not onely the power of all men, but the hope also of any man to be recovered: in this very time so dangerous and desperate, where mans power could do no more, there the blessed wisdome and omnipotent power of the Lord began to worke for his church, not with sword and target to subdue his exalted adversary, but with printing, writing, and reading, to convince darkness by light, errour by truth, ignorance by learning. So that by this meanes of printing, the secret operation of God hath heaped upon that proud kingdome a double confusion. For whereas the bishop of Rome had burned John Hus before, and Hierome of Prage, who neither denied his transubstantiation, nor his supremacie, nor yet his popish masse, but said masse, and heard masse themselves; neither spake against his purgatorie, nor any other great matter of his popish doctrine, but onely exclaimed against his excessive and pompous pride, his unchristian or rather antichristian abomination of life: thus while he could not abide his wickednesse onely of life to be touched, but made it heresie, or at least matter of death, whatsoever was spoken against his detestable conversation and manners, God of his secret judgement, seeing time to helpe his church, hath found a way by this faculty of printing, not only to confound his life and conversation, but also to cast downe the foundation of his standing, that is, to examine, confute, and detect his doctrine, lawes, and institutions most detestable, in such sort, that though his life were never so pure, yet his doctrine standing as it doth, no man is so blind but may see, that either the pope is antichrist, or else that antichrist is neere cosin to the pope: and all this doth, and will hereafter more and more appeare by printing.

The reason whereof is this: for that hereby tongues are knowne, knowledge groweth, judgement encreaseth, bookes are dispersed, the Scripture is seene, the doctours be read, stories be opened, times compared, truth discerned, falshood detected, and with finger pointed out, and all (as I said) through the benefit of

printing. Wherefore I suppose. that either the pope must abolish printing [8], or he must seeke a new world to reign over: for else, as the world standeth, printing doubtlesse will abolish him. But the pope, and all his college of cardinalls, must this understand, that through the light of printing, the world beginneth now to have eyes to see, and heads to judge. He cannot walke so invisible in a net, but he will be spied. And although through might he stopped the mouth of John Hus before, and of Hierome, that they might not preach, thinking to make his kingdome sure; yet in stead of John Hus and other, God hath opened the presse to preach, whose voice the pope is never able to stop with all the puissance of his triple crowne. By this printing, as by the gift of tongues, and as by the singular organe of the Holy Ghost, the doctrine of the gospell soundeth to all nations and countries under heaven: and what God revealeth to one man, is dispersed to many; and what is knowne in one nation, is opened to all.

The first and best were for the bishop of Rome, by the benefit of printing, to learne and know the truth. If he will not, let him well understand, that printing is not set up for nought. To strive against the streame, it availeth not. What the pope hath lost since printing and the presse began to preach, let him cast his counters. First, when Erasmus wrote, and Frobenius printed, what a blow thereby was given to all friers and monkes in the world! And who seeth not, that the pen of Luther following after Erasmus and set forward by printing, hath set the triple crowne so awry on the popes head, that it is like never to be set straight againe?

Brieflie, if there were no demonstration to leade, yet by this one argument of printing, the bishop of Rome might understand the councell and purpose of the Lord to worke against him, having provided such a way in earth, that almost how many printing presses there be in the world, so many blocke-houses there be against the high castle of saint Angell [9]: so that either

[8] *Must abolish printing.*] So preached the vicar of Croydon in king Henry the VIIIth's days, at St. Paul's Cross, saying, either we must root out printing, or else printing will root out us.—Fox.

[9] *High castle of saint Angell.*] "The castle of saint Angelo standeth on the banke of Tyber, in maner cleane without the towne; excellently wel builded and strong, and after most men's opinions is *impregnable, unlesse it be by famine.* Oftentymes the bishop hym selfe lieth in it, and kepeth his courte there."—*Historie of Italie,* by William Thomas, 1549. 4to. fol. 41.

the pope must abolish knowledge and printing, or printing at length will roote him out. For if a man wisely consider the holde and standing of the pope, thus hee may repute with himselfe, that as nothing made the pope strong in time past, but lacke of knowledge and ignorance of simple Christians: so contrariwise, now nothing doth debilitate and shake the high spire of his papacie so much as reading, preaching, knowledge, and judgement, that is to say, the fruit of printing. Whereof some experience we see already, and more is like (the Lord before) to follow. For although, through outward force and violent cruelty, tongues dare not speake, yet the hearts of men daily (no doubt) bee instructed through this benefit of printing. And though the pope both now by cruelty, and in times past by ignorance, had all under his possession; yet neither must he thinke, that violence will alwaies continue, neither must he hope for that now which he had then; forsomuch as in those former daies, bookes then were scarce and also of such excessive price, that few could attain to the buying, fewer to the reading and studying thereof; which bookes now by the meanes of this art, are made easie unto all men. Ye heard before how Nicolas Belward, bought a New Testament in those daies for foure markes and fortiepence, whereas now the same price will serve well fortie persons with so many bookes [1].

Moreover, it was noted and declared by the testimony of Armachanus, how for defect of bookes and good authors, both universities were decayed and good wits kept in ignorance, while begging friers scraping all the wealth from other priests, heaped up all bookes [2] that could be gotten, into their owne libraries;

[1] *With so many bookes.*] See Fox's Acts, p. 611. "Archbishop Usher tells us, from the Register of William Alnewick, bishop of Norwich, 1429, quoted by Mr. Fox, that the price of one of Wickliffe's English New Testaments was four marks and forty pence, or 2*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.*"—Lewis's *History of the English Translation of the Bible*, p. 25.

Precisely one hundred years after, the price of the printed copies of Tyndal's New Testament, notwithstanding they were brought from abroad, and could not be sold but at the peril of life, was only three shillings and two-pence.—Strype's *Ecclesiastical Memorials*, vol. i. p. 38. Appendix.

[2] *Heaped up all bookes.*] In the passage referred to, Armachanus (Fitz-ralph, archbishop of Armagh) complains, "that these begging friers, through their priviledges obtained of the popes, to preach, to heare confessions, and to burie; and through their charters of impropriations, did grow thereby to such great riches and possessions, by their begging, craving, catching, and intermedling

where either they did not diligently applie them, or else did not rightly use them, or at least kept them from such as more fruitfully would have perused them.

In this then so great rarity, and also dearth of good bookes, when neither they which could have bookes, would well use them, nor they that would, could have them to use, what marvell if the greedinesse of a few prelats did abuse the blindnes of those daies, to the advancement of themselves: Wherefore almighty God of his mercifull providence, seeing both what lacked [3] in the church,

with church matters, that no booke could stirre of any science, either of divinitie, law or physicke, but they were both able and readie to buy it up. So that every convent having a great librarie full stuffed and furnished with all sorts of bookes, and being so many convents within the realme, and in every convent so many friers, increasing daily more and more, by reason thereof it came to passe, that very few bookes or none at all remained for other students. Which by his owne experience hee thus testifieth, saying, that hee himself sent forth to the Universitie some of his own priests or chaplains, who sending him word againe that they could neither find the Bible, nor any other good profitable booke of divinitie meet for their studie, therefore were minded to returne home to their countrie; and one of them, hee was sure, was returned by this time againe."—Fox's *Acts*, p. 397. In like manner Wickliffe charges the friars, "that they letten *(hinder)* curats to know Gods law, by holding bookes fro them, and withdrawing of their vantages, by which they shulden have books and lerne."—*Treatise against the Friars*, p. 56. And Jack Upland (Chaucer's Works, p. 619. edit. 1687.) expostulates with them, for the same reason, thus: "Freer, what charitie is this, to gather up the bookes of holy write, and put hem in treasorie, and so emprison them from secular priests and curats, and by this cautel let hem to preach the gospel freely to the people without worldly meed, and also to defame good priests of heresie, and lien on hem openly for to let hem to shew Gods law by the holy gospel to the Christian people?" In fact, to make way for themselves, it was necessary to degrade the parochial clergy in the estimation of the people; and to effect this, they were not scrupulous as to the arts and policies which they made use of.

[3] *Both what lacked.*] Some notion may be formed of what deficiencies were to be overcome, when sacred and other learning was confined to manuscripts, and how thankful we ought to be, under the surprising change which God's providence has wrought. From the following interesting anecdote, the ancient possessor of a copy of Wickliffe's *Poor Caitiff (Brit. Mus. MS. Harl.* 2335), expresses himself in a memorandum at the end of the volume, of the nature of a solemn bequest, feelingly and devoutly, as follows:

"This book was made of the goods of John Gamalin, for a common profit, that the person that has this book committed to him of the person that hath power to commit it, have the use thereof for the time of his life, praying for the soul of the same John. And that he that hath this aforesaid use of com-

and how also to remedie the same, for the advancement of his glory, gave the understanding of this excellent art or science of printing, whereby three singular commodities at one time came to the world. First, the price of all bookes diminished. Secondly, the speedy helpe of reading more furthered. And thirdly, the plentie of all good authors enlarged: according as Aprutinus doth truely report:

Imprimit ille die, quantum non scribitur anno.

The presse in one day will doe in printing,
That none in one yeere can doe in writing.

By reason whereof, as printing of bookes ministered matter of reading, so reading brought learning, learning shewed light, by the brightnesse wherof blind ignorance was suppressed, errour detected, and finally Gods glory, with truth of his word advanced. —And thus much for the worthie commendation of printing [4].

mission, when he occupieth it not, leave it for a time to some other person. Also that the person to whom it was committed for the term of life, under the foresaid conditions, deliver it to another the term of his life. And so be it delivered and committed, from person to person, man or woman, as long as the book endureth."—*Writings of Wickliffe*, p. 122—1831.

[4] *Commendation of printing.*] These remarks on the benefits derived from the invention of printing, doubtless, upon the whole, are well founded. It cannot be denied, that the progress of the Reformation, and the efficacy of Christian truth, was expedited surprisingly by that discovery, and by the revival of letters. Still it must not be forgotten that these were weapons, to the use of which the Protestant hand alone was not privileged. Accordingly we find, that ere long the Roman Catholics resorted to the same armoury; and often, not without considerable success. Sir Edwin Sandys, in his *Europæ Speculum, or a Survey of the State of Religion in the Western parts of the World*, has treated this subject at some length. He enumerates certain means, whereby, in the early stages of the Reformation, the Protestants, through their learning, abilities, and zeal, gained great advantages over the opposite party: for instance, by their superiority in preaching, in writing and disputation, in the education of youth, in the dedication of life and fortune to the furtherance of their sacred cause: but he also shows, how, in every case, the Roman Catholics speedily learnt the same lesson, entered into competition with their adversaries, and often with so much industry and skill, and, occasionally with such peculiar advantages and helps, as not unfrequently to have rendered the palm doubtful, and, in his opinion, at times to have enabled particular individuals even to bear away the prize. The whole of Sir Edwin's discussion (as indeed is true of the entire work) well deserves the student's careful perusal, and attentive consideration; and, but for its extent, I should gladly have transferred it to these pages. I must content

myself, however, with borrowing a portion of what he says, merely on the *preaching* and the *writing* (or *printing*) department; that particular topic indeed which belongs more especially to the subject now before us.

"The papacy seems to me very diligently to have considered by what means chiefly their adverse part hath grown so fast beyond either their own expectation, or the fear of their enemies, as in less than an age to have won perhaps a moiety of their empire from them; and those very means to have themselves resolved thenceforward to apply in strong practice on their side also; that so as by a counter-mine, they may either blow up the mines of their adversaries, or at least wise give them stop from any further proceeding: like a politic general, who holdeth it the greatest wisdom, to out-go his enemy in his own devices; and the greatest valour, to beat him at his own weapons.

"The first and chief means whereby the reformers of religion did prevail in all places, was their singular assiduity and dexterity in *preaching*, especially in great cities and palaces of princes (a trade at that time grown clean in a manner out of use and request); whereby the people, being ravished with the admiration and love of that light which so brightly shined unto them, as men with the sun, who are newly drawn from a dungeon, did readily follow those who carried so fair a lamp before them.

"Hereto may be added their publishing of treatises of virtue and piety, of spiritual exercises and devotion; which engendered a firm persuasion in the minds of men, that the soil must needs be pure, sound, and good, from whence so sweet, so wholesome, and so heavenly fruits had proceeded.

"Now though the opinions of the papacy, and of a great part of the reformed religion, be as opposite herein well nigh as heat and cold, or as light and darkness; the one approving no devotions severed from the understanding, the other thinking the understanding to be a means often rather to divert or dazzle the devotion, than to direct and cherish it; and for *preaching*, in like sort, the French Protestants making it an essential and chief part of the service of God; whereas the Romanists make the mass only a work of duty, and the going to a sermon but a matter of convenience, and such as is left free to men's pleasures and opportunities, without imputation or sin:—yet, in regard of the great sway, which they have learned by their loss, that these carry in the drawing of men's minds and affections, they have endeavoured in all places, in both these kinds, to equal, yea and surmount their adversaries. For although in multitude of preachers they greatly come short, being an exercise wherein the secular priests list not to distemper their brains much, but commend it in a manner wholly to the regulars and friers; and these, thinking the country-capacities too blockish, or otherwise not worth the bestowing of so great cost on, do employ themselves wholly in cities, and other places of greater resort; all which they take great care to have competently furnished: yet, in the choice of them whom they send out to preach, in the diligence and pains which they take in their sermons, in the ornaments of eloquence, and grace of action, in their show of piety and reverence towards God, of zeal towards his truth, of love towards his people; which even with their tears they can often testify;—they match their adversaries in their best, and in the rest do far exceed them. But herein the Jesuits do carry the bell from all other; having attained the commendation, and working the effect of as perfect orators as these times do yield. . . Wonderful is the

reputation which redounds thereby to their order, and exceeding the advantage which to their side it giveth.

"For their books of prayer and piety, all countries are full of them at this day, in their own language: both to stop in part the out-cry of their adversaries against them, for imprisoning the people wholly in those dark devotions; and especially to win the love of the world unto them by this more inward and lively show of true sanctity and godliness. Yea, herein they conceive themselves to have so surpassed their opposites, that they forbear not to reproach unto them their poverty, weakness, and coldness in that kind, as being forced to take the Catholics' books to supply themselves therein.

"A third course that much advantaged the Protestants' proceedings was the admirable pains those first Reformers undertook and performed, in translating the Scriptures forthwith into all languages; in illustrating all parts thereof with ample comments; in addressing institutions of Christian religion; in deducing large histories of the church from the foundation to their present times; in furnishing all common places of divinity with abundance of matter; in exact discussing of all controverted questions; and lastly, in speedy reply to all contrary writings;—the greatest part of these labours tending to the justifying of their own doctrine, and to the discovery of the corruption and rottenness of the other; that they might overbear those with the streams of the evidence of *reason*, by the strength of whose *power* they complained to be overborne. But now, there is scarce any one of these kinds of writings (save the translating of the Bible into vulgar languages), wherein the Romanists have not already, or are not like very shortly, either to equal, or to exceed their adversaries: in multitude of works, as being more of them that apply to those studies; in diligence, as having much more opportunities of helps and leisure; in exactness, as coming after them, and reaping the fruits of their travails, though, in the truth, they come short, and in ingenuity (*ingenuousness*), being truth's companion. But as for the controversies themselves, the main matter of all, therein their industry is at this day (A.D. 1599) "incomparable; having so altered the tenures of them, refined the states, subtilized the distinctions, sharpened their own proofs, devised certain, and resolved on other answers or evasions for all their adversaries' arguments, allegations, and replies: yea, they have differences to divert their strongest oppositions, interpretations to elude the plainest texts in the world, circumstances and considerations to enforce their own silliest conjectures; yea, reasons to infuse life into their deadest absurdities; as in particular, a very just case in school learning to justify their popes' grants of many score thousands of years of pardon:—so that in affiance of this furniture, and of their promptness of speech and wit, which by continual exercise they aspire to perfect, they dare enter into combat even with the best of their oppugners, and will not doubt but either to entangle him so in the snares of their own quirks, or at least wise so to avoid and put off his blows with the manifold words of their multiplied distinctions, that an ordinary auditor shall never conceive them to be vanquished, and a favourable one shall report them vanquishers." P. 83, &c. edit. 1673.

CHAUCER AND GOWER.

I THINK it not out of season, to couple also some mention here of Geffrey Chaucer, and John Gower.

Albeit the full certaintie of the time and death of these two, we cannot finde; yet it appeareth in the prologue of Gowers worke intituled *Confessio Amantis*, that he finished it in the 16th. yeare of king Richard the second. In the ende of the viii. booke of the said treatise he declareth, that he was both sicke and olde, when he wrote it; whereby it may appeare, that he lived not long after. Notwithstanding, by certaine verses of the said maister Gower placed in the latter end of Chaucers workes both in Latine and English, it may seeme that he was alive at the beginning of the raigne of king Henry the iiii. and also by a booke which hee wrote to the same king Henry. By his sepulture within a chapell of the church of Saint Mary Overies, which was then a monastery, where he and his wife lie burid, it appeareth by his chaine and his garland of laurell, that he was both a knight, and florishing then in poetry. In the which place of his sepulture were made in his grave-stone 3. bookes, the first bearing the title, *Speculum Meditantis*, The second, *Vox Clamantis*, The third *Confessio Amantis*. Besides these, divers Chronicles and other workes moe he compiled.

Likewise as touching the time of Chaucer, by his owne workes in the end of his first booke of Troylus and Creseide it is manifest, that he and Gower were both of one time, although it seemeth that Gower was a great deale his ancient: both notably learned, as the barbarous rudenes of that time did give; both great friends together, and both in like kinde of study together occupied, so endeavouring themselves, and employing their time, that they excelling many other in study and exercise of good letters, did passe forth their lives here right worshipfully and godly to the worthy fame and commendation of their name. Chaucers workes be all printed in one volume, and therefore knowne to all men.

This I marvaile, to see the idle life of the priests and clergy men of that time, seeing these lay persons shewed themselves in these kinds of liberall studies so industrious and fruitfully occupied: but much more I marvaile to consider this, how that the

bishops condemning and abolishing all maner of English bookes and treatises, which might bring the people to any light of knowledge, did yet authorise[5] the workes of Chaucer to remaine still and to be occupied; who (no doubt) saw in religion as much almost as even we doe now, and uttereth in his workes no lesse, and seemeth to be a right Wiclevian, or els was never any; and that all his workes almost, if they be throughly advised will testifie (albeit it be done in mirth and covertly) and especially the latter ende of his third booke of the Testament of love: for there purely he toucheth the highest matter, that is the communion: wherein except a man be altogether blind, he may espy him at the ful. Although in the same book (as in al other he useth to doe) under shadows covertly, as under a visour, he suborneth truth in such sort, as both privily she may profit the godly minded, and yet not be espied of the crafty adversary: and therefore the bishops belike, taking his works but for jestes, and toies, in condemning other bookes, yet permitted his bookes to be read.

So it pleased God to blind then the eies of them, for the more commodity of his people, to the intent that through the reading of his treatises, some fruit might redound thereof to his church, as no doubt it did to many. As also I am partly enformed of certaine which knew the parties, which to them reported, that by reading of Chaucers works, they were brought to the true knowledge of religion. And not unlike to be true. For to omit other partes of his volume, whereof some are more fabulous than other, what tale can be more planely told then the tale of the ploughman? or what finger can point out more directly the pope with his prelats to be antichrist, than doth the poore Pellican reasoning against the greedy Griffon? under which hypotyposis or poesy, who is so blind that seeth not by the Pellican, the doctrine of Christ, and of the Lollards, to be defended against the church of Rome? Or who is so impudent that can deny that to be true, which the Pellican there affirmeth in describing the presumptuous pride of that pretensed church? Againe, what egge can be more like or fig unto another, than the wordes, properties and conditions of that ravening gripho resembleth the true image, that is, the nature and qualities, of that which we cal the church of Rome, in every point and degree? and therefore no great

[5] *Authorise.*] See Stat. 34 and 35 Henry VIII. cap. i. § 7.

marvaile, if that narration was exempted out of the copies of Chaucers workes; which notwithstanding now is restored againe, and is extant for every man to reade that is disposed.

This Geffrey Chaucer being borne (as is thought) in Oxfordshire, and dwelling in Woodstock, lieth buried in the church of the minster of S. Peter at Westminster, in an Ile on the southside of the said church, not far from the doore leading to the cloister, and upon his grave stone first were written these two old verses:

Galfridus Chaucer vates et fama poesis
Maternæ, hac sacra sum tumulatus humo.

Afterward about the yeere of our Lord 1556. one M. Brickham bestowing more cost upon his tombe did adde thereunto these verses following:

Qui fuit Anglorum vates ter maximus olim,
Galfridus Chaucer conditur hoc tumulo.
Annum si quæras Domini, si tempora mortis,
Ecce notæ subsunt, quæ tibi cuncta notent.
25. Octob. Anno 1400.

PROGRESS OF REFORMATION.

In turning over the registers and records of Lincolne, and comming to the yeere of our Lord 1520. and 1521. I finde, that as the light of the gospel began more to appeare, and the number of the professors to grow, so the vehemence of persecution, and stirre of the bishops began also to increase. Whereupon ensued great perturbation and greevous affliction in divers and sundry quarters of this realme, especially about Buckinghamshire, and Amersham, Uxbridge, Henley, Newbery, in the diocesse of London, in Essex, Colchester, Suffolke and Norfolke, and other parts moe. And this was before the name of Luther was heard of in these countries among the people. Wherefore they are much beguiled and misse informed, which condemne this kind of doctrine now received, of novelty, asking where was this church[6] and religion

[6] *Where was this church.*] See Index, under *Luther, Protestant Religion, where before*: also, *Christian Institutes*, vol. iv. p. 259, 62. (Bishop Taylor.)

forty yeeres agoe, before Luthers time? To whom it may be answered, that this religion and forme of doctrine was planted by the apostles, and taught by true bishops, afterward decaied, and now reformed againe. Although it was not received nor admitted of the popes clergy before Luthers time, neither yet is, yet it was received of other[7], in whose hearts it pleased the Lord secretly

[7] *Received of other.*] Where was your religion before Luther? demanded the Roman Catholic of the Protestant: and the reply which he intended to insinuate or to dictate was, that it was no where. Thus Christopherson, a learned controversialist in Queen Mary's reign, dates its reception in England within the seven years preceding, though in another part of the same work, attributing its rise to Wickliffe, he extends its period to nearly 200 years. But need I say, that this kind of reply is worthy only of the fountain from which it flows? And yet, it is further to be observed, that neither is the kind of answer which Fox is here inclined to indicate, one which we can regard as fully adequate and satisfactory. It partakes too much of an affinity to that, which, in a subsequent part of this collection, we shall find was blamed afterwards in the archbishops, Abbot and Usher; namely, as if they could find no visibility of the Christian church, but by tracing it, as well as they could, from the Berengarians to the Albigenses, from them to the Wickliffites and Hussites, and from them to Luther and Calvin.—No! the student must learn to take up in this question a stronger position, and to assume a bolder tone. Rather, ascending at once above all the intermediate ages, he will answer, in the spirit of one (Sir Henry Wotton), who replied to this same question, "Our religion before Luther was to be found where yours is not to be found *now*,—in the *written word of God*." Yes! that will be the first head of the answer which he will make. And the second will be: "*Where* was our religion?—It was in *the ancient church*. Ours is the faith and practice of the *primitive* ages." And then the only remaining portion of the reply will be, descending downwards with the stream of time, "Our religion was in the catholic church of Christ throughout all ages: so far, that is, as it was not darkened and obscured, and, at times, seemingly almost buried and lost under the abuses and corruptions of popery. But when these had been detected and exposed by Wickliffe and Luther, and Cranmer and Ridley, and the rest of the noble army of martyrs and confessors, foreign and domestic, at the Reformation, and Almighty God, who keeps the times and the seasons in his own power, was then, at length, pleased to arise and scatter his enemies,—the corruptions were cleared away; our religion, the Christian faith, the church catholic, emerged again in its pristine purity and truth, under the name of the protestant churches as we call them (in which the only bad thing—*a necessary evil*—is the name): So, I say, then and there, the religion of Christ emerged from the clouds, behind which it had been obscured; and thus, by God's mercy, it shall continue for ever: or so long at least as men will have the virtue and wisdom to abide steadfastly by its strength and their own: that is, so long as they will cling faithfully to the unerring word of God, the Holy Scriptures, and, for the rest, to primitive

to worke, and that of a great number which both professed and suffered for the same, as in the former times of this history may appeare. And if they thinke this doctrine be so new, that it was not heard of before Luthers time, how then came such great persecution before Luthers time here in England? If these were of the same profession which they were of, then was their cruelty unreasonable, so to persecute their owne catholike fraternity. And if they were otherwise, how then is this doctrine of the gospel so new, or the professors thereof so late start up, as they pretend them to be? But this commeth onely of ignorance, and for not knowing nor considering well the times and antiquities of the church which have been before us. Which if they did, they should see and say, that the church of England hath not lacked great multitudes, which tasted and followed the sweetnesse of Gods holy word, almost in as ample manner, for the number of well disposed hearts, as now. Although publike authority then lacked to maintaine the open preaching of the gospell, yet the secret multitude of true professors, was not much unequall; certes the fervent zeal of those Christian daies seemed much superior to these our daies and times: as manifestly may appeare by their sititng up all night[8] in reading and hearing, also by

antiquity, interpreted and confirmed by scholastic learning, and sober, patient reason, and humble piety."

[8] *Sitting up all night.*] We may easily conceive that these retired and domestic interviews of individuals, often the most lowly and humble, gave birth to some of the most affecting situations that were produced during the whole progress of the Reformation.

"The crimes whereupon he was examined, and confessed, were these: that he had been five times with William Sweeting in the fields keeping beasts, hearing him reade many good things out of a certaine booke. At which reading also were present of one time, Woodroffe, a net-maker, with his wife: also a brother in law of William Sweeting: and another time, Thomas Goodred, who heard likewise the said Thomas Sweeting reade." Fox's *Acts*, p. 748. These meetings occurred more commonly because reading was then a rare accomplishment. To Robert Wisdom it was objected, in the year 1540, among other articles, that he said, "I trust to God to se the day, that maydes will sing the Scripture at their wheels, and plowmen at their plow." To which charge he replied, "I thank God, thorow my Lord Jesu Christ, I have sene that day." Strype's *Ecclesiast. Memorials*, vol. iii. p. 323. Appendix. "In the year 1532, Thomas Harding, about Easter holidaies, when the other people went to the church, tooke his way into the woodes, there solitarily to worship the true living God, in spirit and truth. Where, as he was occupied in a booke of English praiers, leaning or

their expences and charges in buying of bookes in English: of whom some gave five marks, some more, some lesse for a booke. Some gave a load of hay for a few chapters of S. James or of S. Paul in English. In which rarity of bookes, and want of teachers, this one thing I greatly marvel and muse at, to note in the registers, and to consider how the word of truth notwithstanding did multiply so exceedingly, as it did amongst them. Wherein is to be seene no doubt the marvellous working of Gods mighty power. For so I finde and observe in considering the Registers[9], how one neighbor resorting and conferring with another, eftsoones with a few words of their first or second talke, did winne and turne their mindes to that wherein they desired to perswade them, touching the truth of Gods words and his sacraments. To see their travels, their earnest seeking, their burning zeales, their readings, their watchings, their sweet assemblies, their love and concord, their godly living, their faithful marrying with the faithful, may make us now in these our daies of free profession to blush for shame.

sitting upon a stile by the woodes side, it chanced that one did espie him where he was, and came in great haste to the officers of the towne, declaring that hee had seene Harding in the woodes looking on a booke. Whereupon immediatlie a rude rabble of them, like mad-men, ran desperately to his house, to search for bookes; and in searching went so nigh, that under the bords of his floore they found certain English bookes of holy Scripture. Whereupon this godly father with his bookes, was brought before John Longland, bishop of Lincolne." Fox's *Acts*, p. 896. The event was that he was burnt, as a relapsed heretic. Such as died in prison, we are told, were wont to be thrown out to dogs and birds, as unworthy of Christian burial. "And yet, all this their mercilesse commandement, notwithstanding, some good men there were, which buried those commonly who were thrown out in like sort, whom they were wont privily by night to cover; and many times the archers in the fields standing by, and singing together psalmes at their buriall." Fox's *Acts*, p. 1629.

[9] *In considering the Registers.*] He means the bishops' registers; in which, among the other affairs of their dioceses, the proceedings against heretics are recorded.—To these volumes generally, Fox, by favour of the several prelates after the Reformation, enjoyed free access; and it is from them, that a very large portion of his materials is habitually and faithfully derived. In such cases then his history must be regarded as of unimpeachable authority: at any rate, (as it is material to observe,) those records, and those parts of the history, being not the work of friends, but of enemies, they can on no pretence be regarded as too favourable or partial to the Protestant cause. Nor have the Romanists, with all the pains they have taken, been able to exhibit any material deviation from uniform fidelity and care.

Foure principall points they stood in against the church of Rome; in pilgrimage, adoration of saints, in reading scripture bookes in English, and in the carnall presence of Christs body in the sacrament.

After the great abjuration under William Smith bishop of Lincolne, they were noted and termed among themselves by the name of *knowne men, or just fast men;* as now they are called by the name of *Protestants.*

As they were simple, and yet not uncircumspect in their doings, so the crafty serpent being more wily than they, by fraudulent subtilty did so circumvent them, that they caused the wife to detect the husband[1], the husband the wife; the father the daughter, the daughter the father; the brother to disclose the brother, and neighbor the neighbor. Neither were there any assemblies nor readings kept, but both the persons and also the bookes were knowne: neither was any word so closely spoken, nor article mentioned, but it was discovered. So subtilly and sleightly these catholike prelats did use their inquisitions and examinations, that nothing was done or said among these *knowne men*, fifteen or twenty yeeres before, so covertly, but it was brought at length to their intelligence. Such captious interrogatories, so many articles and suspitions they had, such espials and privy scouts they sent abroad, such authority and credit they had with the king, and in the kings name; such diligence they shewed in that behalfe, so violently and impudently they abused the booke of the peaceable Evangelists, wresting mens consciences upon their oth, swearing them upon the same to detect themselves, their fathers and mothers, and other of their kindred, with their friends and neighbors, and that to death. All which things in the further processe (Christ willing) shall appeare.

And although there was no learned man with them to ground them in their doctrine, yet they conferring and communing together among themselves, did convert one another, the Lords hand working with them marvellouslie: so that in short space,

[1] *The wife to detect the husband.*] Nor were these the extreme limits of the barbarities exercised. In the reign of king Henry VII. in the year 1506, one William Tilsworth was burned. At which time, Joan Clerke, being a married woman, and only daughter of the said William, and *a faithful woman* (that is, one attached to the new opinions), was compelled with her own hands to set fire to her father. At the same time her husband, John Clerke, did penance at the father's burning, and bare a faggot Fox's *Acts*, p. 710. See also, p. 766.

the number of these *knowne* or *just fast men* (as they were then termed) did exceedingly increase; in such sort, that the bishop seeing the matter almost past his power, was driven to make his complaint to the king, and required his aide for suppression of these men. Whereupon king Henry being then young, and unexpert in the bloudie practises and blind leadings of these apostolicall prelats, incensed with his suggestions and cruell complaints, directed downe letters to his sheriffes, bailifs, officers, and subjects for the aide of the bishop in this behalfe: the tenor of which letters heere insueth.

" Henry the VIII. by the grace of God, king of England and of France, lord of Ireland, defender of the faith: to all maiors, sheriffes, bayliffes, and constables, and to all other our officers, ministers, and subjects, these our letters hearing or seeing, and to every of them, greeting. Forasmuch as the right reverend father in God our trusty and right welbeloved counseller the bishop of Lincolne, hath now within his dioces no small number of heretickes, as it is thought, to his no little discomfort and heavines: We therefore being in wil and mind safely to provide for the said right reverend father in God and his officers, that they, ne none of them, shall bodily be hurt or damaged by any of the said hereticks or their fautors, in the executing and ministring of Justice unto the said hereticks accordingly to the lawes of holy church, doe straitly charge and command you and every of you, as ye tender our high displeasure, to be aiding, helping and assisting the said right reverend father in God, and his said officers in the executing of justice in the premisses, as they, or any of them shal require you so to doe, not failing to accomplish our commandement and pleasure in the premisses, as ye intend to please us, and wil answer to the contrary at your uttermost perils. Yeven under our signet at our castle of Windsor, the 20. day of October, the 13. yeere of our raigne."

The bishop thus being armed no lesse with the authoritie of the kings letter then incited with his own fiercenes, foreslaked no time, but eftsoones to accomplish his moody violence upon the poore flocke of Christ, called before him sitting upon his tribunall seat, all in his diocesse[2] which were never so little noted or

[2] *All in his diocesse.*] "In this single diocese, in that one year (1521), above five hundred persons were accused and detected."—Ridley's *Life of Bishop Ridley*, p. 9.

suspected to incline toward those opinions: of whom to such, as had but newly bin taken, and had not before abjured, hee injoyned most strait and rigorous penance. The other in whom he could find any relapse, yea albeit they submitted themselves never so humbly to his favorable courtesie: and though also at his request, and for hope of pardon, they had shewed themselves greater detecters of their brethren, being moreover of him fed and flattered thereunto; yet notwithstanding, contrary to his faire words, and their expectation, he spared not, but read sentence of relapse against them, committing them to the secular arme to be burnt.

The penance enjoyned by this John Longland bishop of Lincolne, was almost uniform and al after one condition, save only that they were severally committed and divided into severall and divers monasteries, there to be kept and found of almes all their life, except they were otherwise dispensed with by the bishop: as for example I have heere adjoyned the bishops letter for one of the said number, sent to the abbey of Ensham, there to be kept in perpetuall penance. By which one, an estimation may be taken of the rest, which were bestowed likewise sunderly into sundry abbeyes, as to Osnay, to Frideswide, to Abingdon, to Tame, to Bissetor, to Dorchester, to Notley, to Ashrige, and divers mo. The copy of the bishops letter sent to the abbat of Ensham, here followeth under written.

The Bishops Letter to the Abbat of Ensham.

" My loving brother, I recommend me heartily unto you: and whereas I have, according to the law, put this bearer R. T. to perpetuall penance within your monasterie of Ensham, there to live as a penitent, and not otherwise; I pray you, and nevertheless, according unto the law, command you to receive him, and see yee order him there accordingly to his injunctions which he wil shew you, if you require the same. As for his lodging he will bring it with him. And his meat and drinke, he may have such as you give of your almes. And if he can so order himselfe by his labour within your house in your busines, whereby he may deserve his meat and drinke, so may you order him, as ye see convenient to his deserts, so that he passe not the precinct of your monasterie. And thus fare you heartily well from my place, &c."

As touching the residue of the penance and punishment inflicted to these men, they do little or nothing disagree, but had one order in them all. The maner and forme whereof in the said bishops register doth proceed in condition as followeth.

Penance injoyned under paine of relapse by John Longland bishop of Lincolne, the nineteenth day of December, an. 1521.

" Imprimis, that every one of them shall upon a market day, such as shall be limited unto them, in the market time, goe thrise about the market at Burford, and then to stand up upon the highest greece of the crosse there a quarter of an houre with a fagot of wood every one of them upon his shoulder, and everie one of them once to beare a fagot of wood upon their shoulders, before their procession upon a Sunday, which shall be limited unto them at Burford, from the quier doore going out, to the quier doore going in, and all the high masse time to hold the same fagot upon their shoulders, kneeling upon the greece afore the high altar there, and every of them to do likewise in their owne parish church, upon such a Sunday as shall be limited unto them: and once to beare a fagot at a generall procession at Uxbridge, when they shall be assigned thereto, and once to beare a fagot at the burning of an heretike, when they shall be monished thereto.

" Also every one of them to fast bread and aile only everie Friday during their life; and every even of Corpus Christi everie one of them to fast bread and water during their life, unlesse sicknesse unfained let the same.

" Also to say every of them every Sunday and every Friday during their life, once our Ladie Psalter, and if they forget it one day, to say as much another day for the same.

" Also they nor none of them, shall not hide their marke [3] upon

[3] *Shall not hide their marke.*] It was a frequent cause of further persecution and trouble to these poor men, that they endeavoured to divest themselves of, or to hide those tokens and brands of heresy which were imposed upon them. One of these impositions was to wear upon the sleeve, or some other part of their upper garments, a piece of coloured cloth, to represent a faggot. Accordingly Fox informs us, that a great and heinous offence counted against them was their leaving off these painted faggots, which they were, at their first abjuring, injoined to wear, as badges, during their lives, or so long as it should please their ordinary to appoint, and not to leave them off upon pain of relapse. Fox, p. 736.

The manner of branding the cheeks is thus described: Their necks were

their cheeke, neither with hat, cap, hood, kerchefe, napkin, or none otherwise, nor shall not suffer their beards to grow past fourteene daies, nor never to haunt againe together with anie suspect person or persons, unlesse it be in the open market, faire, church or common inne or alehouse, where other people may see their conversation.

"And all these injunctions they and every of them, to fulfill with their penance, and every part of the same, under paine of relapse."

And thus have you with the causes the penance also of them which were at this present time abjured. By the which word abjured, is meant that they were constrained by their oth, swearing upon the evangelists, and subscribing with their hand, and a crosse to the same, that they did utterly and voluntarily renounce, detest, and forsake, and never should hold hereafter these, or any other like opinions, contrarie to the determination of the holy mother church of Rome; and further, that they should detect unto their ordinarie, whomsoever they should see, or suspect hereafter to teach, hold, or maintaine the same.

MARTINE LUTHER.

Although it cannot be sufficiently expressed with toung or pen of man, into what miserable ruine and desolation the church of Christ was brought in those latter daies; yet partly by the reading of these stories aforepast, some intelligence may be given to them, which have judgement to mark or eies to see in what blindnes and darknes the world was drowned during the space of these 400. yeeres heretofore and more. By the viewing and considering of which times and histories, thou maiest understand (gentle reader) how the religion of Christ, which only consisteth in spirit and verity, was wholly turned into outward observations, ceremonies and idolatry. So many saints we had, so many gods; so many monasteries, so many pilgrimages. As many churches, so many reliques, forged and feined we had. Againe, so many re-

tied fast to a post, with towels, and their hands holden that they might not stir, and so the iron being hot, was put to their cheeks; and thus bare they the prints and marks of the Lord Jesus about them. Fox, p. 710.

liques, so many lying miracles we beleeved. In steede of the only living Lord, we worshipped dead stockes and stones. In place of Christ immortall, we adored mortall bread. In stead of his bloud, we worshipped the bloud of ducks[4]: how the people were led, so that the priests were fed, no care was taken. In stead of Gods word, mans word was set up. In stead of Christs testament, the popes testament, that is, the canon law: in stead of Paule, the Maister of Sentences tooke place, and almost full possession. The law of God was little read: the use and end thereof was lesse knowne. And as the end of the law was unknowne, so the difference betweene the gospell and the law, was not understanded, the benefit of Christ not considered, the effect of faith not expended. Through the ignorance whereof, it cannot be told what infinit errors, sects and religions crept into the church, overwhelming the world, as with a floud of ignorance and seduction. And no marvell; for where the foundation is not wel laid, what building can stand and prosper? The foundation of all our Christianity is only this; the promise of God in the bloud of Christ his son, giving and promising life unto all that beleeve in him: Giving (saith the Scripture) unto us, and not bargaining or indenting with us. And that freely (saith the scripture) for Christs sake, and not conditionally for our merites sake.

Upon this foundation of Gods free promise and grace first builded the patriarks, kings, and prophets. Upon the same foundation also Christ the Lord builded his church. Upon the which foundation the apostles likewise builded the church apostolicall or catholicall.

This apostolicall and catholicke foundation, so long as the church did retaine, so long it continued sincere and sound: which endured a long season after the apostles time. But after, in processe of yeers, through wealth and negligence crept into the church, so soone as this foundation began to be lost, came in new builders, which would build upon a new foundation, not upon Gods promise and his free grace in Christ Jesus, nor upon free justification by faith, but upon merits and deserts of mens working. And hereof have they planted all these their new devices, so infinit that they cannot well be numbred, as masses, trecenares, dirges, obsequies, mattens and hours, singing service, vigiles,

[4] *Bloud of ducks.*] This alludes to the detection of the imposture of the blood of Hayles. See Index, under *Hayles, blood of.*

midnight rising, barefoot going, fishtasting, lentfast, imberfast, stations, rogations, jubiles, advocation of saints, praying to images, pilgrimage walking, workes of supererogation, application of merits, orders, rules, sectes of religion, vowes of chastity, wilful poverty, pardons, relations, indulgences, pennance and satisfaction, with auricular confession, founding of abbaies, building of chappels, giving to churches: and who is able to recite all their laborious buildings, falsly framed upon a wrong ground, and all for ignorance of the true foundation, which is the free justification by faith in Christ Jesus the sonne of God?

Moreover to note, that as this new found church of Rome was thus deformed in doctrine; so no lesse was it corrupted in order of life and deepe hypocrisie, doing all thinges onely under pretenses and dissembled titles. So under the pretence of Peters chaire, they exercised a majesty above emperours and kings.—Under the visour of their vowed chastity, reigned adultery; under the cloake of professed poverty, they possessed the goods of the temporalty. Under the title of being dead unto the world, they not only reigned in the world, but also ruled the world: under the colour of the keyes of heaven to hang under their girdle, they brought all the states of the world under their girdle, and crept not only into the purses of men, but also into their consciences: they heard their confessions: they knew their secrets: they dispensed as they were disposed, and loosed what them listed: and finally when they had brought the whole world under their subjection, yet did their pride never cease to ascend, neither could their avarice be ever satisfied. And if the example of Cardinall Wolsey and other cardinals and popes cannot satisfie thee, I beseech thee (gentle reader) turne over the booke of the ploughmans tale in Chaucer above mentioned, where thou shalt understand much more of their demeanour, than I have here described.

In these so blind and miserable corrupt daies of darkenesse and ignorance, thou seest good reader (I doubt not) how necessary it was, and high time, that reformation of the church should come; which now most happily and graciously began to worke [5], through

[5] *Began to worke.*] Of the necessity for much reformation, both among the clergy and laity; and in the former, both among the regular and secular orders; and of the rejoicing with which the good bishop heard of the cardinal's intentions to exercise his authority in the reform so much wanted, Strype has given us an interesting letter from bishop Fisher to Wolsey—in the *Ecclesiastical Memorials*, vol. ii. p. 18—20. Records.

the mercifull and no lesse needfull providence of almighty God. Who although he suffered his church to wander and start aside through the seduction of pride and prosperity a long time, yet at length it pleased his goodnesse to respect his people, and to reduce his church into the pristine foundation and frame againe, from whence it was piteously decayed. Whereof I have now consequently to intreat, intending by the grace of Christ to declare how and by what meanes, first this reformation of the church began, and how it proceeded, increasing by little and little into this perfection which now we see, and more I trust shall see.

And herein we have first to behold the admirable worke of Gods wisedom. For as the first decay and ruine of the church, before began of rude ignorance, and lacke of knowledge in teachers; so to restore the church again by doctrine and learning, it pleased God to open to man the arte of printing, the time whereof was shortly after the burning of Hus and Hierome. Printing being opened, incontinent ministred unto the church the instruments and tooles of learning and knowledge, which were good bookes and authors, which before lay hid and unknowne. The science of printing being found, immediately followed the grace of God, which stirred up good wits aptly to conceive the light of knowledge and of judgment; by which light, darkenesse began to be espied, and ignorance to be detected, truth from error, religion from superstition to be discerned, as is above more largely discoursed, where was touched the inventing of printing.

Furthermore, after these wits stirred up of God, followed other more, increasing daily more and more in science, in tongues, and perfection of knowledge; who now were able, not only to discerne in matters of judgement, but also were so armed and furnished with the help of good letters, that they did encounter also with the adversary, sustaining the cause and defence of learning against barbaritie; of verity, against error; of true religion, against superstition. In number of whom, amongst many other here unnamed were, Picus and Franciscus Mirandula, Laurentius Valla, Franciscus Petrarcha, Wesalianus, Reuchlinus, Grocinus, Coletus, Rhenanus, Erasmus, &c. And here began the first push and assault to be given against the ignorant and barbarous faction of the popes pretensed church. Who, after that by their learned writings and laborious travaile, they had opened a window of light unto the world, and had made (as it were) a way

more readie for other to come after; immediately, according to Gods gracious appointment, followed Martine Luther[6], with other after him, by whose ministry it pleased the Lord to worke a more full reformation of his church.

From the first beginning of this whole booke and history hitherto (good reader) thou hast heard of many and sundry

[6] *Followed Martine Luther.*] "When the light of the Gospel was put out, and antichrist ruled and revelled in the temple of God, which is men's hearts and consciences, armed and guarded with the power of emperors, kings, princes, and laws; beyond all men's expectations,—contrary to hope, a poor friar, one man, at that time not the best learned, through the mighty hand of God, and according to his unsearchable decree, was able, not with force and armour, not with bands of men and power, not with favour of princes and prelates, not with any help of man, or favour of the world, to set up the cross of Christ; to pull down the chair of antichrist; to restore God's word; to banish the devil's sophistry; to make of darkness light, of lies truth, of plain foolishness true wisdom; and, as it were another Helena, to find out the cross of Christ hidden in the dunghil of devilish doctrine, covered with the rotten bones of Romish martyrs, sinful saints, and counterfeit confessors." Bishop Aylmer, in Strype's *Life* of him, p. 277, 8. edit. 1701.

I could hardly excuse myself, if I did not subjoin here the finely-drawn character of Luther by Bishop Atterbury:—

"He was a man certainly of high endowments of mind, and great virtues. He had a vast understanding, which raised him up to a pitch of learning, unknown to the age in which he lived: his knowledge in Scripture was admirable; his elocution manly; and his way of reasoning with all the subtilty that those honest plain truths he delivered would bear: his thoughts were bent always on great designs, and he had a resolution fitted to go through with them: the assurance of his mind was not to be shaken or surprised: and that παῤῥησία of his (for I know not what else to call it) before the diet at Worms, was such as might have become the days of the apostles. His life was holy; and, when he had leisure for retirement, severe; his virtues active chiefly, and homiletical, not those lazy, sullen ones of the cloister. He had no ambition but in the service of God: for other things, neither his enjoyment nor wishes ever went higher than the bare conveniences of living. He was of a temper particularly averse to covetousness, or any base sin; and charitable even to a fault, without respect to his own occasions. If among this crowd of virtues a failing crept in, we must remember that an apostle himself has not been irreprovable: if in the body of his doctrine one flaw is to be seen; yet the greatest lights of the church, and in the purest times of it, were, we know, not exact in all their opinions.—Upon the whole, we have great reason to break out in the phrase of the prophet, and say,—'How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of him that bringeth glad tidings?'"

troubles, and much businesse in the church of Christ, concerning the reformation of divers abuses and great errors crept into the same, namely in the church of Rome: as appeareth by the doings of them, in divers and sundry places, whereof mention hath been made heretofore in this said history. For what godly man hath there been within the space of these five hundred yeeres, either vertuously disposed, or excellently learned, which hath not disproved the misordred doings and corrupt examples of the see and bishop of Rome from time to time, unto the comming of this Luther? Wherein this appeareth to me, and may also appeare no lesse to all godly disposed men, to be noted, not without great admiration, that seeing this foresaid Romish bishop hath had great enemies and gainsaiers continually from time to time, both speaking and working, preaching and writing against him, yet notwithstanding never any could prevaile before the comming of this man. The cause whereof, although it be secretly knowne unto God, and unknowne unto men, yet so far as men by conjectures may suppose, it may thus not unlikely be thought; that whereas other men before him, speaking against the pompe, pride, and avarice of the bishop of Rome, charged him only or most specially with examples and maners of life; Luther went further with him, charging him not with life, but with his learning; not with his doings, but with his doctrine; not picking at the rind, but plucking up the roote; not seeking the man, but shaking his seat, yea and charging him with plaine heresie, as prejudicial to and resisting plainly against the bloud of Christ, contrary to the true sense and direct understanding of the sacred testament of Gods holy word. For whereas the foundation of our faith grounded upon the Holy Scripture, teacheth and leadeth us to be justified only[7] by the worthinesse of Christ, and only price of his

[7] *To be justified only.*] Essential as the true doctrine of *justification by faith* is to the deliverance and safety of the individual Christian, and so, by direct consequence, to the emancipation of the whole church collectively, yet this doctrine is not every thing; and it is never to be forgotten, and ought therefore to have been here mentioned by Fox, that there were other great articles, quite as necessary to our entire freedom and rescue, as that which he has so deservedly celebrated. We shall see at greater length below, in a subsequent part of this collection, (see note on Life of Bishop Ridley; or Index, under *Reformation, main points of controversy in,*) that they who understood the matter best, regarded two principal things as "bearing up the whole brunt of the religion that hath been in the world of late time; the one, *the*

bloud, the pope proceeding with a contrary doctrine, teacheth us otherwise to seeke our salvation, not by Christ alone, but by the way [8] of mens meriting and deserving by works: whereupon rose divers sorts of orders and religious sects amongst men, some professing one thing, and some another, and every man seeking his owne righteousnes, but few seeking the righteousnes of him which is set up of God to be our righteousnes, redemption and justification.

Martin Luther therfore urging and reducing things to the foundation and touchstone of the scripture, opened the eies of many, which before were drowned in darknes. Whereupon it cannot be expressed what joy, comfort and consolation came to the hearts of men, some lying in darknesse and ignorance, some wallowing in sinne, some being in despaire, some macerating themselves by works, and some presuming upon their owne righteousnesse, to behold that glorious benefit of the great liberty and free justification set up in Christ Jesus. And briefly to speake, the more glorious the benefit of this doctrine appeared to the world after long ignorance, the greater persecution followed upon the same. And where the elect of God tooke most occasion of comfort and of salvation, thereof the adversaries tooke most matter of vexation and disturbance: as commonly we see the true word of God to bring with it ever dissention and perturbation: and therefore truly it was said of Christ, *That hee came not to send peace on earth, but the sword.* And this was the cause why that after the doctrine and preaching of Luther, so great troubles and persecutions followed in all quarters of the world: whereby rose great disquietnesse among the prelats, and many

mass, and the things thereunto belonging; the other, *the authority of the pope.*"—Meanwhile, with respect to one of these points, it has been well remarked by a modern writer (Dr. Paley); "when the doctrine of transubstantiation had later possession of the Christian world, it was not without the industry of learned men, that it came at length to be discovered, that no such doctrine was contained in the New Testament.—But had those excellent persons done nothing more by their discovery than abolished an innocent superstition, or changed some directions in the ceremonial of public worship, they had merited little of that veneration, with which the gratitude of Protestant churches remembers their services.—What they did for mankind was *this:* they exonerated Christianity *of a weight which sunk it.*"

[8] *By the way.*] The true distinctions between the two churches of England and Rome in this great question, are much more correctly laid down by Hooker in his learned *Treatise of Justification,* Works, vol. iv. Keble's edit.

lawes and decrees were made, to overthrow the same by cruell handling of many good and Christian men. Thus while authority armed with lawes and rigor, did strive against simple veritie, lamentable it was to heare, how many poore men were troubled and went to wracke, some tost from place to place, some exiled out of the land for feare, some caused to abjure, some driven to caves in woods, some wracked with torment, and some pursued to death with fagot and fire.—Of whom we have now (Christ willing) in this history following to entreat.

DEAN COLET.

THE

LIFE[1] OF DEAN COLET:

WRITTEN BY

ERASMUS[2] ROTERODAMUS.

CONTENTS.

1. His birth and parentage —2, 3. His wealth, comeliness, and studies in several countries.—4. He expounds St. Paul's Epistles in Oxford: and thereupon, 5, is made D.D. and dean of St. Paul's Church.—6, 7. Sir Thomas More's judgment of him, and some others, and of a city life.—8. His behaviour in God's house and his own.—9. His garments.—10. How he distributed his church-revenues, and how his own inheritance.—11—13. St. Paul's school built, endowed, and described.—14. His house at Richmond.—15—18. His natural temper subdued by philosophy and religion.—19—24. His opinions.—25, &c. His afflictions.

1. JOHN COLET was born in London, the son of Henry Colet (knight, and twice lord mayor of that city) and Christian his wife; who was a matron of very rare piety and Christian fortitude, whereof I will give but one instance. She had eleven sons,

[1] *The life.*] By Erasmus: from *the Phenix, or a revival of scarce and valuable pieces,* vol. ii. p. 13—26. 8vo. A.D. 1708.

[2] *By Erasmus.*] This life is a compilation, probably by the editor of the Phenix, from various epistles of Erasmus; the greater part from a long letter written to Jodocus Jonas by Erasmus after Colet's death. The edition of Erasmus' Epistles here referred to is that printed in London in 1642, in folio. The best edition will be found in vol. iii. of the complete works of Erasmus printed at Leyden by P. Vander Aa, in 1703. It has the merit of a very copious index.

and as many daughters of the same husband; all which she saw buried, except John who was her first-born. God was pleased to take Sir Henry away, when she was a very old woman. And when she was fourscoure and ten years of age, her countenance was so comely and entire, her behaviour so cheerful and pleasant, that if you had seen her, you would have said, sure she never had any sorrow or any child-bearing in her life: yet, unless my memory fail much, she outlived her son John. So much strength of mind was there even in a woman; caused not by philosophy or human learning, but by sincere piety to God and trust in Christ. A shame for many men!

2. [a] Of these two and twenty children, John being the eldest, was according to the law of England his father's sole heir; whereby he must have inherited a very considerable fortune, though the rest had all lived: but they were all dead when I first began to know him. And nature was as indulgent to him as fortune; for he had a very proper, tall, handsom, and comely body. In his younger days he much addicted himself to the study of scholastical philosophy, and commenced in England master of arts; an honour due not so much to his standing in the university, as his knowledg in the seven liberal sciences: in none whereof he had been then ignorant, in most of them exquisitely learned. All Tully's works were as familiar to him as his epistles. He had read ever Plato and Plotinus so diligently, that when I heard him speak, methought I heard Plato himself talk [b]; and he had a smattering in each part of mathematics.

3. Being thus well principled at home, he began to look abroad, and improve his stock in foreign parts. In France he added to his humanity, what he thought necessary for the study of Divinity: which then he effectually prosecuted in Italy. Amongst the antients he was most taken with Dionysius, Origen, St. Cyprian, St. Ambrose, and St. Hierom: but among them all he most digested St. Augustin. And yet he did not so tie himself to antiquity, but that (as occasion served) he sometimes surveyed Aquinas, Scotus, and other schoolmen. In a word, he was well versed in both laws, and singularly read in history, both civil and ecclesiastical. And because he saw that England had her Dantes and Petrarchs as well as Italy, (who have performed the same here, which they did there,) those and these he both read and

[a] Lib. xv. Epist. 14. p. 702. [b] Lib. v. Epist. 2. p. 309, c.

diligently imitated; accommodating thereby his stile to the pulpit, and preaching of the gospel.

4. After his return from Italy, he stayed not long in London (where his parents lived), but chose to live in Oxford, where he publicly (yet freely and without stipend) expounded St. Paul's Epistles [3], being not full thirty years of age, younger than I was by two or three months. There and then I had the happiness to come first acquainted with him: for though at that time he had neither taken nor desired any degree in divinity, yet there was no doctor whatsoever, either of theology or law, no abbot nor dignified person in the whole university, that did not frequent, and (which is more) take notes of his lectures. Which was to be imputed either to Colet's authority, or their studiousness and modesty;—chuse you whether.

5. But before he left Oxford, they honoured him with the degree of doctor; which he accepted rather to please the givers than himself. From that university and these sacred imployments, he was called back to London by the favour of king Henry VII. who bestowed upon him the deanery of St. Paul's, that *he* might be president of his college, whose epistles and learning he loved so well. He was made both doctor and dean, Ann. 1504 [c]. Of all the deaneries in England this is the highest in esteem, but not of greatest value; which Colet embraced rather as a burdensom charge, than honour. And therefore as soon he had regulated

[3] *St. Paul's Epistles.*] Colet was the first who revived the reading upon the Scriptures at Oxford, about the year 1498, and in St. Paul's about eight years afterwards. About the same time Warner, afterwards rector of Winterton in Norfolk, and George Stafford began to read upon St. Paul's Epistles in the University of Cambridge. Parker's *Antiq. in the Life of Abp. Warham.*

"At this time, (says Dr. Knight, speaking of Colet's institution at St. Paul's,) it was a new thing to have any readings upon the Scriptures. Their readings were ushered in with a *text*, or rather a *sentence of Scotus and Aquinas:* and the *explication* was not trying by the word of God, but by the voice of other scholastic interpreters, and the intricate turns of what they called logic; which was then nothing but the art of corrupting human reason, and the Christian faith. The use and study of the Scriptures was so low at that time, and even in the University of Oxford, that the being admitted a Batchelor of Divinity gave only liberty to read *the Master of the Sentences* (Peter Lombard), and the highest degree of Doctor of Divinity did not admit a man to the reading of the Scriptures." Knight's *Life of Dean Colet*, p. 46, edit. 1823.

[c] Lib. x. epist. 8. p. 512.

his college of Prebends, and raised up the antient discipline that was fallen down, he resolved (which was not usual in those times) to preach every holiday [4] in his cathedral, over and above his sermons at court, and many other churches. At St. Paul's he expounded the Scriptures, not by retail, but by wholesale; running over sometimes a whole epistle [5], sometimes a whole gospel, the

[4] *To preach every holiday.*] "In the time of popery" (says Bp. Burnet, vol. p. i. 316,) "there had been few sermons but in Lent."

"If he speaks of the ancient times of popery," (remarks his animadvertor, Henry Wharton,) "it may be true. But for some time before the Reformation, preaching seems to have been more frequent in England. For Dr. Lichfield, rector of All Saints in Thames Street, London, who died in the year 1447, left behind him 3083 sermons, written with his own hand, and preached at several times by him. All these sermons could not be preached in Lent. After him we have the examples of Bradley the suffragan bishop of Norwich, who died in the year 1492, after he had spent many years in travelling about that diocese, and preaching in it; of Dr. Colet, Dean of St. Paul's, who constantly preached, or expounded the Scriptures, either in his own or in some other church of the city; of Dr. Collingwood, dean of Lichfield, who preached in that cathedral every Sunday for many years together. The practice seemeth not to have been unfrequent long before this time; and in some places to have been commanded to all the parish priests. For in the Constitutions of John de Thoresby, archbishop of York, made about the year 1360, I found a command to all the parochial clergy to preach frequently to their people, and explain to them the articles of faith in the English tongue: and an exhortation directed to the people, 'to heare Goddys service every Soneday with reverence and devocion, and seye devoutly thy *Pater noster*, &c., and heare Goddys lawe taught in thy modyn tonge; for that is bettyr than to heare many massys.'" *Specimen of some errors and defects*, &c., by Anthony Harmer, p. 56, 7. 1693.

[5] *A whole epistle.*] This is in conformity with a practice recommended at a later period, by a good judge of profitable preaching, archbishop Usher. See Bernard's *Funeral Sermon for Archbishop Usher*, p. 83, 4.

"And here let me give you some of his exemplary injunctions. Every Lord's-day he preached in the *forenoon*, never failing but upon sickness; in which he spent himself much. In the afternoon, this was his order to me, that, besides the catechizing of the youth before public prayers, I should, after the first and second lesson, spend about half an hour in a brief and plain opening the principles of religion in the public catechism. First he directed me to go through the creed *at once*, giving but the sum of each article. Then next time *at thrice*. And afterwards, on each time an article, as they might be more able to bear it. And so proportionably of the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, and the doctrine of the Sacraments. The good fruit of which was apparent in the vulgar people, upon their approach unto the communion: when, as by the then order," [N.—this sermon was preached in the time of Cromwell's usurpation, when the discipline of the Church of Eng-

creed or the Lord's Prayer: wheresoever he preached, he was exceedingly followed, both by the chief citizens and courtiers; which appears by this following letter sent him by Sir Thomas More (afterwards lord chancellor of England), which you may see in Stapleton [6].

6. Sir,—I lately met your boy in Cheapside, whom I was very glad to see, chiefly because I thought he had not returned without you. But when he told me that you were not only not come, but not coming; you cannot imagine into what a dump of sadness I fell from an height of joy. For what can be more troublesom to me, than to be deprived of your most sweet company? having been so long used to enjoy your most prudent counsel, to be refresht with your most pleasant society, to be roused with your most grave sermons, and bettered by your excellent example and life: in a word, in whose very countenance and gesture I was wont to be unspeakably delighted. As methought I was strengthened by these things while I had them, so for want of them I seem to languish. And because of late by following you I had almost got out of the jaws of hell, now again like another Euridice (yet by a contrary law, for she fell because Orpheus lookt upon her, but I fall because you do not look upon me) I am carried back by a kind of force and necessity into sad darkness. For what is there in this city that should move any body to live well; and not rather (while he is of his own disposition climbing up the steep hill of vertue) pull him back by a thousand allurements and devices? Which way soever I walk, what do I hear but dissembling and the sugared poisons of flatterers? What do men talk of but quarrels and lawsuits? Which way soever I look, what do I see but alehouses, taverns, cooks, butchers,

land had been overthrown.] "the names of the receivers were to be given in, so some account was constantly taken of their fitness for it: an *exemplary injunction for this age having been too much neglected.* . . . . His order throughout his diocese to the ministers was, to go through the body of divinity once a year, which he had drawn out accordingly into fifty heads." Bernard's *Life and Death of Archbishop Usher, in a Sermon preached* April 17th, 1656, p. 83—85.

[6] *Stapleton.*] In his work intitled, "*Tres Thomæ: seu de S. Thomæ Apostoli rebus gestis.—De S. Thoma Archiepiscopo Cantuar. Martyre.—D. Thomæ Mori vita,*" printed at Douay in 1588, and at Cologne in 1612, in 8vo. It will also be found in H. Holland's edition of Stapleton's works printed at Paris in 1620, folio, vol. iv. p. 992.

fishers, fowlers, and such cattel: who prog for belly-timber, and serve the world, and the devil the prince thereof? I know not how it comes to pass, but methinks the very tops of the houses almost meet sometimes, and take away a good part of the pleasant light; and will not suffer us to look upon heaven freely: so it is not the circumference of the horizon, but the house-top that bounds the air. For which cause I may excuse you the more, if you are not yet weary of the country, where you see people dealing plainly, and not acquainted with the knavery of the city; where which way soever you turn your eyes, the smiling face of the earth pleases, the sweet temper of the air refresheth, and the goodly aspect of the heaven delighteth you. You see nothing there but the bountiful gifts of nature, and some holy footsteps of innocence.

7. But, Sir, I would be loth you should be so far taken with these delights, as to be detained long from us: for if the inconveniences of the city displease you, yet Stepney (of which you should have some care) will be as convenient for you as the place that you are now in; whence you may step into the city (where you have an huge opportunity of doing good) as into an inn. For whereas men in the country are of themselves either almost innocent, or not so abominably bad as they be here; any physician may do good among them. But to this city, both by reason of the multitude of the inhabitants, and the inveterate hold which the diseases of sin have got; a doctor comes to no purpose, unless he be excellently skilled. I confess, some come into your pulpit at St. Paul's sometimes, who promise fair; but when they seem to have made an excellent discourse, their lives differ so much from their words, that they do increase rather than assuage the malady. For they who themselves are sickest of all, will never persuade people, that they are fit to be charged with the care and cure of other folks distempers: which when men feel touched by those whom they see full of ulcers, they cannot but winch, kick, and be angry. But if (as the philosophers say) he be the fittest physician, in whom the sick person hath greatest confidence, doubtless none is more likely than you to cure this whole city. By whom, how willing they are to have their wounds handled; in whom what confidence they put, and how ready they are to obey you, appears sufficiently by the experience you have of them, and the incredible expectation they have of you. Therefore make haste away, my good Colet, either for your town

Stepney's sake, which laments your long absence as much as a child doth his mother's; or for your native country's sake (London) whereof you ought to have as much care as of your parents. In the last, though least place, be moved by your respect to me, who have dedicated my self wholly to you, and do hugely long for your return. Farewell, and still love,

Your very affectionate,

London, Oct. 23. THOMAS MORE.

8. The dean's table, which in former times had under pretence of good housekeeping been too much prostitute to excess, he reduced to frugality. For he kept himself to one meal a day many years together, both before and after his preferment; which at once cut off all his supper guests (late dinners not a few) and the more, because his entertainment (though neat) was neither costly nor excessive, his sitting short, and his whole discourse such as pleased none but those that were either learned or pious. For soon after he had said grace, his boy read a chapter (distinctly and aloud) out of St. Paul's Epistles, or Solomon's Proverbs; from which he himself for the most part pickt the subject of that meal's discourse; asking not only scholars, but even ordinary people (if they were ingenious) what was the meaning of this or that passage. And he so ordered his words, that though he were holy and grave, yet he seemed no whit tedious or supercilious. And at the end of the meal, when their hunger (not pleasure) was satisfyed, he fell upon another subject: thus dismissing his guests, with as much satisfaction to their minds as refreshment to their bodies, desiring they should depart better men than they came, not with bigger bellies. He was hugely delighted with the conference of his friends, who oft kept him till late at night; but all his conference was either of literature or Jesus Christ. If he had no acceptable friend to chat with (for every one did not please him), his boy did read somewhat to him out of godly books. Sometimes he called me to ride abroad with him, and then he was as merry as any man alive; but a good book was always his comrade in his journy, and his talk was continually of Christ.

9. He was so much averse from all filthiness, that he could not endure solecisms or barbarous language. He affected neatness in his houshold stuff, clothes, books, meat; but not magnificence. He wore no garments but black, whereas in England

doctors in divinity, and other eminent clergymen, commonly wear scarlet. His upper garment was always of cloth, plain and without trimming, which in hard frosts he fortified with fur[d]. And he being an eminent advancer of divine philosophy, lent me two very old Latin copies of the New Testament, when I wrote notes upon it, writ in characters that were like Saxon, and indeed so old, that I was forced to turn child again, and begin anew to learn my alphabet, before I could read them.

10. Whatsoever revenues accrued unto him by the church, he intirely committed to his steward, to be distributed, and spent in house-keeping. His own hereditary rents and profits (which were vast) he himself distributed to pious uses. For his father being dead, mony flowed in apace from what was left him by inheritance; and lest that being kept should breed some disease in him, he therewith erected a stately new school[7] in St. Paul's Churchyard, dedicated to the holy child Jesus: whereunto he joined fair dwellings for two school-masters, to whom he assigned liberal stipends, that they might teach gratis, but so as that they should not be enjoined to admit above a certain number, viz. 1538.

11. The whole fabrick he divided into four parts: whereof one (at the entrance) is as it were for the *Catechumeni* (and yet none is admitted till he can read and write), the second for such as are under the usher. The third part is for those whom the upper master teacheth. These two ends are divided by a curtain, which is drawn to and fro when they please. Above the master's chair stands the holy child Jesus, curiously engraven, in the posture of one reading a lecture, with this motto, *Hear him;* which words I advised him to set up. And all the young fry, when they come in and go out of school (besides their appointed prayers) salute Christ with an hymn. At the upper end is a chappel, in which divine service may be said. The whole building hath no corners nor lurking-holes for dunces, having neither chamber nor dining-room in it. Every boy has his proper seat distinguished by spaces of wood, and the forms have three ascents. Every class

[d] Præfat. ad notas in N. T.

[7] *Stately new school.*] Amongst the collections of Bishop Kennett in the British Museum (Bibl. Lansdown, 949), is "A copie of the auncient Statute Book which John Colett delivered to Will. Lillye with his owne hand."

[8] *Viz.* 153.] "Simon Peter went up and drew the net to land full of great fishes, *an hundred and fifty and three:* and for all there were so many, yet was not the net broken." John xxi. 11.

containeth sixteen boys (the two lowest much more) and the best scholar of each sits in a seat somewhat more eminent than the rest, with the word CAPITANEUS engraven in golden letters over his head.

12. The masters of this school do not rashly admit of all that are brought, but choice is made of the most towardly wits and best dispositions; lest in that laborious employment they should toil in vain. For some men in this age are so base (as I told Dr. Colet[e]) as to set those to be scholars, who profess divinity (the chief of all sciences), whom for their dull capacity and bad natures they think scarce fit for any other study. He entreated me[f] to seek out a man whom I thought a fit under-master for this his school (Will Lilly being the first upper master). I enquired in many places, but could hear of none. At length being at Cambridg among some Masters of Arts, I propounded it to them. One of them (and he of no mean esteem) smiling, said, "Who would endure to live in that school among boys, that could make a shift to scrape up a livelihood any where else?" I answered modestly, that it seemed to me a very honest employment to instruct young people in learning and good manners; that Christ did not despise that age; that a man could bestow his pains upon no age better; and in no place expect a better effect or reward of his pains than at St. Paul's school, because it is in the midst of London, and London the chief city of the kingdom; where from all other parts the lines (or gentry and ingenious people) meet as in a center. And I added, that if men were truly pious, they would think that they could no way serve God better than by bringing children to Christ. But he drawing up his nose and scoffing, replied, "If any have a mind to serve Christ, let him go into a monastery or religious house." I answered, that St. Paul placed true religion in the duties of charity; and that charity consisted in doing as much good to our neighbours as we could. He rejected that as sillily spoken: "Behold," quoth he, "we have left all, therein is perfection." I finally told him, that that man hath not left all, who when it is in his power to do good to very many people, shuns the imployment because he thinks it too mean for him.—And so (lest we should have wrangled) I left the man. But you here see the wisdom of the *Scotists*.

[e] Lib. xxxi. epist. 45. p. 2046, g.
[f] Lib. x. epist. 17 and 18. p. 518, f. and 520, e.

13. Our quick-sighted Dr. Colet saw very well, that the main hope and pillar of a commonwealth consists in furnishing youth with good literature, and therefore did he bestow so much care and cost on this school. Tho it stood him in an infinite sum of mony to build and endow it, yet he would accept of no copartner. One left indeed a legacy of 100*l.* sterling to the structure of it; but Colet thinking, that if he took it, some lay-people would challenge to themselves I know not what authority over the school, he did by the permission of his bishop bestow it upon holy vestments for the choir. Yet tho he would suffer no layman to have a finger in the building, he entrusted no clergyman (not so much as the bishop, dean, and chapter of St. Paul) nor any of the nobility, with the oversight of the revenues; but some married citizens of honest report. When he was asked why he would do so, he answered, That there was nothing certain in human affairs; but he found least corruption in such men.

14. As all men highly commended him for his school, so many wondered why he would build so stately an house within the bounds of the Carthusian monastery, which is not far from the palace at Richmond[9]: but he told them, that he provided that seat for himself in his old age, when he should be unfit for labours, or broken with diseases, and so constrained to retire from the society of men. There he intended to philosophize with two or three eminent friends, among which he was wont to reckon me; but death prevented him. For being few years before his decease visited thrice with the sweating sickness[1] (a disease which

[9] *Richmond.*] "In the year 1414, King Henry V. founded, at this place, an house for the maintenance and support of forty monks of the Carthusian order, whom he incorporated by the name of the house of Jesus of Bethlehem at Shene. The foundation charter describes it as built on the north side of his manor-house or palace there; being 3125 feet in length, and 1305 feet 8 inches in breadth. . . . The length of the hall was 44 paces, and the breadth 24: the great quadrangle 120 paces long, and 100 broad: the cloisters a square of 200 paces, and 9 feet in height. Nor was the founder's munificence in the endowment of it, unbecoming the magnificence of the structure itself." . . . "Dr. John Colet, Dean of St. Paul's, and founder of the school there, built him lodgings within these walls, in which, having retired hither on being seized a third time with the sweating sickness, he died 16th September, 1519." Manning and Bray's *History of Surrey*, vol. i. pp. 417. 420. Cardinal Wolsey, after his disgrace, spent a short time in retirement in this monastery, occupying the lodgings built by Colet. See Cavendish's *Life of Wolsey*, in this volume.

[1] *Sweating sickness.*] "As the plague destroyed the French in Italy, the

seized no countrymen but English) though he recovered, yet he thereupon grew consumptive, and so died. One physician thought that the dropsy killed kim; but when he was dissected, they saw nothing extraordinary, only the capillary vessels of his liver were beset with pustles. He was buried in the south side of the choir of his own cathedral, in a low sepulcher, (which he to that end had chose for himself some years before,) with this inscription, JOHN COLET.

15. In the mean while I shall say somewhat, first of his *Nature*, secondly of his paradoxical *Opinions*, and lastly of those *Afflictions* wherewith his ingenuous piety was exercised; for some whereof he might have thanked his own natural temper. For he was of a very high spirit, hugely impatient of any injury, wonderfully prone to lasciviousness, luxury, and overmuch sleep; to jesting and facetiousness above measure (all this he confessed to me himself), and he was not wholly safe from covetousness. But against each of these he fought such a good fight by philosophy, divine contemplations, watching, fasting, and prayer, that he led the whole course of his life free from the infections of this world; and as far as I could any way gather (by familiarity and much liberal converse with him) was a pure virgin to his dying day.

sweating sickness consumed very many in England; it seeming to be but the same contagion of the air, varied according to the clime. It was first known in England, 1486, then 1507, then 1517 (when Colet it seems suffered from it last) and in 1528, when it so raged, as it killed ordinarily in five or six hours space, invading even the king's court, where not only sir Francis Pointz, sir William Compton, and Mr. William Cary (two of the king's bed-chamber) died of it; but the king himself was not without danger." Lord Herbert in Kennett's *Hist. of England*, vol. ii. p. 99. The disease was so peculiar to England that it was known as the *Sudor Britannicus:* some have observed that no stranger in England was touched by this disease, yet the English were chased with it, not only here but in other countries abroad, which made them feared and avoided wheresoever they came. In 1528, however, Germany suffered from it, and the conference at Marpurg between Luther and Zuinglius was, in consequence, broken off. In 1551 it again visited England: amongst others, two sons of Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk, and a daughter of Dudley, duke of Northumberland, were sufferers. An interesting letter from Northumberland to the marquis of Northampton, and Cecil (Burleigh), in which he gives a minute account of the symptoms of his daughter's illness, has been recently found by Mr. Fraser Tytler in the State Paper Office, and has been printed by him in his *Collection of Letters*, vol. ii. p. 115. A treatise on the disease by Dr. Caius, was printed by Grafton in 1552.

All his wealth he distributed to pious uses; of which I have said somewhat already, and shall say more anon.

16. [g] He had an uncle that was a very old ill-conditioned man, with whom he did not agree. The difference between them was not about a trifle, but so vast a sum of mony, that a son might almost have fought with his father about it. Colet being to dine with the Reverend Father in God William archbishop of Canterbury, took me in the boat with him from St. Paul's to Lambeth. All the way he read the Remedy of Anger in my *Enchiridion*, but did not tell me wherefore he read it. When we sat down, it chanced that Colet sat over against his uncle; and there he was very sad, neither speaking a word, nor eating a bit. Now the archbishop[2] had an excellent faculty in such a case (to make every one merry at his table), ordering his discourse according to each man's peculiar temper; so he began to compare our several ages, and then those who sat musing before, fell to chatting: and the uncle (as old men are wont to do) began to brag, that tho he were so far stricken in years, he felt no decay of his strength. After dinner they two had some discourse betwixt themselves; but what I cannot tell. When Colet and I were come back to the boat, he told me that he saw I was a happy man.—I answered, that I wondered why he should call me happy, who thought my self the unhappiest person in the world. Whereupon he told me, that he had been that day so angry with his uncle, that he had almost resolved (breaking all bonds of Christian modesty and natural affection to his kindred) to have sued him openly at law; that for this reason he took my *Enchiridion* in his hand along with him, to read the remedy against anger, and that the reading of it had done him much good; that by that prattle in dinner-time, the bitterness and heat of each was so far allayed, as that when the archbishop stept aside, and they talkt together privately, the whole difference was composed. In a word, Colet did daily so endeavour to conquer all his passions, and subdue the haughtiness of his mind by reason, that he would take it well to be admonished even by a child.

17. Lasciviousness, sleep, and luxury he chased away by abstaining constantly from supper, by continual sobriety, indefatigable study, and holy conferences. But yet when there was occasion,

[g] Lib. xxiii. epist. 5. p. 1206, a.

[2] *The archbishop.*] Warham.

either to discourse with fair ladies, or jest with witty persons, or feast with pleasant, a man might easily perceive some footsteps of his nature, which made him for the most part keep from the society of all lay-people; but especially from banquets, to which when he must needs come, he commonly took with him me or some learned friend, with whom he discoursed in Latin, that he might avoid idle talk. His custom was to eat only of one dish, to content himself with one glass of beer or ale, or two at the most. And tho he was delighted with good wine, yet he drank very little of it; always suspecting his own sanguine complection and inclination, and being very wary of all those things by which he might offend any person whatsoever.

18. In all my life I never saw a more happy wit, and thence it came that he was exceedingly pleased with such wits as were like himself: but at all times when he might chuse his discourse, it was of such things as prepared him for the immortality of a life to come. And when at any time he refreshed himself with pleasant stories, he did not fail to make use of his philosophy in them. He was much pleased with the purity and simplicity of nature in little children (to the imitation of whom we are called by our blessed Saviour) being wont to compare them to angels.

19. Now for the second particular, his opinions; he much differed in them from the vulgar. The *Scotists* (of whose acuteness most men have a high conceit) he esteemed heavy fellows, and any thing rather than ingenious. And yet he had a worse opinion of Thomas Aquinas (for what reason I know not) than of Scotus. For when I sometimes commended Thomas to him as no contemptible author (among the moderns) because he seemed to have read both Scriptures and Fathers (as I guessed by his *Catena Aurea*) and to have somewhat of affection in his writings; Colet seemed not to mind me two or three times, and said nothing. But when at another discourse I spoke the same again with more vehemency, he looked stedfastly upon me, to see whether I were in jest or in earnest; and when he saw I spoke seriously, he replied thus in a passion, "Why do you commend this man to me? who if he had not been very arrogant would never so rashly (and yet so magisterially) have presumed to define all points of religion; and if he had not savoured too much of the spirit of the world, he would not have polluted all the doctrine of Christ with so much of his own profane philosophy." I wondered at the enthusiastick posture of the man, and after that set upon reading

Aquinas's works more attentively; and I must needs confess that my opinion of him abated much.

20. No man was more a friend to true Christian piety, yet he had little or no kindness for monks, or rather I should say for those who are now (for the most part falsly) so called; and therefore while he lived he gave them but little, and when he died nothing; not that he hated the profession, but because he saw they did not live according to it. Yet his desire was to have disingaged himself from the world, and betaken himself to a monastry, if he could any where have found a society that was truly and unanimously resolved upon an evangelical life. And when I went into Italy, he charged me to seek for such an one, telling me that he had found some monks there who were really prudent and pious; commending also some Germans, among whom he thought that the footsteps of the good old religion did still remain.

21. Though he lived very chastly himself, yet he had a very charitable opinion of those priests and monks, who had no other crime but venery. Not that he did not heartily abhor the sin, but because he found such men far less mischievous than others (if compared) who were haughty, envious, backbiters, hypocrites, vain, unlearned, wholly given to the getting of mony and honour. Yet these had a mighty opinion of themselves; whereas others, by acknowledging their infirmity, were made more humble and modest. He said, that to be covetous and proud, was more abominable in a priest than to have an hundred concubines[3]: not that he thought incontinence to be a light sin, but covetousness and pride to be at a greater distance from true piety. And he was not more averse to any sort of men, than such bishops who were wolves instead of shepherds; and commended themselves by external service of God, ceremonies, benedictions and indulgences to the people, while with all their hearts they served the world, that is, glory and gain. He was not much displeased with them who would not have images (either painted or carved, gold or silver) worshipped in churches; nor with them, who doubted whether a notorious wicked priest could consecrate the sacrament.

[3] *An hundred concubines.*] The nature of the relation, at this time, between the priests and these concubines, the reader will find explained in a note given below in this collection, from Henry Wharton, in the Life of Thomas Rogers.

Hereby not favouring their error, but expressing his indignation against such clergymen, who by an open bad life gave occasion to this suspicion.

22. He said, That the colleges in England, which are large and stately, hinder good literature, and are receptacles of idle people; nor did he much regard the publick schools, because their ambition and gain did corrupt the sincerity of all old discipline. As he did much approve of secret confession[4] (professing that he never had so much comfort from any thing as that) so he much condemned anxiety in it, and repetition. Whereas it is the custom in England for priests to consecrate the host, and receive it almost every day; he was content to sacrifice on Sundays and holidays, or some few days beside; either to gain more time for his sacred studys, and fit himself the better for his pulpit-employments, and the business of his cathedral; or because he found that his devotion had a greater edg, when it was sharpened with intervals: and yet he would not condemn them who were minded to come to the Lord's table every day. Though he was a very learned man himself, yet he did not prize that anxious and laborious sort of wisdom, which is fully attained by knowledg of several sciences, and reading a multitude of books; saying oft, that the native sound constitution of men's parts, and the sincerity of their wit, was lost thereby; and that they rather got a learned sort of madness, than any true incentive to Christian innocence, simplicity, and charity.

23. He attributed very much to the epistles of the holy apostles; but when he compared them with that wonderful majesty which is to be found in our Saviour's own sayings and sermons, he thought them somewhat dry. He had very ingeniously reduced almost all the sayings of Christ to ternaries, and intended to write a book of them. He wondred that Roman priests should be forced to say so many prayers every day; nay though they are much employed, whether at home or in a journy; but he much approved of the performing divine service magnificently. He dissented from innumerable opinions now commonly received in the schools, in which he would sometimes tell his mind to his

[4] *Secret confession.*] See what is said below by bishop Latimer, in the *Life of Thomas Bilney,* of what he learnt, from having been asked while he was yet "as obstinate a papist as any was in England," to hear Bilney's confession. See Index, under *Confession, private.*

friends, but say nothing to others, lest he should incur a double inconvenience, viz. lose his own credit, and do them no good, perhaps harm. There was no book so heretical that he was not willing to read over attentively, professing that sometimes he advantaged himself more by such than by their works who determine every question which they handle in such a manner, that they often flatter their leaders, and sometimes themselves.

24. He endured not that any one should, in speaking fluently, be guided altogether by the precepts of grammar (that he said, oft hindered one from speaking well) but by his reading the best authors. Which opinion brought its own punishment along with it; for tho he had eloquence both by nature and education, and had wonderful store of matter in his head when he began to make a speech, yet he oft tripped in those things which criticks are wont to take notice of. And thereupon I suppose he abstained from writing books, which I wish he had not done; for I heartily desire the meditations or works of this man, in what language soever they are penned.

25. And now, lest you should think any thing wanting to the complete piety of Dr. Colet, in the last place hear his afflictions. He never agreed well with his bishop [5], (who to say nothing of his manners,) was a superstitious and stubborn Scotist, and thereupon thought himself half a god. Of which sort of men, though I know some whom I will not call knaves, yet I never saw one whom I thought I might truly term a Christian. Neither was the doctor acceptable to most of his own college, because he was very tenacious of regular discipline; and the prebends complained that he used them as if they were monks; and so indeed that college was anciently, and in old records is called the Eastern Monastry; as West-monasterium means the Western Monastry.

26. But when the old bishop's (for he was fourscore years of age) hatred grew too high to be smothered, the fire broke out; and adjoining two other bishops, as wise and virulent as himself, he began to trouble Dr. Colet, exhibiting articles against him to the archbishop of Canterbury, taken out of his sermons. 1. That he said, images were not to be worshipped. 2. That preaching upon that passage in the gospel, Feed, feed, feed my sheep, he expounded the first by good example, the second by sound doctrine, (as other

[5] *His bishop*] Richard Fitz James, bishop of London, who had previously filled the sees of Rochester and Chichester.

expositors do,) but in the third he differed from them; denying that the apostles, who were poor men, were commanded to feed their sheep with temporal revenue, because they had none of it themselves; and he named somewhat else in this third place. Lastly, that by blaming those that read all or most of their sermons (which I confess many do now in England very coldly) he had obliquely taxed his diocesan, who being a very old man was wont to do so. The archbishop being well acquainted with Colet's excellencies, received the articles; but instead of being his judg, became his advocate.

27. Yet the old man's fury did not end so, but strove to incense the court against him, especially king Henry VIII. himself; because the doctor had said in a sermon, That an unjust peace was to be preferred before a most just war: which sermon was preached in that nick of time, when the king was raising forces against the French. Two Minim friars were the chief men that managed this business; whereof one was an incendiary of the war, (for which he deserved a bishoprick,) the other, with a pair of huge lungs, declaimed in his sermons against poets, thereby aiming at Colet, who though he had skill in music, yet was in truth averse from poetry.

28. Here the king (who was an excellent person in his youth) gave an evident proof of his royal parts, exhorting Colet privately to go on in his preaching, freely to tax the corrupt manners of that age, and not to withdraw his light in those most dark times; adding, that he knew very well what incensed the bishops so highly against him, and how much good Colet had done by his divine life and holy doctrine to the English church[6] and nation.

[6] *To the English church.*] I give here a large extract from an ancient English translation of a Latin sermon preached by Colet before the Convocation, in the year 1511. It is valuable as putting us in possession of the sentiments of a reflecting and ingenuous mind, on the state of church affairs in England, at the time when the crisis of the Reformation began to draw near.

"This reformation and restoring of the churches estate must needes begynne of you our fathers, and so folowe in us your priestes, and all the clergye: you are our heades; you are an example of lyving unto us. Unto you we looke as unto markes of our direction. In you and in your lyfe we desyre to rede as in lyvely bokes howe and after what facion we maye lyve. Wherefore if you will loke and ponder upon oure mottis (*motes*), fyrste take awaye the blockes out of your own eyes. Hit is an olde proverbe: *Physi-*

Lastly, that he would so curb their endeavours, that it should appear to the world, whoever troubled Colet should not escape

tion heale thyselfe. You spiritual physitions fyrst taste you this medicine of purgation of manners: and than after offer in the same to taste.

"The waye whereby the churche may be reformed into better facion is nat for to make newe lawes. For there be lawes many inowe, and out of nombre: as Salomon saith, *Nothynge is new under the sonne.* For the evils that are now in the churche were before in tyme paste, and there is no faute but that our fathers have provyded verye good remedyes for it. There be no trespaces but that there be lawes against them in the body of the canon lawe. Therefore hit is no nede that newe lawes and constitutions be made; but that those that are made all redye be kepte: wherefore in this assembley let those lawes that are made be called before you and rehersed. Those lawes, I say, that restrayne vice and those that furder vertue.

"Fyrste, let those lawes be rehersed that do warne you fathers that ye put not over soone youre handes on every man or admitte into holy orders. For this is the well of evils, that the brode gate of holy orders opened, everye man that offereth hym selfe is all where admitted without pullynge back. Thereof spryngeth and cometh out the people that are in the churche both of unlerned and evyll pristes.

"Hit is nat inoughe for a priste (after my jugement) to construe a collette, to put forth a question, or to answer to a sopheme, but moche more a good, a pure, and a holy life, approved maners, metely lernynge of holye Scripture, some knowlege of the sacramentes; chiefly and above all thynge the feare of God and love of the hevenly lyfe.

"Lette the lawes be rehersed that commaunde that benefices in the churche be given to those that are worthye, and that promocyons be made in the churche by the ryghte balaunce of vertue, nat by carnall affection, nat by the acception of persones, wherebye it happeneth nowe a dayes that boyes for old men, fooles for wise men, evyll for goode, do reygne and rule.

"Lette the lawes be rehersed that warreth agaynst the spotte of symonie. The whiche corruption, the whiche infection, the whiche cruell and odible pestilence, so crepeth now a brode, as the canker evyll, in the minds of pristes, that many of them are not aferde now adayes both by prayer and service, rewardes and promesses to get them great dignities.

"Lette the lawes be rehersed that commande personall resydence of curates in theyr churches. For of this many evyls growe: by cause all things now adayes are done by vicaries and parysshe pristes, yea and those foolish also and unmete, and often tymes wicked, that seke none other thynge in the people than foule lucre, whereof cometh occasion of evyll heresies and yl Christendome in the people.

"Lette be rehersed the lawes and holye rules given of fathers of the lyfe and honestye of clerkes: that forbydde that a clerke be no marchant, that he be no userer: that he be no hunter; that he be no common player, that he bere no weapon.

"The lawes that forbydde clerkes to haunte tavernes, that forbydde them

unpunished. Hereupon Colet humbly thanked the king for his royal favour, but beseeched him not to do so, professing that he

to have suspect familiaritie with women: the lawes that commaunde sobernes and a measurablenes in apparyle and temperance in adornynge of the bodye.

"Let be rehersed also to my lordes these monkes, chanons, and religious men, the lawes that commaunde them to go the strayte way that leadeth unto heaven, leavynge the brode way of the worlde: that command them not to tourmoyll themselves in business, nother secular nor other: that commaunde that they serve nat in princis courts for earthen thynges: for it is in the councel of Calcidinens, that monkes ought onely to gyve themselfe to prayer and fastynge, and to the chastening of their fleshe, and observynge of their rules.

"Above all thynges let the lawes be rehersed that pertayne to and concerne you, my reverent fathers and lordes bysshops: laws of your juste and canonical election, in the chaptres of your churches with the callynge of the Holy Goste. For by cause that is nat done now a dayes, and by cause prilates are chosen often more by favor of men than by the grace of God; therefore truly have we nat a fewe tymes byshops full litell spirituall men, rather worldly than hevenly, savoring more the spirite of this world than the spirite of Christe.

"Lette the lawes be rehersed of the resydence of byshops in their diocesis; that commaunde that they loke diligently and take hede to the helthe of soules: that they sowe the worde of God; that they shew them selfe in their churches at the least on great holye dayes. That they do sacrifice for their people. That they here the causes and matters of poure men, that they susteine fatherles children and widowes; that they exercise themselfe in workes of vertue.

"Let the lawes be rehersed of the good bestowynge of the patrimony of Christe. The lawes that commande that the goodes of the churche be spent, nat in costly bylding, nat in sumptuous apparel and pompis, nat in feastynge and bankettynge, nat in excesse and wantonnes, nat in enrichynge of kynsfolke, nat in kepynge of dogges, but of thynges necessarye and profitable to the churche. For whan Saynt Augustyne, some tyme bysshoppe of Englande, did aske the pope Gregorie howe that the bysshops and prelates of Englande shulde spende theyr goodes that were the offeringes of faythful people; the said pope answered (and his answere is put in the Decrees in the xii. chap. and seconde question) that the goodes of bysshops ought to be devyded into foure partes, whereof one parte oughte to be to the bysshoppe and his householde: another to his clerkes: the third to repayre and upholde his tenementes: the fourthe to the poore people.

"Let the lawes be rehersed, ye and that often tymes, that take awaye the filthes and unclenlines of courtes; that take awaye those daylye new faunde craftes for lucre; that besy them to pull away this foule covetousnes, the whiche is the spring and cause of all evils, the whiche is the well of all iniquitie.

"At the laste lette be renewed those lawes and constitutions of fathers of the celebration of councels, that commaunde provincial councels to be aftener

had rather lay down his preferment, than that any should suffer for his sake.

used for the reformation of the churche. For there never hapneth nothynge more hurtful to the churche of Christe than the lack both of councel generall and provinciall.

"When these lawes and such other ar rehersed that be for us, and that concerne the correction of maners, there lacketh nothynge but that the same be put in execution, with all auctoritie and power. That ones (seing we have a lawe,) we live after the lawe. For the whiche things, with all due reverence, I calle chiefly upon you fathers. For this execution of the lawes, and observing of the constitutions, muste nedes begynne of you, that ye may teache us pristes to folowe you by lyvelye examples, or elles truely hit will be sayd of you: *They lay grevous burdens upon other mens backes, and they them selfe wyl nat as much as touche it with their lytell fynger.*

"For sothe if you kepe the lawes, and if you reforme fyrste your lyfe to the rules of the canon lawes, then shall ye gyve us lyght (in the whiche we may se what is to be done of our parte), that is to say the lyghte of your good example, and we seyinge our fathers so keping the lawes wyll gladly folowe the steppes of our fathers.

"The clergies and spirituals part ones reformed in the churche, than may we with a juste order procede to the reformation of the lays parte: the whiche truely wyll be verye easy to do, if *we* be fyrst reformed. For the bodye followeth the soule. And such rulers as are in the city, like dwellers be in it. Wherfore if pristes, that have the charge of soules be good, streyghte the people will be good. Our goodnes shall teche them to be good more clerely than al other teachynges and preachynges. Our goodnes shal compel them in to the right way truly more effectuously than all your suspendynges and cursynges.

"Wherfore if ye wyll have the lay people to lyve after youre wysshe and wyll, fyrst lyve you your selfe after the wyl of God. And so, trust me, ye shall get in them what so ever ye wyll!

"Ye wyll be obeyed of them, and right it is. For in the epistell to the Hebrewes these are the wordes of St. Paule to the laye people. *Obey* (saith he) *your rulers and be you under them.* But if ye will have this obedience, first performe in you the reason and cause of obedience: the whiche the said Paule doth teache, and hit followeth in the texte; that is, *Take you hede also diligently, as though you shulde give a recknynge for their soules: and they wyll obey you.*

"You will be honored of the people; hit is reason. For Saint Paule wryteth unto Timothe: *Pristes that rule well are worthye double honors; chiefly those that labour in worde and teachynge.* Therefore if ye desyre to be honoured, fyrst look that ye rule well, and that ye labour in worde and teachynge, and than shall the people have you in all honor.

"You will repe their carnall thynges, and gether tithes and offrynges without any stryvinge: right it is. For Saint Paule, wryting unto the Romanes sayth: *They are dettours, and ought to minister to you in carnall thinges:* fyrst sowe you your spirituall thynges, and then ye shall repe plen-

29. But soon after another occasion was offered, by which they hoped to ruin him: for it happened that the king made preparation to march after Easter against the French; and upon Good-Friday Colet made a sermon to the king and courtiers, which was much admired, concerning the victory of Christ; wherein he exhorted all Christians to fight under the banner of their heavenly King, and overcome, saying, That they who either through hatred, or ambition, or covetousness, do fight with evil men, and so kill one another, fight not under the banner of Christ, but the devil: shewing withal, how hard a thing it is to die like a Christian, how few go forth to battel free from hatred and covet-

tifully their carnall thynges. For truely that man is very hard and unjust that wyl *repe where he never did sowe; and that wyll gether where he never skatered.*

"Ye wyl have the churches liberte, and not to be drawen aftere secular juges, and that also is ryght. For hit is in the Psalmis, *touche ye nat myne anoynted.* But if ye desyre this liberte, first unlouse yourself from the worldlye bondage, and from the services of man: and lyfte up your selfe into the trewe lybertye, the spirituall lybertye of Christe, into grace from synnes, and serve you God, and rayne in him. And than, beleve me the people *wyll nat touche the anoynted of theyr Lord God.*

"Ye wolde be of busines in rest and peace, and that is convenient: But if ye wyl have peace, come agayne to the God of peace and love. Come agayne to Christe, in whom is the very true peace of the Goste, the which passeth all wytte. Come again to your selfe, and to your pristly lyvynge. And to make an ende, as Saint Paule saythe: *Be you reformed in the newnes of your understandynge,* that you *savoure those thynges that are of God, and the peace of God shall be with you.*

"These things are they, reverend fathers and ryghte famous men, that I thoughte to be said for the reformation of the churches estate. I trust ye will take them of your gentylnes to the best. And if paradventure it be thought that I have past my bounds in this sermon, or have sayd any thyng out of tempre, forgive hit me, and ye shall forgyve a man speakyng of very zeale, to a man sorrowynge the decay of the churche: and consyder the thynge hit selfe, nat regardynge my foolysshenes. Consyder the miserable fourme and state of the churche, and endevour yourselves with all your myndes to reforme it.

"Suffre nat fathers this your so greate a getherynge to depart in vayne. Suffre nat this your congregation to slyppe to naughte. Truly ye are gethered often tymes together, but, by your favour to speke the trouth, yet I se nat what frute cometh of your assemblyng, namely to the churche.

"Go ye nowe in the spirite that ye have called on, that by the helpe of hit, ye may in this youre councell fynd out, decerne, and ordeyne those thynges that may be profitable to the churche, prayse unto you, and honour unto God.' *Unto whom be all honoure and glorye for evermore.* Amen."

ousness, and how difficult for such to be in charity (without which no man shall see God) who sheathe their swords in their brethren's bowels. Adding, that they should rather imitate their king Christ, than Pagan Cæsars and Alexanders. And he had so many other smart passages to this purpose, that his majesty was somewhat afraid lest this sermon would dishearten his soldiers that were listed.

30. Hereupon all the birds of prey flocked about Colet like an owl, hoping the king would be incensed against him. His majesty commands Colet to come before him at Greenwich. He goes into the garden of the monastry of the Franciscans[7] which was near, and presently dismisseth his attendants. When they two were alone, the king bid Colet cover his head, and speak his mind freely: and then his highness began thus, "Dean, be not surprised with needless fear; I did not send for you hither to disturb your most holy labours (which I resolve to cherish as much as I can) but to unload my conscience of some scruples, and to desire your advice concerning my duty." The conference lasted almost an hour and a half, and I must not relate it all. In the mean while Bricot (the Franciscan bishop[8]) was in the court stark wild, hoping that Colet had been in great danger; whereas the king and he agreed in every particular very well. Only his majesty wished that what Colet spoke truly, he would speak (sometime or other) more plainly, lest the rude soldiers should misunderstand it, as if he had said, "That no war[9] is

[7] *Franciscans.*] In 1486 this convent was founded by Henry VII. for a warden and twelve brethren. Katherine of Arragon, Henry the VIIIth's first queen, was a great favourer of the Franciscans, and of this convent in particular. "She appointed one of the monks of Greenwich, Father John Forrest, to be her confessor; and used, whilst resident at this place, to rise at midnight and join the monks in their devotions."—Lysons's *Environs of London*, vol. iv. p. 464.

[8] *The Franciscan bishop.*] Erasmus's words are, "*Ex Franciscano episcopus,*" but of what see does not appear. It is probable, that instead of Bricot, Henry Standish was meant, who was a Franciscan of the same convent, a bitter enemy of Colet (see Knight's *Life of Colet*, p. 201), and was consecrated bishop of St. Asaph on the 18th of July, 1518. Bricot, if ever he was a bishop, certainly never filled an English see. There was a Thomas Bricot, a commentator on Aristotle and writer on logic, whom Erasmus elsewhere mentions with contempt—"*ut vix Holcot et Bricot solœcisset crassius,*" but I cannot find that he was either a Franciscan or a bishop.

[9] *That no war.*] See Art. XXXVII. of the Church of England.

lawful among Christians[1]." And thus Colet (by his singular prudence and moderation) not only satisfied the king, but got farther into his favour.

31. When they returned from the garden to the court, the king being about to dismiss Colet, called for a cup, and drank to him, embraced him most kindly; and promising him all the favours that could be expected from a most loving prince, dismissed him. And now the courtiers, standing round the king, expected to know the issue of this long conference; and the king, in the hearing of them all, said, "Well, let other men chuse what doctors they please, and make much of them, this man shall be my doctor." Whereupon Bricot, with the rest of the gaping wolves, departed, and from that day forward never dared trouble Colet any more; a person that in an high fortune and plenty was led and governed not by his nature, but by Christ: in a word, whom I shall not doubt to reckon in the catalogue of my saints, though he be never canonised by any pope.

This Colet died the year of our Lord, 1519.

[1] *Lawful among Christians.*] "It is lawful for Christian men, at the commandment of the magistrate, to wear weapons, and serve in the wars." Art. XXXVII. of the Church of England.

CARDINAL WOLSEY.

O, 'tis a burden, Cromwell, 'tis a burden,
Too heavy for a man that hopes for heaven.

SHAKSPEARE.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE following life was written by the cardinal's gentleman usher, Cavendish; whose Christian name in the superscription to some of the manuscript copies is *George*, but by bishop Kennet, in his Memoirs of the family of Cavendish; by Collins, in his Peerage; and by Dr. Birch (No. 4233. Ayscough's Catalogue, Brit. Museum) he is called *William*[1]. The work was known only by manuscripts, and by the large extracts from it, inserted by John Stowe in his *Annals*, from the reign of Q. Mary in which it was composed, until the year 1641; at which time a book was printed in a thin quarto, intitled, "*The Negotiations of Thomas Woolsey, the great Cardinal, containing his Life and Death*," &c. But surely no publication was ever more unfaithful to the manuscript, from which it professed to be taken: the editor, whosoever he was, being every way unqualified for his undertaking. The language he has thought fit to alter, almost in every sentence, without the guidance of any principle, but the gratification of his own tasteless caprice. Omissions he has made of many of the most interesting and valuable portions of the volume, amounting in extent to at least one third part of the whole: and through ignorance, and inability even to read the manuscript which was before him, he has left a multitude of passages in the text utterly absurd and unintelligible. Yet the piece, even with all these disadvantages, has been so much a favourite with the public, that it has been reprinted twice, in the years 1667 and 1706 (besides being inserted in the Harleian Miscellany, and in the Selection

[1] *Called William.*] In a tract, published in the year 1814, entitled "Who wrote Cavendish's Life of Wolsey?" and written by the Rev. Joseph Hunter, F.S.A., author of the "History of Hallamshire," &c. &c., it is shown, very satisfactorily, that George, elder brother of William, was the author.

from that work), and is still a book of not very frequent occurrence.

The Lambeth Library supplying two manuscript copies of this life, the editor obtained permission from his grace the archbishop of Canterbury, to make use of them for the present collection. The first of these (No. 179) is very fairly and accurately written, and appears from a subscription at the end, bearing date A.D. 1598, to have belonged to John Stowe, the antiquarian; and afterwards to Sir Peter Manwood: both whose names are autographs. In the title of this copy, the work is ascribed to *George* Cavendish. The other MS. (No. 250) is also a correct and valuable one, but wants a few leaves.

Stowe's manuscript was made the groundwork of the present edition. That being first transcribed, the copy was collated with the MS. No. 250, the readings of which were adopted, where they seemed to be deserving of preference. In one or two places the editor availed himself of the readings given by Stowe in his Annals: and in a few others, he followed a MS. of this life, formerly belonging to Dr. Tobias Matthew, archbishop of York, now in the library of the dean and chapter of that cathedral; the use of which was very generously conceded to the editor, by that venerable body, through the intervention of his grace the archbishop of Canterbury. A deficiency in one passage was supplied by a MS. (No. 4233, Ayscough's Catalogue) in the British Museum: for the discovery of which the editor begs to return his thanks to Mr. Ellis and Mr. Douce, librarians there: as he does to the latter gentleman for the very liberal offer of the free use of another valuable MS. of this same life, in his own possession.

CARDINAL WOLSEY.

THE PROLOGUE.

Me-seems it were no wisdome to credit every light tale, blasted abroade by the blasphemous mouthe of rude commonalty. For we dayly heare how with their blasphemous trumpe, they spread abroad innumerable lies, without either shame or honesty, which *primâ facie* sheweth forthe a visage of truthe, as though it were a perfect verity and matter indeede, whereas there is nothing more untrue. And amongst the wise sorte so it is esteemed, with whom those bablings be of small force and effect.

For sooth I have reade the exclamations of divers worthy and notable authors, made against suche false rumours and fonde opinions of the fantasticall commonalty, whoe delighteth in nothing more than to heare strange things, and to see newe alterations of authorities; rejoicing sometimes in such newe fantasies, which afterwardes give them more occasion of repentance than of joyfulness. Thus may all men of wisdome and discretion understand the temerous[1] madness of the rude commonalty, and not give to them too hasty credit of every sodeine rumour, untill the truth be perfectly knowne by the reporte of some approved and credible person, that ought to have thereof true intelligence. I have hearde and also seene set forthe in diverse printed books some untrue imaginations, after the deathe of diverse persons which in their life were of great estimation, that were invented rather to bring their honest names into infamy and perpetuall slaunder of the common multitude, than otherwise.

The occasion therefore that maketh me to rehearse all these

[1] *Temerous.*] Rash; *temerarious.*

things is this; for as much as I intend, God willing, to write here some parte of the proceedings of Cardinal Wolsey, the archbishop, his ascending unto honour's estate, and sodeine falling againe from the same; whereof some parte shall be of myne own knowledge, and some parte of credible persons information.

Forsothe this cardinall was my lorde and master, whome in his life I served, and so remained with him, after his fall, continually, duringe the time of all his trouble, untill he died, as well in the Southe as in the Northe parts, and noted all his demeanor and usage in all that time; as also in his wealthy triumphe and glorious estate. And since his death I have hearde diverse sondry surmises and imagined tales, made of his procedings and doings, which I myself have perfectly knowen to be most untrue: unto the which I would have sufficiently answered accordinge to truthe, but as me seemed then it was much better for mee to dissemble the matter, and to suffer the same to remaine still as lies, than to reply against *their* untruth, of whome I might, for my boldness, sooner have kindled a great flame of displeasure, than to quench one spark of their untrue reportes. Therefore I committed the truth of the matter to the knowledge of God, who knoweth the truth in all things. For, whatsoever any man hath conceived in him while he lived, or since his deathe, thus much I dare be bold to say, withoute displeasure to any person, or of affection, that in my judgement I never saw this realme in better obedience and quiet, than it was in the time of his authority and rule, ne justice better ministered[2] with indifferency; as I could evidently prove, if I should not be accused of too much affection, or else that I set forth more than truth. I will therefore leave to speak any more thereof, and make here an end, and procede further to his originall beginning and ascending with fortunes favor to high honours, dignities, promotions, and riches.

[2] *Better ministered.*] Hence Fuller says beautifully, and very aptly and sagaciously: "I hear no widows' sighs, nor see orphans' tears in our chronicles, caused by him. Sure in such cases wherein his private ends made him not a party, he was an excellent justicer: as being too proud to be bribed, and too strong to be overborn." Fuller's *Holy and Profane State*, p. 242.

Truthe it is that this cardinall Wolsey was an honest poore man's sonne[3], of Ipswiche in the county of Suffolk, and there borne; and being but a child, was very apt to be learned; wherefore by the means of his parents, or of his good friends, and masters, he was conveied to the university of Oxonford, where he shortly prospered so in learning, as he told me by his owne mouthe, he was made Bacheller of Arts, when he past not fifteen yeares of age, in so much that for the rareness of his age, he was called most commonly, through the university, the Boy Bacheller.

Thus prosperinge and increasinge in learning, he was made fellow of Magdalen College, and after elected and appointed to be schoole master of Magdalen schoole; at which time the lord Marquiss Dorset had three of his sons there to schoole, committing as well unto him their education, as their instruction and learning. It pleased the said Lord Marquiss against a Christmas season, to send as well for the school master as for the children, home to his house, for their recreation in that pleasant and honorable feast. They being then there, my lord their father perceived them to be right well emploied in learning, for their time: which contented him so well, that he having a benefice[4] in his gift, being at that present voide, gave the same to the school master, in reward of his diligence, at his departing after Christmas to the university. And having the presentation thereof he repaired to the ordinary for his institution, and induction; and being furnished there of all his ordinary instruments at the ordinarys handes, for his preferment, he made speed without any farther delay to the said benefice to take thereof possession. And being there for that intent, one Sir Amyas Pawlet, knight, dwelling in the country thereaboute, tooke occasion of displeasure against him, upon what ground I knowe not: but, Sir by your leave, he was so bolde to set the schoole master by the feet duringe his pleasure; which after was neither forgotten nor forgiven. For when the schoole master mounted the dignity to be chancellor of England, he was not oblivious of his old displeasure cruelly ministered upon him by Mr. Pawlet, but sent for him, and after many sharpe and heinous wordes, en-

[3] *Poore man's sonne.*] He was born in the year 1471. See Fiddes's *Life of Wolsey*, p. 2. edit. 2. A.D. 1726.

[4] *Having a benefice.*] The place was Lymington in the diocese of Bath and Wells. He was instituted October 10, A.D. 1500. Fiddes's Life, p. 5.

joyned him to attend untill he were dismissed, and not to departe out of London, withoute lycence obtained: soe that he continued there within the Middle Temple, the space of five or six yeares; whoe laye then in the gate house next the streete, which he reedified very sumptuously, garnishing the same, all over the outside, with the cardinall's arms, with his hat, with the cognisaunce and badges, and other devises, in so glorious a sorte, that he thought thereby to have appeased his old displeasure.

Nowe may this be a good example and precedent to men in authority, which will sometimes worke their will without witt, to remember in their authority, howe authority may decay; and those whome they doe punishe of will more than of justice, may after be advaunced to high honors, and dignities, in the common weale, and they based as lowe, who will then seeke the meanes to be revenged of such wronges which they suffered before. Who would have thought then when sir Amyas Pawlett punished this poore scholler the schoole master, that ever he should have mounted to so highe dignity as to be chauncellor of England, considering his baseness in every degree? These be wonderful and secret workes of God, and chaunces of fortune. Therefore I would wishe all men in authority and dignity to knowe and feare God in all their triumphs and glory; considering in all their doings, that authority be not permanent, but may slide and vanish, as princes pleasures alter and change [5].

Then as all living things must of very necessity paye the dewe debt of nature, which no earthly creature can resist, it chaunced my said lord marquiss to depart out of this present life [6]. After whose death this schole master, then considering with himself to be but a simple beneficed man, and to have loste his fellowship in the college (for, as I understand, if a fellow of that house be once promoted to a benefice he shall by the rules of the same be dismissed of his fellowship), and perceiving himself also to be destitute of his singular good lord, and also of his fellowship, which was much of his reliefe, thought not to be long unprovided of some other helpe, or mastershippe, to defend him from all such stormes as he lightly was vexed with.

In this his travaill thereabout, he fell in acquaintance with one

[5] *Alter and change.*] It may be worth remarking here, that Sir A. Paulet's relative, and nephew by marriage, rose to be Lord High Treasurer of England and Marquis of Winchester.

[6] *This present life.*] In 1501.

sir John Nanphant, a very grave and auncient knight, who had a great rome in Calais under king Henry the seventh. This knight he served, and behaved himself so discreetly, and wittily, that he obtained the especial favor of his said master; insomuch that for his wit and gravity, he committed all the charge of his office unto his chapleine. And, as I understand, the office was the treasureship of Calais, who was in consideration of his great age, discharged of his chargeable roome, and returned again into England, intending to live more at quiet. And through his instant labor and good favor his chapleine was promoted to be the king's chapleine.—And when he had once cast anker in the porte of promotion[7], howe he wrought, I shall somewhat declare.

He, having then a just occasion to be in the sight of the kinge dayly, by reason he attended upon him, and saide masse before his grace in his closet, that done he spent not the rest of the day forthe in idleness, but would attend upon those whome he thought to beare most rule in the counsaille, and to be most in favor with the kinge; the which at that time were doctor Fox, bishop of Winchester, secretary and lord privy seal, and also sir Thomas Lovell knighte, a very sage counsellor, a witty man, being master of the wardes, and constable of the Tower.

These auncient and grave counsellers in process of time per-

[7] *The porte of promotion.*] We may presume that it was to such a son of fortune as the Cardinal, that the lively description in the following narrative was designed to be applied:

"It is a common saying among us your Highnesses poore commones, that one of your Highnesses chappellanes, not many yeres sinse, used when he lusted to ryde abrode for his repaste, to carye with him a scrowle wherin were written the names of the paryshes whereof he was parson. As it fortuned, in hys jorney he espied a churche standyng pleasantlye upon an hyll, pleasantlye beset with greenes and plaine fieldes, the faire greene medowse lyinge bynethe by the banckes of a christalline ryver, garnished wyth wyllowse, poplers, palme trees and alders, moste beautifull to beholde. Thys vigilant pastore, taken wyth the syght of this terrestrial paradise, sayde unto a servaunt of hys (the clercke of hys sygnet no doubt it was, for he used to beare hys masters ryng in his mouthe), John, sayde he, yonder benifice standeth verie pleasantlye, *I* woulde it were myne. The servant answered, Why, syr, quod he, it is youre owne benifice, and named the paryshe. Is it so, quod your chapellane: and wyth that he pulled oute hys scrowle to see for certantye, whether it were so, or not.—See, most dread soveraigne, what care they take for the flocke: when they see theyr paryshe churches they knowe them not by the situation." *A Supplication of the poor Commons*, signat. b. 5. addressed to king Henry VIII. 12mo. black letter, no date.

ceiving this chapleine to have a very fine wit, and what was in his head, thought him a meett and apt person to be preferred to witty affaires.

It chaunced at a certain season [8] that the kinge had an urgent occasion to send an ambassador unto the emperor Maximillian, who lay at that present in the lowe countrey of Flaunders, not far from Calaise. The bishop of Winchester and sir Thomas Lovell, whom the kinge most esteemed, as chiefe of his counseile, (the kinge one day counselling and debating with them upon this embassage,) saw they had nowe a convenient occasion to prefer the kinge's chapleene, whose excellent witt, eloquence, and learning they highly comended to the kinge. The kinge giving eare unto them, and being a prince of an excellent judgement and modesty, comanded them to bring his chapleine, whom they so much comended, before his grace's presence. And to prove the wit of his chapleine he fell in communication with him in great matters: and, perceiving his wit to be very fine, thought him sufficient to be put in trust with this embassage; commanding him thereupon to prepare himself to his journey, and for his depeche, to repaire to his grace and his counsell, of whom he should receive his commission and instructions. By means whereof he had then a due occasion to repaire from time to time into the kinge's presence, who perceived him more and more to be a very wise man, and of a good intendment. And having his depeche [9], he tooke his leave of the kinge at Richmond about none, and so came to London about foure of the clocke, where the barge of Gravesend was ready to launch forthe, both with a prosperous tide and winde. Without any further aboade he entered the barge, and so passed forthe. His happie speede was such that he arrived at Gravesend within little more than three hours; where he tarried no longer than his post horses were provided; and travelled so speedily with post horses, that he came to Dover the next morning, whereas the passengers [1] were ready under saile to saile to Calaise. Into the which passengers without tarrying he entered, and sailed forth with them, so that long

[8] *Certain season.*] In 1506, respecting Henry's proposed marriage with Margaret of Austria, and that of the Archduke Charles with the Princess Mary.

[9] *Depeche.*] The original instructions to Wolsey are still preserved in the British Museum, Cott. MSS. Galba B. ii. ff. 128—31.

[1] *Passengers*] Passenger-boats.

before noone, he arrived at Calaise; and having post horses in a readiness departed from thence, without tarrying. And he made such hasty speede, that he was that night with the emperor. And he having understanding of the coming of the kinge of England's ambassador, would in no wise delay the time, but sent for him incontinent (for his affection to kinge Henry the seventh was such, that he was glad when he had any occasion to shewe him pleasure.) The embassador disclosed the whole summe of his embassage unto the emperor, of whom he required spedy expedition, the which was graunted him, by the emperor; so that the next day he was clearly dispatched, with all the kinges requests fully accomplished and graunted. At which time he made no farther delay or tariaunce, but tooke post horses that night, and rode incontinent towarde Calais againe, conducted thither with such persons as the emperor had appointed. And at the opening of the gates of Calaise, he came thither, where the passengers were as ready to retourne into Englande as they were before at his journey forewarde; insomuch that he arrived at Dover by tenne or eleven of the clocke before noone; and having post horses in a readiness, came to the court at Richmond that same night. Where he taking some rest untill the morning, repaired to the kinge at his first coming out of his bed chamber, to his closet to masse. Whom (when he saw) he checked him for that he was not on his journey. "Sir," quoth he, "if it may please your highness, I have already been with the emperor, and depeched youre affaires, I trust with your grace's contentation." And with that he presented the kinge his letters of credence from the emperor. The kinge, being in great confuse and wonder of his hasty speede and retourne with such furniture of all his proceedings, dissimuled all his wonder and imagination in the matter, and demanded of him, whether he encountered not his pursevant, the which he sente unto him (supposing him not to be scantly out of London) with letters concerning a very necessary matter, neglected in their consultation, the which the king much desired to have dispatched among the other matters of ambassade. "Yes forsoothe," quoth he, "I met him yesterday by the way: and having no understanding by your graces letters of your pleasure, notwithstanding I have been so boulde, upon mine own discretion (perceiving that matter to be very necessary in that behalf) to dispatch the same. And for as much as I have exceeded your graces commission, I most humbly require your graces

remission and pardon." The kinge rejoicing inwardly not a little, saide againe, "We do not only pardon you thereof, but also give you our owne princely thanks bothe for your proceedings therein, and also for your good and speedy exploit," commanding him for that time to take his rest, and to repaire againe to him after dinner, for the farther relation of his ambassage. The kinge then went to masse; and after at convenient time he went to dinner.

It is not to be doubted but that this ambassador hath in all this time bene with his great friends the bishop, and sir Thomas Lovell, to whome he hath declared the effect of all his speede; nor yet what joye they have received thereof. And after his departure from the kinge, his highness sent for the bishop of Winchester, and for sir Thomas Lovell; to whom he declared the wonderful expedition of his ambassador, commending therewith his excellent witt, and in especiall the invention and avauncing of the matter lefte out in their consultation, and the ambassadors commission. The kinges wordes rejoiced not a little these worthy counsaillors, for as much as he was of their preferment.

Then when this ambassador remembered the kings commandment, and sawe the time drawe fast on of his repaire before the kinge, and his counsaile, he prepared him in a readinesse, and resorted unto the place assigned by the kinge, to declare his ambassage. Without all doubt he reported the effect of all his affaires and proceedings so exactly, with such gravity and eloquence[2], that all the counsaile that heard him could doe no less but commend him, esteeming his expedition to be almost beyond the capacity of man. The kinge of his mere motion, and gracious consideration, gave him at that time for his diligent service, the deanery of Lincolne[3], which was at that time one of the worthiest promotions, that he gave under the degree of a bishopricke. And thus from thenceforth he grewe more and more into estimation and authority, and after was promoted by the kinge to be his almoner. Here may all men note the chaunces of fortune, that followethe some whome she intendeth to promote, and to some her favour is cleane contrary, though they travaille never so much, with all the painfull diligence that they can devise or

[2] *Eloquence.*] See note at p. 474.

[3] *Deanery of Lincolne.*] He was collated Feb. 2. A.D 1508. Le Neve's *Fasti*, p. 146.

imagine: whereof, for my part, I have tasted of the experience [4].

Now you shall understande that all this tale that I have declared of the good expedition of the kings ambassadour, I had of the reporte of his owne mouthe, after his fall, lying at that time in the great parke at Richmonde, he being then my lord and master, and I his poore servant and gentleman usher, taking then an occasion upon diverse communications, to tell me this journey, with all the circumstances, as I have here before declared.

When deathe (that favoureth none estate, king ne keiser) had taken the wise and sage kinge Henry the seventh out of this present life [5] (on whose soule Jesu have mercy!) who for his wisdome was called the second Solomon, it was wonder to see what practices and compasses was then used about young kinge Henry the eighth, and the great provision made for the funerales of the one, and the costly devices for the coronation of the other, with the new queene, queene Catherine, and mother afterwards of the queenes highness, that now is, (whose virtuous life and godly disposition Jesu long preserve, and continue against the malignity of her corrupt enemies;)—But I omit and leave all the circumstances of this solemn triumphe unto such as take upon them to write the stories of princes in chronicles, which is no parte of my intendment.

After the finishing of all these solemnizations and costly triumphes, our naturalle young and lusty courageous prince and sovereigne lorde kinge Henry the eighth entering into the flower of lusty youth [6], took upon him the regal scepter and the imperiall

[4] *Experience.*] Cavendish's rewards for his services appear to have been limited to the six cart horses, the cart, and the thirty pounds mentioned at the end of this life.

[5] *Present life.*] April 21, 1509.

[6] *Flower of lusty youth.*] The following character is from the pen of William Thomas, clerk of the Privy Council in the reign of king Edward the Sixth:

"To come unto a conclusion of oure kynge, whose wisdome, vertue, and bountye, my wittes suffiseth not to declare. One, of personage, he was one of the godlyest men that lyved in his tyme, verye highe of stature, in maner more then a man, and proporcioned in all his membres unto that height; of countenance he was most amiable; curteous and beninge in gesture unto all persons, and specyally unto straungers; seldome or never offended with any thinge, and of so constaunt a nature in hymselfe, that I beleve there be few can say that ever he chaunged his chere for any noveltie, how contrary or sodayne so ever it were. Prudent he was in counsell, and farre castyng;

diadem of this fertile and fruitful realme, which at that time flourished in all abundance and riches (whereof the king was inestimably furnished), called then the golden world, such grace reigned then within this realme. Now the almoner (of whome I have taken upon me to write) having a head full of subtile wit, perceiving a plaine pathe to walk in towards his journey to promotion, handled himself so politickly, that he found the meanes to be made one of the kings counsaille, and to growe in favour and good estimation with the kinge, to whome the kinge gave an house at Bridewell in Fleet-street, sometime sir Richard Empson's, where he kept house for his family, and so daily attended upon the kinge, and in his especiall favour, having great sute made unto him, as counsaillors in favour most commonly have. His sentences and witty persuasions amongst the counsaillors in the counsaile chamber, were alwaies so pithy, that they, as occasion moved them, continually assigned him for his

most liberall in rewardyng his faithfull servauntes, and ever unto his ennemies as it behoveth a prince to be. He was learned in all sciences, and had the gyft of many tongues. He was a perfect theologien, a good philosopher, and a stronge man of arms, a jueller, a perfect buylder, as well of fortresses as of pleasaunt palacyes, and from one to another, there was no kynde of necessary knowledge, from a kynges degre to a carters, butt that he had an honest sight in it.—What wold you I shold say of hym? He was undoubtedly the rarest man that lyved in his tyme. Butt I say not this to make hym a god; nor in all his doynges I wyll not saye he hath bene a saynte; for I beleve with the prophet, that *non est justus quisquis, non est requirens Deum; omnes declinaverunt, simul inutiles facti sumus, non est qui facit bonum, non est usque ad unum.* I wyll confesse that he dyd many evil thinges, as the publican synner, butt not as a cruel tyraunt, or as a pharisaicall hypocrite; for all his doynges were open unto the whole world, wherein he governed hymselfe with so much reason, prudence, courage and circumspection, that I wote not where, in all the histories I have red, to fynde one private kynge equall unto hym, who in the space of 38 yeres reigne, never receyved notable displeasure. However that at one selfe tyme, he hath had open warre on three sydes, not onely hath he lyved most happely, butt also hath quietly died in the armes of his dearest frendes, leavyng for wytnesse of his most glorious fame, the fruite of such an heyre, as the erth is scarcely worthy to nourish, who I trust shall with no lesse perfection perfaurme the true church of Christ, not permitted by his sayde father to be finished, then as Solomon dyd the Temple of Hierusalem, not graunted to David in the tyme of hys life. For, who wolde speke agaynst the deade? Kynge Henry, myght much better say, he dyd se butt with one eye, and so accuse hym for lack of puttyng an end unto the reformacion of the wycked church, then for doyng of the thinges that he hath done agaynst the apostolicall romayne sea." P. 122—5. A.D. 1774.

filed tongue and excellent eloquence to be the expositor unto the kinge in all their proceedings. In whome the kinge conceived such a loving fansy, and in especiall for that he was most earnest and readiest in all the counsaile to avaunce the king's only will [7] and pleasure, having no respect to the cause; the king therefore, perceiving him to be a mete instrument for the accomplishing of his devised pleasures, called him more neare unto him, and esteemed him so highly, that the estimation and favour of him put all other auncient counsaillors out of high favour, that they before were in; insomuch that the king committed all his will unto his disposition and order. Who wrought so all his matters, that his endeavour was alwaies only to satisfy the kings pleasure, knowing right well, that it was the very vaine and right course to bring him to high promotion. The kinge was young and lusty, and disposed all to pleasure, and to followe his princely appetite and desire, nothing minding to travell in the affaires of this realme. Which the almoner perceiving very well, tooke upon him therefore to discharge the king of the burthen of so weighty and troublesome busines, putting the kinge in comforte that he should not neede to spare any time of his pleasure, for any business that should happen in the counsaile, as long as he, being there and having his graces authority, and by his commandment, doubted not so to see all things well and sufficiently perfected; making his grace privy first of all such matters before, or he would proceede to the accomplishing of the same, whose minde and pleasure he would have, and followe to the uttermost of his power; wherewith the kinge was wonderfully pleased. And whereas the other auncient counsaillors would, according to the office of good counsaillors, diverse times persuade the kinge to have some time a recourse unto the counsaile, there to heare what was done in weighty matters, the which pleased the kinge nothing at all, for he loved nothing worse than to be constrained to doe any thing contrary to his pleasure; that knew the almoner very well, having a secret intelligence of the kings naturall inclination, and so fast as the other counsaillors counselled the kinge to leave his pleasure, and to attend to his affaires, so busily did the almoner persuade him to the contrary; which delighted him very much, and caused him to have the greater affection and love to the almoner. Thus the almoner ruled all them that before

[7] *King's only will.*] The best comment on this passage are Wolsey's memorable last words, "But if I had served God," &c. See the end of this life.

ruled him; such was his policy and witt, and so he brought things to pass, that who was now in high favour, but Mr. Almoner? who had all the sute but Mr. Almoner? and who ruled all under the king, but Mr. Almoner[8]? Thus he persevered still in favour, untill at the last, in came presents, gifts, and rewardes so plentifully, that I dare say he lacked nothing that might either please his fantasy or enrich his coffers; fortune smiled so favourably upon him. But to what end she brought him, ye shall heare hereafter. Therefore let no man to whome fortune extendeth her grace, trust overmuch to her subtell favour and pleasant promises, under colour whereof she carrieth venemous galle. For when she seeth her servaunt in most high authority, and that he most assureth himselfe of her favour, then sodaynelye turneth she her visage and pleasaunt countenaunce unto a frowning cheere, and utterly forsaketh him: such assuraunce is in her inconstant favour and promise. Her deceipt hath not bine hid among the wise sorte of famous clerks, that have exclaimed and written vehemently against her dissimulation and feined favour, warninge all men thereby, the lesse to regarde her, and to have her in small estimation of any trust of faithfullnesse.

This almoner, clyming thus hastily upon fortunes wheeles, and so far mounting, that no man was of that estimation with the kinge, as he was, for his wisdome and other witty qualities, had a speciall gifte of naturall eloquence[9], and a filed tongue to

[8] *Mr. Almoner.*] Even queen Katherine could prefer a suit to Henry through his means: "I pray, you, Mr. Almoner, excuse me to the king for the taryeng of it soo long, for I coude have it noe sooner." See several letters from her to Wolsey, during Henry's absence in France in July and August, 1513, printed in Ellis's *Original Letters*, first ser. vol. i. p. 78—91.

[9] *Speciall gifte of naturall eloquence.*] Sir Thomas More, in his *Dialogue of Comfort against Tribulation*, has drawn so lively and characteristic a picture, designed, no doubt, to represent the cardinal at the head of his own table, that, though the extract is long, the reader, I think, will not be displeased with its insertion. The title of the chapter is, *Of Flattery*.

"*Anthony.* I praye you, cosyn, tell on. *Vincent.* Whan I was fyrste in Almaine, uncle, it happed me to be somewhat favoured with a great manne of the churche, and a great state, one of the greatest in all that country there. And in dede whosoever might spende as muche as hee mighte in one thinge and other, were a ryght great estate in anye countrey of Christendom. But glorious was hee verye farre above all measure, and that was great pitie, for it dyd harme, and made him abuse many great gyftes that God hadde geven him. Never was he saciate of hearinge his owne prayse.

"So happed it one daye, that he had in a great audience made an oracion

pronounce the same, that he was able with the same to persuade and allure all men to his purpose. Proceding thus in fortunes

in a certayne matter, wherein he liked himselfe so well, that at his diner he sat, him thought, on thornes, tyll he might here how they that sat with hym at his borde, woulde commend it. And when hee had sitte musing a while, devysing, as I thought after, uppon some pretty proper waye to bring it in withal, at the laste, for lacke of a better, lest he should have letted the matter too long, he brought it even blontly forth, and asked us al that satte at his bordes end (for at his owne messe in the middes there sat but himself alone) howe well we lyked his oracyon that he hadde made that daye. But in fayth Uncle, whan that probleme was once proponed, till it was full answered, no manne (I wene) eate one morsell of meate more. Every manne was fallen in so depe a studye, for the fyndynge of some exquisite prayse. For he that shoulde have brought oute but a vulgare and a common commendacion, woulde have thoughte himself shamed for ever. Than sayde we our sentences by rowe as wee sat, from the lowest unto the hyghest in good order, as it had bene a great matter of the comon weale, in a right solemne counsayle. Whan it came to my parte, I wyll not saye it, Uncle, for no boaste, mee thoughte, by oure Ladye, for my parte, I quytte my selfe metelye wel. And I lyked my selfe the better beecause mee thoughte my wordes beeinge but a straungyer, wente yet with some grace in the almain tong wherein lettyng my latin alone me listed to shewe my cunnyng, and I hoped to be lyked the better, because I sawe that he that sate next mee, and should saie his sentence after mee, was an unlearned Prieste, for he could speake no latin at all. But whan he came furth for hys part with my Lordes commendation, the wyly Fox, hadde be so well accustomed in courte with the crafte of flattry that he went beyonde me to farre.

" And that might I see by hym, what excellence a right meane witte may come to in one crafte, that in al his whole life studyeth and busyeth his witte about no mo but that one. But I made after a solempne vowe unto my selfe, that if ever he and I were matched together at that boarde agayne: whan we should fall to our flattrye, I would flatter in latin, that he should not contende with me no more. For though I could be contente to be out runne by an horse, yet would I no more abyde it to be out runne by an asse. But Uncle, here beganne nowe the game, he that sate hygheste, and was to speake, was a greate beneficed man, and not a Doctour onely, but also somewhat learned in dede in the lawes of the Churche. A worlde it was to see howe he marked every mannes worde that spake before him. And it semed that every worde the more proper it was, the worse he liked it, for the cumbrance that he had to study out a better to passe it. The manne even swette with the laboure, so that he was faine in the while now and than to wipe his face. Howbeit in conclusion whan it came to his course, we that had spoken before him, hadde so taken up al among us before, that we hadde not lefte hym one wyse worde to speake after.

" *Anthony.* Alas good manne! amonge so manye of you, some good felow shold have lente hym one. *Vincent.* It needed not as happe was Uncle. For

blisfulnes, it chaunced the warres between the realmes of England and Fraunce to be open, but upon what ground or occasion I knowe not, insomuch as the kinge, being fully persuaded, and earnestly resolved, in his most royall person to invade his forreine enemies with a puissant army, to attempt their haughty bragges, whether they durst shewe their faces before him in their owne territory: wherefore it was thought very necessary, that his royall enterprize should be spedily provided and furnished in every degree of things apte and convenient for the same; for the expedition whereof the king thought no man's wit so meete, for policy and painfull travaille, as was his almoner's, to whome therefore he committed his whole affiance and trust therein. And he being nothing scrupulous in any thinge, that the kinge would commande him to doe, althoughe it seamed to other very diffycile, tooke upon him the whole charge of all the business, and proceeded so therein, that he brought all things to good passe in a decent order, as of all manner of victualls, provisions, and other necessaries, convenient for so noble a voiage and army.

All things being by him perfected, and brought to a good passe, the kinge, not intending to delay or neglect the time, but with most noble and valiant courage to avaunce to his royall

he found out such a shift, that in his flatteryng he passed us all the mayny. *Anthony*. Why, what sayde he Cosyn? *Vyncent*. By our Ladye Uncle not one worde. But lyke as I trow Plinius telleth, that whan Appelles the paynter in the table that he paynted of the sacryfyce and the death of Iphigenia, hadde in the makynge of the sorrowefull countenances of the other noble menne of Greece that beehelde it, spente out so much of his craft and hys cunnynge, that whan he came to make the countenance of King Agamemnon her father, whiche hee reserved for the laste, he could devise no maner of newe heavy chere and countenance—but to the intent that no man should see what maner countenance it was, that her father hadde, the paynter was fane to paynte hym, holdyng his face in his handkercher. The like pageant in a maner plaide us there this good aunciente honourable flatterer. For whan he sawe that he coulde fynde no woordes of prayse, that woulde passe al that hadde bene spoken before all readye, the wyly Fox woulde speake never a word, but as he that wer ravished unto heavenwarde with the wonder of the wisdom and eloquence that my Lordes Grace hadde uttered in that oracyon, he fetched a long syghe with an Oh! from the bottome of hys breste, and helde uppe both hys handes, and lyfte uppe his head, and caste up his eyen into the welken and wepte. *Anthony*. Forsooth Cosyn, he plaide his parte verye properlye. But was that great Prelates oracion, Cosyn, any thyng prayseworthye?" Sir Thomas More's Works, p. 1221, 2.

enterprise, passed the seas [1] between Dover and Calais, where he prosperously arrived; and after some aboade made there by his grace, as well for the arrival of his puissant army, provision and munition, as for the consultation of his voiage and other weighty affaires, he marched forward, in good order of battaile, untill he came to the strong towne of Turwin. To the which he laid his siege, and assaulted it very strongly continually, with such vehement assaults, that within short space it was yielded [2] unto his majesty. Unto which place the emperor Maximilian repaired unto the kinge, with a great army, like a mighty prince, taking of the kinge his grace's wages; which is a rare thing and but seldom seene, an emperor to fight under a king's banner. Thus when the kinge had obtained this puissant forte, and taken the possession thereof, and set all things there in due order, for the defence and preservation thereof to his highness's use, he departed thence, and marched toward the city of Tournay, and there laid his siege in like manner; to the which he gave so fierce and sharp assaults, that they were constrained of fine force [3] to render the town unto his victorious majesty. At which time the kinge gave to the almoner the bishopricke of the same see towards his pains and diligence sustained in that journey. And when the kinge had established (after possession taken there) all things agreeable to his princely will and pleasure, and furnished the same with noble captaines and men of warr, for the safeguarde of the towne, he returned [4] againe into England, taking with him diverse noble personnages of Fraunce, being prisonners, as the duke Longeuville [5], and viscount Clearemount,

[1] *Passed the seas.*] 30th June, 1513.

[2] *Yielded.*] Terouenne surrendered on the 22d August.

[3] *Of fine force.*] "Now this contention is easily borne; for the one part, *of fine force, must* give place." Sir Thomas Smith in Strype's *Life of Sir T. S.* Appendix, p. 90, edit. 1698. "Heaven and happiness eternal is τὸ ζητούμενον that which is joined in issue, to which we are intituled, for which we plead, to which we have right; from whence by injury and treachery we have been ejected, and from whence *by fine force* we are kept out: for this we do *clamare*, by the Clergy, our Counsel, in the view of God and Angels." Montague's *Diatribe upon Selden's History of Tithes*, p. 130.

[4] *Returned.*] Henry arrived at Richmond, 24th October.

[5] *Longeuville.*] Louis d'Orléans, duke of Longueville, whose captivity was more useful to his country than his arms would have been if successful, for he procured peace by negociating the marriage of Louis XII. with Mary, Henry's sister.

with other[6], which were taken there in a skirmish[7], like a most victorious prince, and conqueror. After whose retourne imediatly, the see of Lincolne fell voide by the deathe of doctor Smith late bishop there, the which benefice his grace gave to his almoner[8], late bishop elect of Tournay, who was not negligent to take possession thereof, and made all the speede he could for his consecration; the solemnization whereof ended, he found the means, that he gat the possession of all his predecessours goods, into his handes, whereof I have diverse times seen some parte that furnished his house. It was not long after that doctor Bambridge, archbishop of York, died at Rome[9], being there the king's ambassador, unto the which sea, the kinge immediatly presented his late new bishop of Lincolne; so that he had three bishopricks[1] in his handes, in one yeare geven him.

[6] *Clearemount, with other.*] Antoine, Vicomte de Clermont, who afterwards married Anne de Poitiers, the sister of the notorious Duchess of Valentinois. Among *the other* were Bayard, Bussy d'Amboise, La Fayette, &c.

[7] *Skirmish.*] This *skirmish* was the famous battle of Guinegaste, fought on the 6th of June; called the Battle of Spurs.

[8] *Gave to his almoner.*] He was consecrated bishop of Lincoln, March 26, A.D. 1514. Le Neve's *Fasti*, p. 141.

[9] *Died at Rome.*] 14th July, 1514; poisoned, as it was believed, at the instigation of Sylvester de Giglis, bishop of Worcester. Three curious letters on the subject of cardinal Bambrigge's death written by Richard Pace and William Burbank, the cardinal's secretaries, to Henry VIII., are printed in Sir Henry Ellis' *Original Letters*, first series, vol. i. p. 108—12.

[1] *So that he had three bishopricks.*] Dr. Robert Barnes preached a Sermon on the 24th of December 1525, at St. Edward's Church in Cambridge, from which Sermon certain Articles were drawn out, upon which he was soon after called to make answer before the Cardinal. Barnes has left behind him a description of this examination. The sixth of the Articles was as follows. "I wyll never beleeve that one man may be, by the lawe of God, a Byshop of two or three cities, yea of an whole countrey, for it is contrarye to St. Paule, which sayth, *I have left thee behynde, to set in every citye a Byshop.*"

"I was brought afore my Lorde Cardinall into his Galary," (continues Dr. Barnes) "and there hee reade all myne articles, tyll hee came to this, and there he stopped, and sayd, that this touched hym, and therefore hee asked me, if I thought it wronge, that one byshop shoulde have so many cityes underneath hym; unto whom I answered, that I could no farther go, than to St. Paules texte, whych sat in every cytye a byshop. Then asked hee mee, if I thought it now unright (seeing the ordinaunce of the Church) that one byshop should have so many cities. I aunswered that I knew none ordinaunce of the Church, as concerning this thinge, but St. Paules saying onelye. Nevertheles I did see a contrarye custom and practise in the world, but I know not the originall thereof. Then sayde hee, that in the Apostles tyme,

Then prepared he again of newe as fast for his translation from the sea of Lincoln unto the sea of Yorke, as he did before to his stallation. After which solemnization done, and being then an archbishop and *Primas Angliæ*, he thought himself sufficient to compare with Canterbury; and thereupon erected his crosse in the court, and every other place, as well within the precinct and jnrisdiction of Canterbury, as in any other place. And forasmuch as Canterbury claimeth a superiority over Yorke, as of all other bishoprickes within England, and for that cause claimeth, as a knowledge of an auncient obedience, of Yorke to abate the avaunceing of his crosse, in presence of the crosse of Canterbury; notwithstanding Yorke nothing minding to desist from bearing thereof, in manner as I said before, caused his crosse to be avaunced [2] and borne before him, as well in the presence of Canterbury as elsewhere. Wherefore Canterbury being moved therewith, gave unto Yorke a certaine check for his presumption; by reason whereof there engendered some grudge betweene Yorke and Canterbury. Yorke perceiving the obedience that Canterbury claimed of him, intended to provide some such means that he would be rather superior in dignity to Canterbury, than to be either obedient or equal to him. Whereupon he obtained first to be made priest cardinall [3] and *Legatus de latere*, unto whom the pope sent a cardinall's hat with certaine bulles for his authority in that behalfe.

Yet by the way of communication you shall understande that the pope sent him this worthy hat of dignity as a jewell of his honor and authority, the which was conveied in a varlett's budget, who seemed to all men to be but a person of small estimation.

there were dyvers cities, some seven myle, some six myle long, and over them was there set but one byshop, and of their suburbs also; so likewise now, a byshop hath but one citye to his cathedrall churche, and the country about is as suburbs unto it. Me thought this was farre fetched, but I durst not denye it." Barnes's *Works*, p. 210. A.D. 1573.

[2] *To be avaunced.*] This was not the first time in which this point of precedency had been contested. Edward III. in the sixth year of his reign, at a time when a similar debate was in agitation, having summoned a Parliament at York, the Archbishop of Canterbury and all the other Prelates of his Province, declined giving their attendance, that the Metropolitan of all England might not be obliged to submit his Cross to that of York, in the Province of the latter. Fox, p. 387, 8.

[3] *Priest cardinall.*] He was confirmed cardinal by a bull of pope Leo X. dated Bologna, Dec. 13, 1515.—Fiddes's *Records*, p. 18.

Whereof Yorke being advertised of the baseness of this messenger[4], and of the people's opinion, thought it not meete for the honor of so highe a message, that this jewell should be conveied by so simple a person; wherefore he caused him to be stopped by the way, imediatly after his arrivall in England, where he was newely furnished in all manner of apparell, with all kinde of costly silkes, which seemed decent for such an high ambassador. And that done he was encountered upon Blackheathe, and there received with a great assembly of prelats and lusty gallant gentlemen, and from thence conducted and convaied through London, with great triumphe. Then was great and spedy provision[5] and preparation made in Westminster abby for the confirmation and acceptaunce of this highe order and dignity; the which was executed by all the bishopes and abbots about or nigh London, with their rich miters and copes and other ornaments; which was done in so solemn a wise, as I have not seene the like, unlesse it had bin at the coronation of a mighty prince and kinge.

Obtaining this dignity he thought himself meete to encounter with Canterbury in high jurisdiction before expressed; and that also he was as mete to beare authority among the temporall powers, as among the spirituall jurisdictions. Wherefore remembering as well the tauntes and checkes before sustained of Canterbury, the which he intended to redresse, as having a respect to the advancement of worldly honor, promotion and great benefit, he founde the meanes with the kinge, that he was made lord chancellor[6] of England; and Canterbury which was then chancellor dismissed, who had continued in that honorable rome, since long before the death of kinge Henry the seventh.

[4] *Messenger.*] Who was of the rank of a prothonotary. See an account of the ceremonies observed at the reception of the hat, in Fiddes, App. p. 251.

[5] *Great and spedy provision.*] "Not farre unlike to this was the receaving of the cardinalls hatte. Which when a ruffian had brought unto him to Westminster under his cloke, he clothed the messenger in rich array, and sent him backe to Dover againe, and appoynted the bishop of Canterbury to meete him, and then another company of lordes and gentles I wotte not how oft, ere it came to Westminster, where it was set on a cupborde and tapers about, so that the greatest duke in the lande must make curtesie thereto: yea and to his empty seat he being away."—Tindal's *Works*, p. 374; Fox's *Acts*, p. 902.

[6] *Lord chancellor.*] Takes the oath at Eltham, Dec. 24, 1515.—Fiddes, p. 98. A copy of the Letters Patent, dat. 1 Dec. 7 Hen. VIII. is in the British Museum, Harl. MS. 381. fol. 208.

Now he being in possession of the chancellorship, and endowed with the promotions of an archbishop, and cardinall *de latere*, thought himselfe fully furnished with such authorities and dignities, that he was able to surmount Canterbury in all jurisdictions and ecclesiasticall powers, having power to convocate Canterbury, and all other bishops and spirituall persons, to assemble at his convocation, where he would assigne; and tooke upon him the correction of matters in all their jurisdictions, and visited all the spirituall houses, having also in every diocese through this realme all manner of spirituall ministers, as commissaries, scribes, apparitors, and all other necessary officers to furnish his courtes; and presented by prevention [7] whom he pleased unto all benefices throughout all this realme, and dominions thereof. And to the advancing further of his legantine jurisdiction and honors, he had masters of his faculties, masters *ceremoniarum*, and such other like persons, to the glorifying of his dignity. Then had he twoe great crosses of silver, whereof one of them was of his archbishoprick, and the other of his legacy, borne before him whither soever he went or rode, by two of the tallest priestes that he could get within this realme. And to the increase of his gaines he had also the bishopricke of Durham, and the abbey of St. Albans *in commendam;* and after, when bishop Fox, bishop of Winchester died, he surrendered Durham into the king's hands, and tooke to him Winchester. Then had he in his hands, as it were *in ferme*, the bishoprickes of Bathe, Worcester, and Hereforde, for as much as the incumbents of them were strangers [8], and made their aboade continually beyond the seas, in their own countries, or else in Rome, from whence they were sent in legation to this realme, unto the kinge. And for their rewardes, at their departure, the wise kinge Henry the seventh thought it better to give them that thinge which he himself could not keepe, than to disbourse or defray any thing of his treasure. And they being but strangers, thought it then more meete for their assurance, and to have their jurisdiction preserved and

[7] *Presented by prevention.*] See above, p. 170.

[8] *Were strangers.*] See *Life of Wickliffe*, p. 191. The see of Bath was filled by Cardinal Adrian de Castello, and that of Worcester by Sylvester de Giglis, but the bishop of Hereford was Richard Mayhew, or Mayho, an Englishman, who was succeeded, in 1516, by Charles Booth, also an Englishman. The see of Llandaff was occupied by a Spaniard, George Athequa, chaplain to Queen Catherine, whom he attended to this country.

maintained, to suffer the cardinall to have their benefices for a convenient sum of money paide them yearely, whereas they remained, than either to be troubled with the charges of the same, or to be yearely burthened with the conveyaunce of their revenues unto them: so that all the spirituall promotions, and presentations of these bishopricks were wholy and fully in his domaine and disposion, to preferre whom he listed. He had also a great number daily attending upon him, bothe of noblemen and worthy gentlemen, of great estimation and possessions, with no small number of the tallest yeomen, that he could get in all the realme, insomuch that well was that nobleman and gentellman, that could preferr a talle yeoman into his service.

Nowe to speak of the order and officers of his house, I think it be necessary here to be remembered. And first you shall understande, that he had in his hall continually three bordes, kept with three severall principall officers; that is to say a stewarde which was alwaies a priest, a treasurer, a knight, and a comptroller an esquire. Also a cofferer being a doctour; three marshalles, three yeomen ushers in the halle, besides twoe groomes and almoners. Then had he in the hall-kitchen two clarkes of the kitchen, a clerke comptroller, a surveyor of the dresser, a clerke of his spicery, the which together kept also a continual mess in the hall. Also in the hall-kitchen he had master cookes two, and of other cookes, labourers, and children of the kitchine twelve persons; four yeomen of the scullery, and four other yeomen of his silver scullery; two yeomen of his pastery, with two other pastellers under the yeomen.

Then had he in his privy kitchen a master cook who went daily in velvet or in sattin with a chaine of gould, with two other yeomen, and labourers six in the same roome; in the larder a yeoman and a groome; in the scalding house a yeoman and two groomes; in the saulcery two persons; in the buttery two yeomen, two groomes, and two pages; and in the ewery likewise: in the celler three yeomen and three pages; in his chaundery two; in the wafery two; in the wardrobe of bedds the master of the wardrobe, and ten persons; in the laundery a yeoman, a groome, thirteen pages; two yeomen purveiors, and one groome; in the bakehouse a yeoman and two groomes; in the woode-yarde a yeoman and a groome; in the barne one; in the garden a yeoman and two groomes; porters at the gate two yeomen, and two groomes; a yeoman of his barge: and a master of his

horse; a clerke of the stable, a yeoman of the same; the saddler, the farrier, a yeoman of his chariot, a sumpter man, a yeoman of his stirrup; a muleteer, sixteen groomes of the stable, every one of them kept four geldings: in the almeserie, a yeoman and a groome.

Now will I declare unto you the officers of his chappel, and singing men in the same. First he had there a deane, a great divine and a man of excellent learning; a sub-deane; a repetor of the quier, a gospeller, a pisteller; of singing priests ten; a master of the children. The seculars of the chappel, being singing men, twelve; singing children ten, with one servaunte to waite upon the children. In the revestry, a yeoman and two groomes: over and besides diverse retainers that came thither at principall feasts. And as for furniture of his chappel, it passeth my capacity to declare the number of the costly ornaments and rich jewells, that were to be occupied in the same continually. For I have seen in procession about the hall forty four of very rich copes, of one sute, worn, besides the rich crosses and candlesticks, and other necessary ornaments to the furniture of the same. Nowe shall ye understande that he had two crosse bearers and two pillar bearers. In his great chamber, and in his privy chamber all these persons; first the cheefe chamberlaine, and vice-chamberlaine; of gentlemen ushers, besides one in his privy chamber, he had twelve daily waiters; and of gentlemen waiters in his privy chamber he had six; and of lordes nine or tenne, who had each of them two men allowed them to attend upon them, except the earl of Darby, who had allowed five men. Then had he of gentlemen, of cupbearers, of carvers, of sewers bothe of the privy chamber, and of the great chamber, with gentlemen daily waiters there forty persons; of yeomen ushers he had six; of groomes in the chamber he had eight; of yeomen of his chamber he had five and forty dayly; he had also of almes men some more in number than other some time, there attending upon his borde at dinner. Of doctors and chaplens, beside them of his chapple, which I rehearsed before, he had in number dayly attending sixteen: a clerke of his closet. Then had he secretaries two; two clerkes of his signet; and four counsaillors learned in the lawe.

Forasmuch as he was chauncellor of England, it was necessary to have diverse officers of the chauncery there to attend dayly upon him, for the better furniture of the same. That is to say,

first he had the clerke of the crowne, a riding clerke, a clerke of the hamper, a chafer of the waxe. Then had he a clerke of the checke, as well upon his chaplaines, as of his yeomen of his chamber; he had also fower foote men, which were garnished in riche running coates, whensoever he rode in any journey. Then had he an herald of armes, and a sergeaunt of armes; a physition, a poticary; fower ministreles; a keeper of his tentes, an armourer; an instructor of his wardes, two yeomen in the wardrobe of his robes, and a keeper of his chamber continually in the courte. He had also dayly in his house the surveyor of Yorke, and a clerke of the greene cloathe. All these were dayly attending downe lying and up-rising. At meales he kept in his great chamber a continual borde for the chamberleenes, and gentlemen officers, having with them a mess of the young lordes[9], and another of gentlemen. And besides all these, there was never an officer and gentleman, or any other worthy person, but he was

[9] *A mess of the young lordes.*] Among whom, as we shall see below, was the eldest son of the earl of Northumberland. This was according to a practice much more ancient than the time of Wolsey; agreeably to which young men of the most exalted rank resided in the families of distinguished ecclesiastics, under the denomination of pages, but, more probably, for the purposes of education, than of service. In this way Sir Thomas More was brought up under cardinal Morton, archbishop of Canterbury; of whom he has given a very interesting character in his Utopia.—From Fiddes's *Appendix to the Life of Wolsey*, p. 19, it appears, that the custom was at least as old as the time of Grosthead, bishop of Lincoln, in the reign of Henry III., and that it continued for some time during the 17th century. In a paper, written by the earl of Arundel, in the year 1620, and entitled, *Instructions for you my son William* (afterwards Lord Stafford) *how to behave yourself at Norwich*, the earl charges him, "You shall in all things reverence, honour, and obey my lord bishop of Norwich, as you would do any of your parents; esteeminge whatsoever he shall tell or command you, as if your grandmother of Arundell, your mother, or myself, should say it; and in all things esteem yourself as my lord's page; a breeding, which youths of my house, far superior to you, were accustomed unto; as my grandfather of Norfolk, and his brother, my good uncle of Northampton, were both bredd as pages with bishopps." See also Paul's *Life of Archbishop Whitgift*, p. 97.

It is not out of place to mention, what we are told by Sir George Wheeler, in his *Protestant Monastery*, p. 158, A.D. 1698. "I have heard say, in the times no longer ago than king Charles I., that many noblemen's and gentlemen's houses in the country were like academies, where the gentlemen and women of lesser fortunes came for education with those of the family; among which number was the famous Sir Beaville Granville and his lady, father and mother of our present lord of Bath."

allowed in the house, some three, some two, servauntes, and all other one at the least, which grew to a great number of persons.—Nowe have I described the order according to the check roll of his house, and what officers and servauntes he had dayly attending to furnish the same, besides diverse retainers, and of other persons being suters, that most commonly dined in the hall. And when we shall see any more such subjects, that shall keepe the like noble house, I am content he be advanced above him in honour. But I feare, for my parte, never to see it; therefore here an end of his household. The number of the personages in his check roll were one hundred and eighty [1].

You have heard of the order and officers of his house; now I do intend to proceed further of his proceedings.

After that he was thus furnished, in manner as I have before rehearsed unto you, he was sent twice [2] in an embassage unto the emperor Charles the fifth that now reigneth, and father unto king Philip now our soveraigne lord. Forasmuch as the old emperor Maximilian was deade, and for divers urgent causes touching the king's majesty, it was thought that in so weighty affaires, and to so noble a prince, the cardinal was most meete to be sent on this embassage. Wherefore he being ready to take upon him the charge thereof, was furnished in all degrees and purposes most likest a great prince, which was much to the high honor of the kings majesty, and of this realme. For first he proceeded forthe furnished like a cardinall [3] of high estimation, having all things there according. His gentlemen, being very many in

[1] *One hundred and eighty.*] The printed Life says eight hundred persons, which seems a more probable number. Mr. Singer's edition (1825), p. 39, says five hundred.

[2] *Twice.*] In 1521 and 1527.

[3] *Furnished like a cardinall.*] Amongst the Harleian MSS. in the British Museum (Harl. MS. 620) is preserved the Steward's Account of the Embassy of 1521, thus described in Wanley's *Catalogue.* "The booke of Solucions in my Lord Grace's journey to Cales, Bruges, and other places; Mr. Robert Carter occupyinge the office of stewardship, anno 13mo r. R. Henrici VIII." "This journey is understood to commence on Monday, 29th of July, and to end on Sunday, the first day of December following, when Cardinal Wolsey, in his return, dined at Sittingbourne, in Kent. But, besides this journal, here is an account of the velvet, scarlet bonnets, &c. delivered to the cardinal's servants who attended him in his embassy, and of other expenses in his family during the time above-mentioned." The whole amount of the expenses is summed up at 2,386*l.* 14*s.* 6¼*d.*

number, were cloathed in livery coates of crimson velvet of the best, with chaines of gould about their neckes; and his yeomen and all his meane officers were in coates of fine scarlet, garded with black velvet an hand broade. Thus furnished he was twice in this manner sent unto the emperor into Flanders, the emperor lying then in Bruges; whome he did most highely entertaine [4], discharging all his charges, and all his mens. There was no house within the towne of Bruges, wherein any gentlemen of the cardinalls were lodged or had recourse, but that the owners were commanded by the emperors officers, that they, upon paine of their lives, should take no money for any thing that the cardinalls servauntes did take of any kind of victualls, no although they were disposed to make any costly banquettes; commanding furthermore their said hostes, to see that they lacke no such things as they honestly required, or desired to have, for their honesty and pleasure. Also the emperors officers every nighte went throughe the towne, from house to house, whereas any English gentleman did repast or lodged, and served their liveries for all night; which was done in this manner: first the officers brought into the house a cast of fine manchet [5], and of silver two great pottes, with white wine, and sugar, to the weight of a pound; white lightes and yellow lightes; a bowle of silver, with a goblet to drinke in; and every night a staffe torch. This was the order of their liveries every night. And then in the morning, when the same officers came to fetch away their stuffe, then would they accompt with the hostes for the gentlemens costes spent in the daye before. Thus the emperor entertained the cardinall and all his traine, for the time of his embassage there. And that done, he returned home againe into Englande, with great triumphe, being no lesse in estimation with the kinge, than he was before, but rather much better.

Nowe will I declare unto you his order in going to Westminster Hall, dayly in the tearme season. First ere he came out of his privy chamber, he heard most commonly every day two masses in his closet: and as I heard one of his chaplains saye,

[4] *Most highely entertaine.*] At Bruges, "he was received with great solemnity, as belongeth unto so mighty a pillar of Christes church, and was saluted at the entering into the towne of a merry fellow which sayd, *Salve Rex regis tui, atque regni sui*, Hayle both king of thy king, and also of his realme." Tindal's *Works*, p. 370, A. D. 1572.

[5] *Fine manchet.*] Bread of the finest flour.

which was a man of credence and of excellent learning, the cardinall, what business or weighty matters soever he had in the day, he never went to bed with any parte of his divine service unsaide, not so much as one collect; wherein I doubt not but he deceived the opinion of diverse persons. Then going againe to his privy chamber, he would demaund to some of his saide chamber, if his servauntes were in a readiness, and had furnished his chamber of presence, and waiting chamber. He being thereof then advertised, came out of his privy chamber, about eight of the clocke, apparelled all in red; that is to say, his upper garment was either of fine scarlet, or taffety, but most commonly of fine crimson satten engrained; his pillion of fine scarlet, with a neck set in the inner side with blacke velvet, and a tippet of sables about his necke; holding in his hande an orange, whereof the meate or substance within was taken out, and filled up againe with the parte of a spunge, wherein was vinegar and other confections against the pestilent aires; the which he most commonly held to his nose when he came among any presse, or else that he was pestered with any suiters[6]. And before him was borne first the broade

[6] *Pestered with any suiters.*] We have seen how rapid was the Cardinal's rise. It should seem, that very soon after his elevation, he contracted a demeanour and carriage, even towards persons of the highest rank, which was very likely, in its season, to contribute to his fall. Could a Talbot or a Dacre easily bear to hear of such neglect from an upstart ecclesiastic, as we have on record from unquestionable authority? George, Earl of Shrewsbury, was at this time steward of the royal household: and he had a suit to the king, apparently connected with his official duties, which was to reach his sovereign through the mediation of the favourite, the time being within about two years from Wolsey's elevation to that dignity. Thomas Alen, a confidential servant of the Earl, writes thus to his master:—

"Upon Monday was se'nnight last past, I delivered your letters to the Cardinal at Guilford; whereas he commanded me to wait upon him to the Court, and I should have precepts on them. . . . I followed him to the Court and there gave attendance, and could have no answer. Upon Friday last he came from thence to Hampton Court, where he lieth. The day after I besought his grace I might know his pleasure: I could have no answer then. Upon Monday last, as he walked in the Park at Hampton Court, I besought him I might know, if he would command me any service: he was not pleased with me that I spake to him. The Sunday before, I delivered the letter unto him which Ralph Leach brought: I can have no answer to neither of both. He *that shall be a suitor to him may have no other business but give attendance upon his pleasure:* he that shall so do is needful to be a wiser man than I am. I saw no other remedy, but come without answer, to pursue such

seale of Englande, and his cardinall's hat by a lorde or some gentleman of worship, right solemnely. And as soone as he was entered into his chamber of presence, where there was dayly attending upon him, as well noble men of this realme, and other worthy gentlemen, as gentlemen of this owne family; his two great crosses were there attending, to be borne before him. Then cried the gentlemen ushers, going before him, bare headed, and said "On before my lordes and masters, on before; and make way for my Lord Cardinall." Thus went he downe through the hall with a sergeaunt of armes before him bearing a great mace of silver, and two gentlemen carrying of two great pillars of silver; and when he came to the hall doore, then his mule stood trapped all in crimson velvet, with a saddle of the same, and gilt stirrups. Then was there attending upon him, when he was mounted, his two crosse bearers, and his pillar bearers[7], in like case, upon great horses trapped all in fine scarlett. Then marched he forwarde, with a traine of noblemen and gentlemen, having his foote-men fower in number about him, bearing each of them a gilt poll-axe in their handes: and thus

things in London as your lordship commands to be done; except I would have done as my Lord Dacre's servant doth, which came with letters for the king's grace five months since, and yet hath no answer; and another servant of the Deputy of Calais in like wise, which came before he" (the Cardinal) "rode to Walsingham. I hear that he answered them; 'If ye be not content to tarry my leisure, depart when ye will.' This is truth; I had lever your lordship commanded me to . . . than to deliver unto him letters and to bring answer of the same. When he walks in the park, he will suffer no suitor to come nigh unto him; but commands him away as far as a man will shoot an arrow." Lodge's *Illustrations of British History*, vol. i. p. 28.

After the Cardinal's fall, and when sickness and sorrow were pressing heavily upon him, he was treated kindly, and even compassionately by this nobleman, as we shall learn from Cavendish, towards the close of our narrative: but are we to wonder much that previously we find the name of Shrewsbury subscribed to the articles of the favourite's impeachment?

[7] *Two crosse-bearers, and his pillar-bearers.*] The pillar, as well as the cross, was emblematical, and designed to imply, that the dignitary before whom it was carried was a *pillar* of the church. Dr. Barnes, who had good reason why these pillars should be uppermost in his thoughts, glances at this emblem, in the case of the cardinal, in the following words: "and yet it must bee true, because a *pillar of the church* hath spoken it." Barnes's *Works*, p. 210. A.D. 1572. See also Tindal's *Works*, p. 370.

Skelton, Poet-laureate of that time, wrote a most severe satire and invective against this cardinal, and upon its publication fled to the sanctuary in

passed he forthe untill he came to Westminster Hall doore. And there he alighted and went after this manner, up into the chauncery, or into the star chamber; howbeit most commonly he would goe into the chauncery, and staye a while at a barre, made for him, beneathe the chauncery, on the right hand, and there common sometimes with the judges, and sometimes with other persons. And that done he would repaire into the chauncery, sitting there till an eleven of the clocke, hearing of suites and determining of other matters. And from thence, he would diverse times goe into the star chamber, as occasion would serve. There he spared neither highe nor lowe, but judged every estate according to his merits, and desertes.

He used also every Sunday to resorte to the courte, then being for the most parte of all the yeere at Greenwiche, with his former triumphs, taking his barge at his owne staires furnished with yeomen standing upon the bayles, and his gentlemen being within a boat; and landed againe at the Three Cranes in the vintree. And from thence he rode upon his mule, with his crosses, his pillers, his hat, and the broade seale carried before him, on horseback through Thames-street, untill he came to Billingsgate; and there took his barge againe, and so rowed to Greenwich, where he was nobly received of the lordes and chief officers of the kings house, bearing their white staves, as the treasurer and comptroller,

Westminster for refuge. He therein takes notice of these crosses (and pillars) in the following lines:

With worldly pompe incredible
Before him rydeth two prestes stronge,
And they bear two *crosses* right longe,
Gapynge in every mans face.
After them folowe two laye-men secular
And eache of theym holdyng a *pillar*
In their hondes, steade of a mace.
Then foloweth my lorde on his mule
Trapped with gold.
Then hath he servants five or six score,
Some behynd and some before.

Almost every action of Wolsey hath been interpreted as an instance of pomp, ambition, or insolence; notwithstanding probably, upon a strict examination, most of them will be found to be strictly precedented. Anstis's *Letter to Dr. Fiddes*, in Fiddes's *Life of Wolsey*, p. 89. Appendix. But it must be noticed that the author of the above satire, (which is given entire in the Harleian Miscellany, vol. ix. p. 1—83. edit. 1812,) was not Skelton, but William Roy; ibid. p. 2.

with many others; and so they conveied him to the kings chamber, his crosses, for the time of his tarrying, standing there in a corner, on the one side of the kings cloath of estate. Then he being there, the courte was fully furnished with noble men and gentlemen, which was before his coming but slenderly furnished. And after dinner among the lordes, having some consultation with the kinge, or with his counsell, he would depart home with like triumphe[8]: and this order he used continually, as opportunity did serve.

[8] *With like triumphe.*] We have already seen that all this pomp did not pass free from animadversion. But it was exposed to censures more solemn than those which flowed merely from the satirist's pen. Sir Thomas More, when speaker of the House of Commons, noticing a complaint which had been made by the cardinal, that nothing could be said or done in that house, but it was presently spread abroad, and became the talk of every tavern or ale-house, "Masters, (says he) forasmuche as my lord cardinall latelie laied to our charges the lightnes of our tongues for things uttered out of this house, it shall not in my minde be amisse to receive him with all his pompe, with his maces, his pillers, pollaxes, his crosses, his hatt, and the greate seale too; to thintent, that if he finde the like fault with us heereafter, wee maie be the bolder from ourselves to laie the blame on those that his grace bringeth hither with him." Roper's *Life of Sir Thomas More*, p. 38. edit. 1729. Sir Thomas also, in his Apology, written in the year 1533, reflects severely upon the change introduced among the clergy, through the cardinal's means, in the luxury and sumptuousness of their dress. *Works*, p. 892.

The pulpit likewise occasionally raised its voice against him. Doctor Barnes, who was burnt in Smithfield in the year 1541, preached at St. Edward's church, in Cambridge, a sermon, for which he was called to appear before the cardinal. This was a part of their dialogue, as it is related in Fox: "What, Master Doctor, (said the cardinall) had you not a sufficient scope in the Scriptures to teach the people, but that my golden shoes, my pollaxes, my pillers, my golden cushions, my cross did so sore offend you, that you must make us *ridiculum caput* amongst the people? We were jolily that day laughed to scorne. Verely it was a sermon more fitter to be preached on a stage than in a pulpit; for at the last you said I weare a paire of *redde* gloves, I should say *bloudie* gloves *(quoth you)*, that I should not be cold in the midst of my ceremonies. And Barnes answered, I spake nothing but the truth out of the Scriptures, according to my conscience, and according to the old doctors." Fox's *Acts*, p. 1088. Barnes himself drew up an account of this interview, in which he opens to us some part of the philosophy upon which the cardinal defended the fitness of that pomp and state which he maintained. "Then sayd hee, How thinke you, were it better for me, being in the honour and dignitie that I am, to coyne my pyllers, and pollaxes, and to give the money to five or six beggers, then for to mayntaine the commonwealth by them, as I doe? Do you not reckon (*quoth hee*) the commonwealth better then five or sixe beggers? To this I did answere, that I reckoned it more

Thus in great honour, triumphe, and glory he reigned a long season, ruling all things within this realme, appertayning unto the kinge, by his wisdome, and also in all other weighty matters in foraigne regions, with which the king of this realme had any occasion to intermeddle. All ambassadors of foraigne potentates were alwaies dispatched by his wisdome, to whom they had continuall access for their dispatch. His house was alwaies resorted like a kings house, with noble men and gentlemen, with coming and going in and out, feasting, and banquetting these ambassadors diverse times, and all other right nobly.

And when it pleased the kings majesty, for his recreation, to repaire unto the cardinalls house, as he did diverse times in the yeare, there wanted no preparation, or goodly furniture, with viandes of the finest sorte that could be gotten for money or friendshippe. Such pleasures were then devised for the kings consolation, or comforte, as might be invented or imagined. Banquettes were set forthe, masks, and moumeries, in so gorgeous a sorte, and costly manner, that it was a heaven to behold. There wanted no dames, nor damoselles, meete or apt to daunce with the maskers, or to garnish the place for that time, with other goodly disportes. Then was there all kinde of musicke and harmony set forthe, with excellent fine voices bothe of men and children. I have seen the kinge come sodainly thither in a maske with a dozen maskers all in garments, like shepardes, made of fine cloathe of golde, and fine crimson satten paned[9], and cappes of the same, with visors of good proportion of visnamy[1]; their heares, and beardes either of fine golde wier or of

to the honour of God, and to the salvation of *his* soule, and also to the comfort of his poore brethren, that they were coyned, and given in almes. And as for the commonwealth, it did not hang of them: for as his grace knew, the commonwealth was afore his grace, and must bee when his grace is gone, and the pillers and pollaxes came with him, and should also goe away with him. Notwithstanding, if the commonwealth were in such a condition, that it had need of them, then might his grace so long use them, or any other thing in their stead, so long as the commonwealth needed them."—Barnes's *Works*, p. 215, A.D. 1572. Compare Fox's *Acts*, p. 956.

[9] *Paned.*] Shaded or inlaid in compartments of angular form, like panes. The word is still used to denote compartments on the bindings of bibles and prayer-books: its application to clothes has ceased with the fashion.

[1] *Visnamy.*] A corruption of *physiognomy*.

"And but half seen his ugly visnomie."

Spenser's *Faëry Queen*.

silver, or else of good black silke; having sixteene torch bearers, besides three drummes, and other persons attending them, with visors, clothed all in satten, of the same color. And before his entering into the hall, ye shall understand, that he came by water to the water gate, without any noyse, where were laide divers chambers[2] and gunnes, charged with shot, and at his landing they were shote off, which made such a rumble in the ayer, that it was like thunder. It made all the noble men, gentlemen, ladies, and gentlewomen to muse what it should meane coming so sodainly, they sitting quiet at solemne banquet; under this sorte: First ye shall perceive, that the tables were set in the chamber of presence, nise covered, and my lord cardinall sitting under the cloathe of estate, there having all his service alone; and then was there set a lady and a noble man, or a gentleman or gentlewoman, throughout all the tables in the chamber on the one side, which were made adjoyning, as it were but one table. All which order and devise was done by the lorde Sandes, then lorde chamberlaine to the king, and by sir Henry Guilforde controller of the kings majesties house. Then immediately after this great shot of gunnes, the cardinall desired the lord chamberlain, and the said controller to looke what it should meane, as though he knew nothing of the matter. They looking out of the windowes into the Thames, returned againe, and shewed him, that it seemed they were noble men and strangers arrived at his bridge, coming as ambassadors from some forraigne prince. With that quoth the cardinall, "I desire you, because you can speake Frenche, to take the pains to goe into the hall there to receive them, according to their estates, and to conduct them into this chamber, where they shall see us, and all these noble personages being merry at our banquett, desiring them to sit downe with us, and to take parte of our fare." Then went they incontinent downe into the hall, whereas they received them with twenty newe torches, and conveied them up into the chamber, with such a number of drums and flutes, as I have seldome seen together, at one place and time. At their arrivall into the chamber, two and two together, they went directly before the cardinall

[2] *Chambers.*] "Short pieces of ordnance or cannon, which stood on their breeching without any carriage, used chiefly for rejoicings, and theatrical cannonades, being little more than *chambers* for powder."—Nares' *Glossary*, in v.

where he sat, and saluted him very reverently; to whom the lorde chamberlain for them saide, "Sir, forasmuch as they be strangers, and cannot speake Englishe, they have desired me to declare unto you, that they having understanding of this your triumphant banquette, where was assembled such a number of excellent faire dames, could doe no lesse, under the supportation of your grace, but to repaire hither to viewe as well their incomparable beauty, as for to accompany them at mumchaunce[3], and then after to daunce with them and to have of their acquaintance. And sir, furthermore they require of your grace licence to accomplish the saide cause of their cominge." To whome the cardinall saide, he was very well content they should so doe. Then went the maskers and first saluted all the dames, and then returned to the most worthiest, and there opened their great cup of gold, filled with crownes, and other pieces of golde, to whome they set certaine of the pieces of golde to cast at. Thus perusing all the ladies and gentlewomen, to some they loste, and of some they wonne. And perusing after this manner all the ladies, they returned to the cardinall, with great reverence, pouring downe all the golde left in their cuppe, which was above two hundred crownes. "At all," quoth the cardinall[4], and so cast the dice, and wonne them, whereat was made great noyse and joie. Then quoth the cardinall to my lord chamberlen, "I pray you," quoth he, "that you will shew them, that mee seemeth, there should be a noble man amongst them, who is more meete to occupy this

[3] *Mumchaunce.*] Mum-chance, a game of hazard, with dice.—Warton's *History of English Poetry,* vol. iii. p. 155.

"Silence seems to have been essential at it; whence its name:
"And for *mum-chance,* howe'er the chance do fall,
You must be *mum,* for fear of marring all.
"Machiavell's *Dog. in Old Plays,* xii. 423."

It seems to have been also played with cards:
"The cardes are fetch'd, and *mumchance* or decoy is the game."
Dekkar's *Bellman of London.*
Nares' *Glossary,* in v.

[4] "*At all,*" *quoth the cardinall.*]
"——— There is my honour's pawn:
Engage it to the trial, if thou darest.
Aumerle. Who *sets* me else? By heaven, I'll throw *at all:*
I have a thousand spirits in one breast,
To answer twenty thousand such as you."
King Richard II. Act IV. Scene 1.

seate and place than am I; to whome I would most gladly surrender the same, according to my duty, if I knewe him." Then spake my lord chamberlain unto them in French, declaring my lorde cardinall's wordes, and they rounding[5] him againe in the eare, the lord chamberlen saide to my lorde cardinall, "Sir, they confesse," quoth he, "that among them there is such a noble personnage, whome if your grace can appoint out from the rest, he is content to disclose himselfe, and to take and accepte your place, most worthely." With that the cardinall, taking a good advisement among them, at the last quoth he, "Me seemeth the gentleman with the black bearde should be even he." And with that he rose out of his chaire, and offered the same to the same gentleman in the blacke bearde, with his cap in his hande. The person to whom he offered then his chaire was sir Edward Neville, a comely knight of a goodly personnage, that much more resembled the kings person in that maske, than any other. The king hearing and perceiving the cardinall so deceived in his estimation and choice, could not forbear laughing, but pulled down his visor, and Mr. Neville's also, and dashed out such a pleasant countenance and cheare, that all the noble estates there assembled, perceiving the kinge to be there amongst them, rejoiced very much. The cardinall eftsoones desired his highnesse to take the place of estate, to whome the king answered, that he would goe first and shifte his apparell; and soe departed, and went straighte into my lord cardinalls bed chamber, where was a great fire prepared for him; and there newe apparalled him with riche and princely garments. And in the time of the kings absence, the dishes of the banquette were cleane taken up, and the table spreade againe with newe and cleane perfumed cloathes; every man sitting still untill the kings majesty with all his maskers came in among them againe, every man newly apparelled. Then the king tooke his seate under the cloathe of estate, comanding every person to sit still, as they did before. In came a newe banquette before the king's majesty, and to all the reste throughout all the tables, wherein, I suppose, were served two hundred divers dishes of wonderous costly devises and subtilties. Thus passed they forthe the nighte with banquetting, dauncing, and other triumphant devises, to the great comforte of the kinge, and pleasaunt regarde of the nobility there assembled.

[5] *Rounding.*] *Whispering.* See *Life of Thorpe,* in this vol. p. 348, note.

All this matter I have declared largely, because ye shall understande what joy and delight the cardinall had, to see his prince and soveraigne lorde in his house, so nobely entertained and placed, which was alwaies his only study, to devise things to his comforte, not passing upon the charges or expenses. It delighted him so much, to have the king's pleasaunt and princely presence, that nothing was to him more delectable, than to cheare his soveraigne lorde, to whome he owed so much obedience and loyalty; as reason required no lesse, all things well considered.

Thus passed the cardinall his time forthe, from daye to daye, and yeare to yeare, in such great wealthe, joye, and triumphe, and glory, having alwaies on his side the king's especiall favor; untill fortune, of whose favour no man is longer assured, than she is disposed, began to waxe somethinge wrothe with his prosperous estate. And for the better meane to bring him lowe, she procured Venus, the insatiate goddess, to be her instrument; who brought the kinge in love with a gentlewoman, that, after she perceived and felt the king's goodwill towards her, how glad he was to please her, and to graunt all her requeste, wrought the cardinall muche displeasure; as hereafter shall be more at large declared. This gentlewoman was the daughter of sir Thomas Bulleine knight, being at that time but only a batchelor knight, the which afterwards, for the love of his daughter, was promoted to high dignities. He bare at diverse severall times for the most parte all the great romes of the king's household, as comptroller, and treasurer, and the like. Then was he made viscount Rocheforde; and at the last created earle of Wiltshire, and knight of the noble order of the Garter; and, for his more increase of honor and gaines, was made lorde keeper of the privy seale, and one of the chiefest of the king's counsell; thus continued he, untill his sonne and daughter began to fall into the king's high indignation and displeasure. The king during his favor fantased soe much his daughter, that almost all things began to growe out of frame.

To tell you howe the king's love began to take place, and what followed thereof, I will doe even as much as I know to declare to you. This gentlewoman was commonly called Mistress Anne Bulleine. She being but very young[6], was sent into the realme

[6] *Very young.*] "Not above seven years of age, anno 1514." MS. Twysd. The above is taken from a small fragment of this Life, which has been very

of Fraunce, and there made one of the french[7] queene's women, continuing there untill the french queen died. And then was she sent for home againe; and being againe with her father, he made such meanes, that she was admitted one of queen Katherine's women; among whome, for her excellent gesture and behaviour, she did excell all other; in so much that the kinge began to grow enamoured with her; which was not known to any person, ne scantly to her owne person.

Nowe was at that time the lorde Peircie, sonne and heire of the earle of Northumberlande, attending upon my lord cardinall, and was his servaunte; and when it chaunced the said lorde cardinall at any time to repaire unto the courte, the lord Percie would resorte then for his pastime into queen Katherine's chamber, and there would he fall in dalliance among the maides, being at the last more conversante with Mrs. Anne Bulleine, than with any other, so that there grewe such a secrette love betweene them, that at the length, they were insured together[8], intending to marrye. The which thinge when it came to the king's knowledge, he was therewith mightily offended. Wherefore he could no longer hide his secret affection, but he revealed his whole displeasure and secrets unto the cardinall in that behalfe; and willed

recently printed, from a MS. in the handwriting of Sir Roger Twysden, bart., in the margin of which fragment a few notes occur, from the pen of the same eminent antiquarian.

[7] *One of the french.*] "It should seeme by somme that she served three in France successively; Mary of England maryed to Lewis the Twelfth an. 1514, with whome she went out of England, but Lewis dying the first of January following, and that queene (being) to returne home, sooner than either Sir Thomas Bullen or some other of her frendes liked she should, she was preferred to Clauda, daughter to Lewis XII. and wife to Francis I. then queene (it is likely upon the commendation of Mary the dowager), who not long after dying, an. 1524, not yet weary of France, she went to live with Marguerite, dutchess of Alançon and Berry, a lady much commended for her favour towards good letters, but never enough for the Protestant religion then in the infancy—from her, if I am not deceived, she first learnt the grounds of Protestant religion; so that England may seem to owe some part of her happyness derived from that lady."—MS. Twysd.

[8] *Insured together.*] This expression, unless the author himself were misinformed, must not be extended to imply an absolute pre-contract. For Lord Herbert, in his Life of Henry VIII., p. 448, has published an original letter from this nobleman, then earl of Northumberland, written in the year 1536, a short time before queen Anne's suffering, in which he denies any such contract, in the most solemn terms.

him to infringe the assuraunce, made then betweene the saide lord Peircie and Mrs. Anne Bulleine: in somuch as, the cardinall, after his retourne home from the courte to his house in Westminster, being in his gallery, not forgetting the king's commandement, called then the saide lord Peircie unto his presence, and before us his servauntes, then attending upon him, saide unto him thus.

"I marvaile not a little," quoth he, "of thy folly, that thou wouldest thus entangle and ensure thyselfe with a foolish girle yonder in the courte, Anne Bulleine. Doest thou not consider the estate that God hath called thee unto in this worlde? For after thy father's death, thou art most like to inherit and enjoye one of the noblest earledomes of this region. Therefore it had bene most meete, and convenient for thee, to have sued for the consent of thy father in that case, and to have also made the King's Highness privy thereof, requiring therein his princely favor, submitting thy proceedinge in all such matters unto his Highness, who would not only thankfully have accepted thy submission, but would, I am assured, have provided so for thy purpose therein, that he would have advaunced thee much more nobly, and have matched thee according to thine estate, and honor, whereby thou mightest have growne so by thy wise behaviour in the king's high estimation, that it should have beene much thine advauncement. But now see what ye have done, through your wilfulness. You have not only offended your father, but also your loving soveraigne lorde, and matched your selfe with one, such as neither the king, nor your father will be agreeable to the match. And hereof I put thee out of doubt, that I will send for thy father, and at his coming, he shall either breake this unadvised bargaine, or else disinherit thee for ever. The king's majesty himselfe will complaine to thy father on thee, and require no lesse than I have saide; whose Highnesse intending to have preferred Anne Bulleine unto another person, wherein the kinge hath already travelled, and being almost at a pointe with the same person for her, although she knoweth not it, yet hath the kinge, most like a politique and prudent prince, conveied the matter in such sorte, that she, upon his Grace's motion, will be, I doubt not, right glade, and agreeable to the same." "Sir," quoth the lorde Piercie all weping, "I know nothing of the king's pleasure herein, for the which I am very sorry. I considered I am of good yeares, and thought myselfe sufficient to provide me a convenient

wife, whereas my fancy served me best, not doubting but that my lorde my father would have bene right well contented. And although she be but a simple maide, having but a knight to her father, yet she is descended of right noble bloud and parentage. As for her mother, she is nigh of the Norfolke's bloud; and as for her father, he is descended of the earle of Ormond, being one of the earle's heirs generall. Why should I then, Sir, be any thing scrupulous to matche with her, whose estate and descent is equall with mine, even when I shall be in most dignity? Therefore I most humbly require your grace of your favor herein; and also to intreat the king's majesty most humbly on my behalfe, for his princely favor in this matter, the which I cannot forsake." "Loe Sirs," quoth the cardinall unto us, "ye may see what wisdome is in this willfull boies heade. I thought when thou heardest me declare the king's pleasure and intendment herein, that thou wouldest have relented, and put thyselfe, and thy voluptuous acte wholly to the king's will and pleasure, and by him to have been ordered, as his grace should have thought good." "Sir," quoth the lorde Piercie, "so I would, but in this matter I have gone so far, before many worthy witnesses, that I know not how to discharge my selfe and my conscience." "Whie, thinkest thou," saide the cardinall, "that the king and I know not what we have to doe, in as weighty a matter as this? Yes (quoth he), I warrant thee. But I can see in thee no submission to the purpose." "Forsothe, my lord," quoth the lord Peircy, "if it please your grace, I will submit myself wholly unto the king's majestie, and to your grace in this matter, my conscience being discharged of the weighty burthen thereof." "Well then," quoth the cardinall, "I will send for your father out of the North partes, and he and we shall take suche order in this matter as shall be thought by the king most convenient. And in the meane season, I charge that thou resort no more into her company, as thou wilt abide the king's indignation." And therewith he rose up, and went his way into his chamber.

Then was the Earle of Northumberland sent for in the king's name, who upon the receit of the king's letters, made all the spede that he could unto the king, out of the north. At his comyng, first he made his resorte unto my lord cardinall, as most commonly did all other noble personages that were sent for in such sorte, at whose hands they were advertised of the cause of their sending for. But when the earle was come to my lord, he

was brought incontinent unto him in his gallery. After whose meeting my lord cardinall and he were in secret communication a long space. And after their long talke, and drinking of a cup of wine, the earle departed. And in going his way, he sat down at the galleries ende in the halfe pace upon a forme that was standing there for the wayter's ease. And being there set called his sonne unto him, we standing before him, and said thus in effecte unto him. "Sonne," quoth he, "even as thou art, and allwaies hast bin a proude licentious disdainfull and a very unthrifty waster, so hast thou now declared thyselfe. Wherefore what joy, what comforte, what pleasure or solace shall I conceive of thee, that thus without discretion hast misused thyselfe, having neither regard unto me thy naturall father, nor unto thy naturall soveraigne lorde, to whom all subjectes loyall beare faithfull obedience; ne yet to the wealth of thine owne estate, but hast so unadvisedly assured thy selfe unto her, for whome thou hast purchased the king's highe displeasure, intolerable for any subject to sustaine? And but that his grace doeth consider the lightness of thy head, and wilful qualities of thy person, his displeasure and indignation were sufficient to cast me and all my posterity into utter ruine and destruction. But he being my singular good and favorable prince, and my lord cardinall my good lord, hath and doeth clearely excuse me in thy leaud fact, and doeth rather lament thy lightness, than maligne me for the same; and hath devised an order to be taken for thee; to whome bothe thou and I be more bound than we be able well to consider. I pray to God that this may be unto thee a sufficient admonition to use thy selfe more wisely hereafter: for that I assure thee, if thou doest not amend thy prodegallity, thou wilt be the last earle of our house. For of thy naturall inclination thou art disposed to be wastefull and prodigall, and to consume all that thy progenitors have with great travaile gathered and kept together with honor. But having the king's majesty my singular good and gracious lord, I trust, I assure thee, so to order my succession, that ye shall consume therof but a little. For I doe not entend, I tell the truth, to make thee mine heire; for, thanks be to God, I have more boies, that I trust will prove much better, and use themselves more like unto wise and honest men: of whome I will chuse the most likely to succede me. Nowe good masters and gentlemen, (quoth he unto us,) "it may be your chaunces hereafter, when I am deade, to see these things that I have spoken to my sonne prove

as true as I spake them. Yet in the meane season, I desire you all to be his friends, and to tell him his fault, when he doeth amisse, wherein you shall shew yourselves friendly unto him. And here" (quoth he), "I take my leave of you. And sonne, go your waies in to my lorde your master, and attend upon him, according to thy duty." And so he departed, and went his waye downe the hall into his barge.

Then after long consultation and debating in this the lord Percies late assurance, it was devised that the same should be infringed, and dissolved, and that the lord Piercy should marry one of the earle of Shrewsburies daughters. And so he did indeede after all this; by meanes whereof the former contract was dissolved; wherewith Mistress Anne Bulleine was greatly offended, promising if it ever lay in her power, she would worke much displeasure to the cardinall; as after she did in deede. And yet was he not in blame altogether; for he did nothing but by the king's devised commaundement. And even as my lord Piercy was commanded to avoide her company, so she was discharged of the courte, and sent home to her father for a season; whereat she smoked: for all this while she knew nothing of the kings entended purpose.

But ye may see, when fortune beginneth to lower, how she can compasse a matter of displeasure by a faire fetche. For nowe, marke the grudge howe it began, that in processe of time wrought the cardinalls undoing.—O Lorde, what a God art thou! that workest thy secrets so wonderfully, that they be not perceived till they be brought to passe and finished. Marke this story following, good reader, and note every circumstance, and then shalt thou espy at thine eye a wonderfull worke of God, against such persons as forget God and his great benefits! Mark therefore, I say, and consider them well!

After these my lord Percies troublesome matters brought unto a good stay, and all things done that before were devised, Mistress Anne Bulleine was revoked unto the court, whereas she florished after in great estimation and favour; having allwaies a privy grudge[9] against my lord cardinall, for breaking of the contract made betweene my lord Peircy and her, supposing that it had bin his devised will and none other, nor yet knowing the kings secret mind thoroughly, who had a great affection unto her, more than

[9] *A privy grudge.*] See p. 559.

she knewe. But after she knewe the kings pleasure, and the bottom of his secret stomacke, then she began to looke very haughty and stoute, lacking no manner of jewells, or riche apparrel, that might be gotten for money. It was therefore judged by and bye through the court of every man, that she being in such favour, might worke masteries with the king, and obteine any suite of him for her friend.

All this while, she being in this estimation in all places, it is no doubt but good queene Katherine, having this gentlewoman dayly attending upon her, both hearde by reporte, and sawe with her eyes, how it framed against her good ladyshippe: although she shewed neither unto Mistress Anne Bulleine, ne unto the king, any kinde or sparke of grudge or displeasure; but accepted all things in goode parte, and with wisdome and great pacience dissimuled the same, having Mistress Anne in more estimation for the kings sake, than she was with her before, declaring her selfe to be a very perfect Grisell [1], as her patient actes shall hereafter more evidently to all men be declared.

The king waxed soe farre enamoured with this gentlewoman, that he knewe not how much he might advaunce her. This perceiving the great lordes of the counsell, who bearing a secret grudge against my lord cardinall, for that they could not rule for him, as they would, in the world, because he bare all the stroake with the king, and ruled as well the great lordes, as all other meane subjects, they took an occasion to invent a meane to bringe him out of the kings estimation, and themselves into more authority of rule and governaunce. After long and secret consultation amongst themselves, howe to bringe this malice towards the cardinall to effect, they knew right well that it was very difficile for them to doe it directly of themselves. Wherefore they perceiving the great affection and love that the king bare to Mistress Anne Bulleine, supposing in their fantasies that she should be for them an apt instrument to bring their long desired intents to passe, consulted often with her in this matter. And she having bothe a very good wit, and also an inward grudge and displeasure unto my lord cardinall, was alwaies agreeable to their requestes, as they were themselves. Wherefore there was no more to doe, but only to imagine any occasion to worke their

[1] *Perfect Grisell.*] See Chaucer, *Clerk of Oxenford's Tale*, which is founded upon an incident first told by Boccacio, and afterwards by Petrarca.

malice by some presented circumstance. Then were there dayly invented among them diverse imaginations and subtle devises, how the matter should be brought about. The enterprize thereof was so dangerous, that though they would fain have attempted the matter with the king, yet they durst not; for they knewe the great zeal that the king bare to the cardinall, and also they feared the wonderful wit of the cardinall. For this they knewe very well, that if the matter that they should propose against him were not grounded upon a just and urgent cause, the kings favor was such towardes him, and his wit suche withall, that he would with pollicy vanquish all their purpose and travaile, and then lye in a-wait to worke them an utter destruction and eversion. They were compelled, all things considered, to forbeare the enterprize until they might espy a more convenient time and occasion.

And yet the cardinall, espying the great zeale that the king had conceived in this gentlewoman, ordered himselfe to please as well the king as her, dissimuling the matter that lay hid in his breast, and prepared great banquettes and high feastes to entertaine the kinge and her at his owne house. And thus the world beganne to grow to wonderfull inventions, not heard of before in this realme. Love betwixt the king and this gorgeous lady, grewe to such a perfection, that diverse imaginations were imagined, whereof I leave here to speake, untill I come to the place where I may have more occasion.

Then began a certaine grudge[2] to breake out betweene the French king and the duke of Bourbonne, insomuche as the duke, being vassaile to the house of Fraunce, was compelled for the safeguard of his life to flee and forsake the country, doubting the king's malice and indignation. The cardinall, having intelligence of the case chaunced betweene them, compassed in his head, that if the king our soveraigne lorde could obtain him to be

[2] *A certaine grudge.*] Arising from the intrigues of Louise of Savoy, duchess of Angoulême, the king's mother, whose advances were slighted by the duke, and who in revenge deprived him by an unjust process of law, as he believed, of his estates. Bourbon considered himself not only aggrieved but affronted, an indignity which he could not brook. Brantôme relates, that in reply to the king's message, demanding from him the sword of constable of France and his order, the duke answered, "For the constable's sword,—it was taken from me at Valenciennes, when the king gave the command of the van to the duke d'Alençon; for the order,—I left it hanging at my bed's head at Chantel le Châtel."

his general in the warres against the French king, with whome the king our master had an occasion of warres, and considering further that the duke of Bourbon was fled unto the emperor, to invite him to like purpose: wherefore he having this imagination in his head thought it good to move the king in the matter. And after the king was once advertised hereof, and conceived the cardinall's invention, he dreamed more and more in the same, untill at the last it came to a consultation amongst the council, so that it was concluded that an embassaye should be sent to the emperor about this matter; with whom it was concluded that the king and the emperor should join in those warres against the French king, and that the duke of Bourbon should be our soveraigne lordes champion and general in the field, who had a great nomber of good souldiours, over and besides the emperors army which was not small; and that the king should paye unto the duke monthly wages [3], both for himselfe and his retinue. In so muche as Sir John Russel, who was after made earle of Bedforde, lay continually beyond the seas, in a secret place, both to receive money of the king, and to paye the some monthly unto the duke. So that the duke began the warres with the French king in his owne territory and dukedome, which the king had confided in his owne hands; it being not perfectly knowne unto the dukes enemies, that he had any ayde of our soveraigne lord. And thus he wrought the French king much displeasure and trouble, in so much that the French king was constrained to prepare a puissant army, and in his own person to resist the dukes power. And with force the king drave him to take Pavia, a strong town in Italy, with his host, for their security; whereas the king encamped him wonderously strong, intending to enclose the duke within this towne, that he should not issue forth. Yet notwithstanding the duke would and did many times issue forth, and skirmishe with the king.

Nowe let us leave the king in his campe before Pavia, and retourne to the lord cardinall, who seemed to be more French than Imperiall.—But howe it came to passe, I cannot declare unto you: but the French king lying in his campe, sent secretly into England a privy person, a very witty man, to entreat of a peace betweene the king of Fraunce, and our soveraigne lord.

[3] *Monthly wages.*] 100,000 crowns a month, or else to make a powerful diversion in Picardy. The first month only was paid, and no expedition set on foot against France.

This person was named John Jokin [4], who was kept as secretly as might be, no man having intelligence of his repaire; for he was no French-man borne, but an Italian, a man of no great estimation in France, or knowne to be much in his master's favor, but to be a merchant-man, and for his subtil wit elected to intreat of suche embassage as the French king had given him in commission. This Jokin was secretly conveyed unto Richmond, and there remained till the cardinall resorted thither unto him, where, after Easter term was ended, he kept his feast of Whitsontide very solemnely. In which season my lord cardinall caused divers times this Jokin to dine with him, who seemed to be bothe witty, and of good behaviour. Thus continued this Jokin in England long after, until at laste, as it should seeme, he had brought to passe the matter he had in commission. After this there was sent out immediately restraint unto sir John Russell [5], into those partes where he made his abiding beyound the seas, that he should retaine that monthes wages still in his handes, (untill the king's pleasure were to him knowen) which should have bin paide unto the duke of Burbon, being then with his retinue encamped within the towne of Pavia; for want whereof at his day, the duke and his men were sore dismaide, when they sawe there was not money brought, as it was wont to be. And being in so dangerous a case, and where victuals began to be scant, and very deare, they imagined many waies what should be the lett. Some sayd this, and some sayd that; so that they mistrusted nothing lesse than the very cause thereof. In so much as at the last, what for want of victualls and other necessaries, which they could not get within the towne, the souldiers and captaines began to grudge and mutter; and at the last, for lack of victualls, were like all to perish.

The souldiers, being in this extremity, came before the captaine, the duke of Bourbonn, and saide, "Sir, we must be, of very

[4] *Jokin.*] Joachin, or more properly Gioachino de Passano, an Italian [of Bassano?], seigneur de Vaulx, with whom was joined in the month of June Jean Brinon, seigneur de Villaynes, first president of the parliament of Rouen: the treaty which they negociated is printed in Rymer, *Holmes's edit.* vol. vi. part ii. p. 21. Several of Joachin's letters are preserved among the Cottonian MSS. in the British Museum (Calig. D. ix.), and others to him, wherein he is styled "De Vaux" only.

[5] *Russell.*] See a long letter from Russell to Henry VIII. in Sir Henry Ellis's *Original Letters*, second series, vol. i. p. 297.

force and necessity, constrained to yield us up to our enemies. And better it were for us so to doe, than to starve like dogges." When the duke sawe their extremities, he said unto them with weeping eyes, "Sirs," quoth he, "ye are bothe valiant men and of noble heartes, who have served me here right worthily. And for your necessity, whereof I am participant, I doe not a little lament it. But I shall desire you, as ye are noble in heart and courage, so to take pacyence for a day or twaine; and if succour come not then from the king of England, as I doubt nothing that he will deceive us, I will well agree, that we shall all put ourselves and our lives into the mercy of our enemies:" wherewith they were all agreeable. And tarrying and expecting the coming of the king's money, untill the terme of two daies was past, the duke seeing no remedy, called his noble captaines and souldiours before him, and weeping saide, "Ye noble men and companions, I see no remedy in this necessity, but either we must yield us unto our enemies, or else famishe. And to yeald the towne and ourselves, I know well the misery of our enemies. As for my parte I passe not for their cruelties, for I knowe very well I shall suffer death most cruelly, if I come once in their hands. It is not for my selfe therefore that I doe lament; but it is for your sakes; it is for your own lives, and safeguard of your persons. For so that ye might escape the daunger of enemies hands, I would gladly suffer death. Therefore, good companions and noble souldiors, I shall require you all, considering the dangerous misery and calamity that we stand in at this present, to sell our lives most dearely, rather than to be murdered like beastes. If ye will be agreeable, we will take upon us this night to give our enemies an assault, and by that meanes we may either escape, or else give them an overthrow. And thus it were better to die in the field like men, than to live as prisoners in captivity and misery." To the which they all agreed.

Then quoth the duke, "Ye perceive that our enemies campe is stronge, and that there is no way to enter upon them but one, and that entery is so planted with great ordinance, and strength of men, that it is not possible to attaine to our enemies that way to fight with them in their campe. And also, now of late ye perceive they have had but small doubt of us, insomuch that they have kept but very slender watch. Therefore my device shall be this. There shall issue out of the towne, about the dead time of the night, from us a nomber of you that be of the most likeliest

to assault their campe; and they shall give the assault right secretly, even directly against the place of the entry, which is very stronge and invincible. Your force and valiant assault shall be to them of the campe so doubtfull, that they will torne their strength of the entry that lyeth over against your assault, to beate you from your purpose. Then will I issue out of the posterne gate, and come to the place of their strength newly turned, and there, or they be ware, will I enter and fight with them in their campe, and winne their ordinance, which they have newly turned, and beat them with their own pieces. And then may you come and joine with me in the field." This device pleased them wondrously well. Then prepared they all that day for the purposed device, and kept them secret and close, without any noise or shot of pieces in the towne, which gave their enemies the lesse feare of the assault, but at night went to their tentes, and couched quietly, nothing mistrusting that which after happened to them.

When the time came that all men were at rest, the assailants issued out of the towne, and there, according to their appointment, they gave so cruel and fierce assault, that they in the campe had as much to doe as was possible to resist them; and even as the duke declared before to his souldiers, they within were compelled to turne their shot, that lay at the entry, against the assailants. With that issued out the duke, and with him about fifteen or sixteen thousand men or more, secretly in the night, his enemies being not privy of his coming until he was entered the field. And at his entry he took all the ordinance that lay there, and slew the gunners. Then he charged the pieces against his enemies, and slew them wonderfully. He cut down the tents and pavilions, and murdered many within them, or they were ware of his coming, suspecting nothing lesse than his entry; so that he won the field or ever the king could arise to the rescue; insomuch as the king was taken in his lodging or ever he was harnessed. And when the duke had obtained the field, and the French king was taken, and his men slaine, his tents were robbed and spoiled, which were wonderous riche. And in the spoile, and search of the king's coffers, the duke Bourbonn found the league, under the great seale of England, newly made betweene the king of England and the French king: which once perceived by him, he began to smell the impediment of his money, which should have come to him from the king. Having upon the due search of the matter further intelligence,

that all the matter was devised by the cardinall of England, the duke conceived such an indignation hereupon against the cardinall, that he went incontinent unto Rome, and there intended to sack the towne, and to have taken the pope: where, at the first assault of the walles, the duke was the first man that was there slaine. Yet, notwithstanding his captaines continued their assault, and at the last the towne was taken, and the pope fled unto the castle of Angell[6], where he continued long in calamity.

I have written this history more at large, because it was thought the cardinall was the chiefest occasion of all this mischief. Wherefore ye may perceive that whatsoever a man doeth purpose, be he prince or prelate, yet notwithstanding God disposeth all things at his will and pleasure. Wherefore it is great folly for any wise man to take upon him any weighty enterprize at his owne wit, without calling upon God for his grace and assurance in all his doings and proceedings.

I have seen that princes when they would either call a parliament, or any other great assembly, that they would first most reverently call to God for his grace therein. And now I see the contrary. As it seems they trust more to their owne wit and will, than they doe to God's grace, and even thereafter doe their matters often times take successe; whereof not only in this history, but also in divers others may be perceived right evident examples. And yet I see no man almost in authority or high estate regarde the same; the which is the greater pity, and the more to be lamented.—Nowe here I leave to shew any more of this matter, and will procede to others.

Upon the taking of the French king[7] many consultations and divers opinions were then devised among the council. Some held opinion that if the king our soveraigne lorde would invade the realme of France, he might easily conquer the same, insomuch as the king with the most part of the nobility of Fraunce were in captivity. Some sayd againe that the king our master ought to have had the French king prisoner, for as much as he was taken by the kings champion and generall captaine the duke of Burbonn, and not the emperor. So that the same moved the king to take an occasion of war against the emperor, because he kept the French

[6] *Castle of Angell.*] See note to p. 408 of this volume.

[7] *The French king.*] The battle of Pavia was fought Feb. 24, 1525.

king out of his possession, with divers other imaginations and devices, even as their fantasies served them, which were too long here to be rehearsed: but I leave it to the chroniclers that write stories.

Thus were they in long consultations, whereof every man in the courte had talked as their fantasies served them; untill at the last it was devised, by meanes of divers ambassadors [8] sent from the realmes of Fraunce unto the king our soveraigne lord, to take order with the emperor for the French kings deliverance, as his high wisdome could think best, wherein my lord cardinall bare a great stroke; so that after longe deliberation and advice taken in this matter, it was thought good by my lord cardinall, that the emperor should deliver the French king out of his warde upon sufficient pledges. Then was it, upon his advice, thought meete that the kings two sonnes, that is to say, the Dolphin [9] and the duke Orleance, should be delivered in hostage for the king their father; which was in conclusion brought to passe.

After the kings delivery out of the emperors bondage [1], and

[8] *Ambassadors.*] Jean Brinon, first president of the parliament of Rouen, and Jean Joachin, were then in England, as ambassadors: but the embassy here alluded to was probably that of Gabriel de Gramont, bishop of Tarbes, who became afterwards archbishop of Bourdeaux and cardinal. His letters are extant in the *Bibliothèque du Roi* at Paris.

[9] *Dolphin*, &c.] Francis, the dauphin, who was poisoned by Montecuculli in 1536, and Henry, duke of Orléans (who was afterwards Henry II.). On the death of his elder brother, Henry became dauphin, and the dukedom of Orléans devolved upon Charles, duke of Angoulême.

[1] *Out of the emperors bondage.*] He entered his own territories 17th of March, 1526. The arrival of Francis is thus described in a letter from Dr. John Taylor, then ambassador in France, written to Cardinal Wolsey from Bayonne, 18th of March, 1526. "Please it your grace to understand that the xv day of March, very late in the evening by torch-light, my Lady Regent came into Bayonne, and was received with great triumph of gunshot. On the morrow after dinner I spake with her, and she desired me to have patience for ii or iii days, she was in such great anxiety for the sending forth of the dauphin and his brother, and for great desire to see the king her son, that she could attend to no other thing. But she assured me that as soon as the king was come, Mons. Joachyn should be despatched into England. The xvii day the dauphin and his brother were delivered into the hands of the Spaniards upon a bridge upon the river, called Andaye, betwixt Fontarabia and St. Jean de Luz, and betwixt ii and iii of the clock the same day the king was received into Bayonne with much shot of ordnance. Without the town a quarter of a mile I was accompanied with the chancellor (Du Prat) and many other spiritual men, by the command of my lady, and there abode

his sonnes received in hostage for the emperors and the kings our soveraigne lordes security of all such demaunds and requestes as should be demaunded of the French king, as well as by the emperor as our soveraigne lorde, the cardinall, lamenting the French kings calamity, and the popes great adversity, who yet remained in the castle Angell, either as a prisoner or else for his defence against his enemies, travailed all that he could [2] with the king and his council to take some order for the quietness of them bothe. At laste, as ye have hearde here before, how divers of the great estates and lordes of the council, with my lady Anne lay but in a-wait to espy a convenient time and occasion to take the cardinall in a brake, they thought it now a necessary time to cause him to take upon him the kings commission to travell beyond the seas in this matter, and by his high wit to compasse a perfect peace among these great princes and potentates; and encouraging him thereunto alleged, that it was more meete for his high wit, discretion and authority, to bring so weighty a matter to passe, than any other man within this realme. Their intent was none other but, if they might, to get him from the king out of the realme; then might they sufficiently adventure, by the help of their chief mistress, to deprave him unto the kings highness, and so in his absence to bring him in displeasure with the king, or at the least to be of lesse estimation.—Well!

the coming of the king; and after that the chancellor had saluted the king, he shewed to him that I was the orator of England, the king took me in his arms, whom I saluted in this manner: '*Christianissime rex, ex parte serenissimi regis Angliæ, defensoris fidei, domini mei potentissimi, ego congratulor tuæ majestati in suum regnum salvo reditui; plura dicturus loco et tempore magis opportunis.*' His grace, with very favorable countenance, said how he would more at large speak with me, and he would never forget the goodness that he had found in the king's highness."—Ellis's *Original Letters,* 2nd series, vol. i. p. 331. The orthography is here modernized.

[2] *Travailed all that he could.*] These intrigues, in which the cardinal bore so large a part, did not redound to the glory of his country. Our merry neighbours even then had begun to make our diplomatic inferiority the subject of their sport and ridicule. William Tindall, in his *Practice of Popish Prelates,* referring to these events, tells us, "The Frenchmen of late dayes made a play or a disguising at Paris, in which the emperour daunsed with the pope and the French king, and weried them, the king of England sitting on a hye bench, and looking on. And when it was asked, why he daunsed not, it was answered, that he sate there, *but to pay the minstrels their wages onely:* as who should say, wee paid for all mens dauncing."—Tindall's *Works,* p. 375. A.D. 1572.

what will you have more? This matter was so handled that the cardinall was commanded to prepare himselfe to this journey; which he toke upon him; but whether it were with his good will or no, I am not able well to tell you. But this I knowe, that he made a short abode, after the perfect resolution thereof, but caused all things to be prepared onward toward his journey. And every one of his servants were appointed that should attend upon him in the same.

When all things were concluded, and for this noble ambassage provided and furnished, then was there no more to doe but avaunce forwardes[3] in the name of God. My lord had with him such of the lordes and bishoppes and other worthy persons as were not of the counsel or conspiracy.

Then marched he forwarde from his owne house at Westminster through all London, over London Bridge, having before him a great number of gentlemen, three in a rank with velvet coates, and the most part of them with great chaines of gold about their neckes. And all his yeomen followed him, with noblemens and gentlemens servaunts, all in orange tawny coates, with the cardinalls hat, and a T and a C, for Thomas Cardinall, imbrodered upon all the coates, as well of his owne servauntes, as all the rest of his gentlemens servauntes: and his sumpter mules, which were twentie or more in number. And when all his carriages and cartes and other of his traine were passed before, he rode like a cardinall very sumptuously with the rest of his traine, on his owne mule, with his spare mule and spare horse, trapped in crimson, velvet upon velvet, and gilt stirrups, following him. And before him he had his two great crosses of silver, his two great pillars of silver, the kings broad seale of England, and his cardinalls hat, and a gentleman carrying his *valence* (otherwise called his cloak bag) which was made of fine scarlet, altogether embrodered very richly with gold, having in it a cloake. Thus passed he forth through London, as I said before; and everie day on his journey he was thus furnished, having his harbingers in every place before, which prepared lodging for him and his traine.

The first journey that he made was two miles beyond Dartford in Kent, unto Sir Richard Wilshires house; and the rest of

[3] *Avaunce forwardes.*] He took leave of the king, July 3, 1527. Herbert, p. 205.

his traine were lodged at Dartford, and in the country thereabouts. The next day he marched to Rochester, where he was lodged in the bishoppes pallace, and the rest of his traine were lodged in the citty, and in Stroud on this side of the bridge. The third day he rode from thence to Fevershame, and there was lodged in the abbey, and his traine in the towne there, and some in the country there abouts. The fourth day he rode to Canterbury, where he was encountred with the worshipful of the towne, and country, and lodged in the abbey of Christ-churche in the priors lodging. And all his traine were lodged in the city, where he continued three or foure daies; in which season there was the jubilee, and a great faire in the towne, by the reason it was the feast of St. Thomas their patron. At which very day in the same abbey there was a solemne procession, wherein my lord cardinall then went, apparelled in his legantine ornaments with his hat upon his head; who commanded the monkes and the quier to sing the litany after this sort, *Sancta Maria ora pro papa nostro Clemente*, and in this manner perused the litany throughe, my lord cardinall kneeling at a stool before the quier dore, prepared for him with carpets and qusshions. All the while the monks and their quier stoode in the body of the churche singing this litany. At which time I sawe my lord cardinall weepe tenderly, which as I and other tooke it, was for the heaviness to see the pope in such calamity and danger of the launce knightes[4].

The next day I was sent with letters from my lord cardinall unto Callice in post, insomuch as I was that same night at Callice. And at my arrival I found standing upon the piere, without the lanterne gate, all the council of the towne, to whom I declared my message, and delivered my letters or I entered the towne, where I lay till my lord came there, who arrived in the haven[5] two daies after my coming, before eight of the clocke in the morning; who was received with all the noble officers and council of the towne, the mayor of the towne, and the mayor of the staple in procession, the clerkes being in rich copes, and having many riche crosses. And in the lanterne gate[6] a stool with carpets and qusshions was set for him, whereat he kneeled, and

[4] *Launce knightes.*] *Lanzen-Knechte*, the German men-at-arms, called by the French *Lansquenets*.

[5] *In the haven.*] July 11, 1527. Herbert, 205.

[6] *Lanterne-gate.*] See note at p. 344.

made his praiers. All which time they censed him with great censers of silver, and sprinkled holy water. That done they passed on before him in procession untill he came to St. Maries churche, where at the high altar, tourning him to the people, he gave them benediction and pardon. And then he repaired with a great nomber of noblemen and gentlemen, being peeres of the towne, unto a place called the Checquor, where he lay after and kept his house, as long as he abode in the towne: going immediately to his naked bed, because he was somewhat troubled with sickness upon his passage upon the seas.

That night unto this place called he unto him Mons. de Bees, captaine then of Bullen, with a number of other gallant gentlemen who dined with him; and after some consultation with my lord cardinall, he with the rest of the gentlemen departed againe to Bullen. Thus my lord was daily visited with one or other of the French nobility.

Then when all his traine and his carryage was landed, and every thing prepared for his journey, his grace called all his noblemen and gentlemen, being servants, unto him into his privy chamber; where they being all assembled before him, he saide: "I have called you hither to the intent to declare unto you, that I consider the duty ye bear unto me, and the good will that I semblably beare unto you for the same, seeing your intendment to further the authority that I have by commission; which your diligent service I will have hereafter remember, and therefore I meane to declare the same directly unto the king; *secondly*, to shew you the nature of the French men; and *thirdly*, to shewe you how, and with what reverence ye shall use me for the high honor of the kings majesty, and then, to inform you howe ye shall entertaine and accompany the French men, when ye shall meet at any time. To the *first* point, ye shall understand that the kings majestie, for certaine weighty affairs of his graces, hath for more advauncement of his royal dignity, assigned me to be in this journey his lieutenant; and what reverence belongeth to the same I will tell you. For my parte I must, by virtue of my commission and of lieutenantship, assume and take upon me, to be esteemed in all honors and degrees of service, as to his highness' presence is meete and due; and that by me nothing be neglected, that to his royal estate is due and appurtenant. And for my parte ye shall see, that I will not omit one jot thereof. Therefore, because that ye should not be ignorant of your duty in this case, is one of the

chief causes of this your assembly, willing you as you will have my favor, and also charging you all in the kings name, that ye doe not forget the same in time and place, but that every one of you do observe your duty to mee accordingly, as ye will at your returne avoide the king's indignation, or obtaine and deserve his highness' thanks, the which I will set forth, as each of you shall deserve.

"Nowe to the *second* pointe: The nature of Frenchmen is suche, that at the first meeting they will be as familiar with you, as they had bine acquainted with you long before, and common with you in their French tongue[7], as though you understoode

[7] *In their French tongue.*] The reader, I think, will be amused with the following anecdote (from a very scarce book), sufficiently illustrative of the present discourse of the cardinal, and, at the same time, very characteristic of the noble old English spirit of a veteran warrior, of the genuine blood of the Talbots.

"I will tell you a tale by the waie which I heard of as wise a manne as ever ye be like to be, for ought that ye have yet uttered, and as naturall a manne to his countree of Englande in *deede*, as ye bragge to be in *wordes*, which stoode not full twentie foote off, when the matter was firste spoken and uttered.

"It chaunced that there came a French ambassadour to the kynges highnesse, kyng Henry the eight, (I truste God hath his soule!) with letters, I trowe, from the French kyng, not long before that, sent to hym from the holy father of Rome. This ambassadour sitting at the counsaile table beganne to sette up a stoute countenaunce, with a weake braine, and carped French excedingly fast, which he thought should have been his onely sufficient commendation of them all that were at the table, that he could speake so readily. The matter of his talke was universall every where. But the substaunce was partly much noting the gluttonie of Englishmen, which devoured so much vitaile in the lande: partly, magnifying the greate utilitee and necessitee of the French tongue, which he noted to be almoste throughout the world frequented. And in his conference, he marveiled of diverse noble men that were present, for that they could not keepe him talke, or yet could not so much as understande hym, to perceive his gaie witte. Among the number of Lordes there, satte the old honourable capitain the Lorde Erle of Shrowesburie, lookyng at his meate, and gave neither eare nor countenaunce to this jolie man, but gave other leave to talke, and sat, as he might, shakyng heade and hands in his palsey, whiche was testimonie enough whether he were not in his daies a warriour lying abrode in the fielde to take aire of the ground. This Frenche ambassadour was offended with hym, and said, 'What an honour were it for yonder olde noble man if he could speake the Frenche tongue; surely it is a greate lacke to his nobilitie.' One of the lordes that kept hym talke, asking firste leave of this *mon sire* to report part of the communication to the Lorde Shrewesburie, made reporte thereof; yet in

every worde; therefore use them in like manner, and be as familiar with them as they be with you. If they speake in their naturall tongue, speake you againe to them in the Englishe tongue, for if you understande not them no more shall they understande you," And speaking merrily to one of the gentlemen there, being a Welshman, he saide. "Riche," quoth he, "speake thou Welche to him, and I doubt not but thy speache shall be more diffuse [8] to him than his Frenche shall be to thee: and thus," quoth he againe to us all, "let all your enterteinement and behaviour be according to the order of all gentleness and humanity, that ye may be reported, after our departure from hence, that ye be gentlemen of right good behaviour, and of much gentleness, and that ye are men who knowe the duties to your soveraigne lorde, and to your master, esteeming much your great reverence. Thus shall ye not only obtaine to yourselves great commendation and praise for the same, but also advaunce the honor of your prince and country.

"Nowe goe your waies being admonished of all these pointes,

most courteous maner, with easie and favorable rehearsal, as might touch a truth.

"When he heard it, where before his head by greate age was almoste gravelyng on the table, he roused hym self up in suche wise that he appeared in length of bodie as much as he was thought ever in all his life before. And knittyng his browes, he laid his hande on his dagger, and set his countenaunce in suche sort that the French hardie ambassadour tourned coloure wonderfully. 'Saieth the Frenche whoreson so,' saieth he, 'Marie tell the French dogge againe, by sweete sainct Cuthbert, if I knewe that I had but one pestilente French woorde in all my bodie, I would take my dagger and digge it out before I rose from the table. And tell that tawnie whoreson againe, howsoever he hath been hunger starved hym self at home in Fraunce, that if we should not eate our beastes and make vitaile of them as faste as we doe, they would so encrease beyond measure, that thei would make vitaile of us and eate us up.'

"When these woordes were repeated again to this French gest, he spoiled no more vittaile at the dinner after that, but dranke wonderous oft. Whiche whether it was his countenaunce, because he had left talkyng, or whether because he was inwardly drie, the reporter of this tale could tell me no further; but saied that his eye was never off hym, all that dinner while after." *Defence of Priests' Marriages*, p. 127—9. 4to. black letter.

[8] *More diffuse.*] "*Cook.* Then answere me, What sayest thou to the blessed sacrament of the altar? Tell me.

"*Jackson.* I answered; it is a *diffuse* question, to aske me at the first dash, you promising to deliver me."—Fox's *Acts*, p. 1769. See also p. 1574. "*diffuse* and *difficult*."

and prepare yourselves against tomorrow, for then we intend, God willing, to set forward." And we his servauntes, being thus by him instructed and informed, departed every man to his lodging, making against the next day all things in a readinesse to avaunce forward with my lord cardinall.

The next morning, being Mary Magdalens day, all things furnished, my lord cardinall advaunced out of Callaise with such a number of black velvet coates as hath bin seldom sene with an ambassador. All the peeres of Calaise and Guines, with all other gentlemen, besides his traine, being garnished in black velvet coates and chaines of gold.

Thus passed he forward with his traine of gentlemen before him three in a ranke, which by supposall endured three quarters of a mile or more in length, having his crosses, and all other his accustomed and glorious furniture carried before him, even as I have before rehearsed, except the broade seale[9], the which he left in Callaise with master doctor Tailor[1], then master of the rolles, untill his returne. Passing thus on his way, and being scantly ridden a mile, it begane to raine so vehemently, that I have not seene the like for the time; which endured untill we came to Bullen; and ere we came unto Sandingfield, the cardinall of Loraine[2], a goodly young gentleman, encountered my lord, and received him with great joye, and reverence, and so passed forthe with my lorde, in communication, until we came nighe unto the

[9] *Except the broade seale.*] In his former embassy Wolsey carried with him the great seal:

"In the reign of Henry the Eighth the Lord Chancellor appears to have taken the great seal with him wherever he went, even when he quitted the realm: but he seems to have possessed the power of entrusting it to another person for a temporary purpose. Thus, secretary Pace informed Lord Chancellor Wolsey, who was at Calais in October, 1521, that the king said Trinity term might be kept, if he would send home the master of the rolls with the great seal for that purpose. (*State Papers*, vol. i. p. 70.) It being, however, determined to adjourn the term, in case the plague continued, the necessary writs were sent to Wolsey, to be sealed and returned to the king. (*State Papers*, vol. i. p. 76.)"—Sir Harris Nicolas's *Remarks on the Great Seal*, prefixed to the *Proceedings of the Privy Council*, vol. vii. Mr. Singer would seem therefore to be in error, when he says that it was a violation of the laws to carry the great seal out of the king's dominions.

[1] *Tailor.*] Dr. John Taylor, archdeacon of Buckingham, who himself was employed by Henry in political negotiations.

[2] *Loraine.*] See note at p. 519.

saide Sandingfield, which is a place of religion standing betweene the Englishe, Frenche, and Emperor's dominions, being a neuter holding of neither of them. There awaited for him Le County Bryan[3], capitaine of Picardie, with a great number of Stradiates or Arbenois[4], standing in aray, in a great piece of green oates all in harness, upon highe horses, passing on with my lord in a wing unto Bullen, and so after through Picardy; for my lord doubted some-what the emperor that he should lay some ambushment for to betray him; for which cause the French king commanded them to attend upon my lordes grace, for the assurance of his person, to conduct him without daunger of his enemies. Thus rode he accompanied untill he came nighe Bullen, within an English mile, where encountered him the worshipfullest citizens of the towne of Bullen, having a learned man, that made before him an oration in Latine, unto the which my lord semblably made an answer. And that done monsieur de Bees[5], capitaine of Bullen, with the retinue thereof gentlemen met with him on horseback; and then with all his assembly he rode into the towne, lighting at the abbey gate, and from thence he was conveied with procession streight into the abbey church there, and offered unto the image of our Lady, most commonly called our Lady of Bullen, where was allwaies great offering. And that done he gave thence his blessing to the people, with certaine daies of pardon[6]. Then went he

[3] *Le County Bryan.*] Charles de Luxembourg, comte de Brienne, third son of the famous count de Saint Pol.

[4] *Stradiates or Arbenois.*] *Stradiates,* from the Italian, *stradiotto* (στρατιώτης), a hired soldier; a Greek mercenary.

Arbenois is the reading of both MSS. as Arbenoyes is of the York MS.: but the word, most probably, should be Albanois, *Albanians.*

[5] *De Bees.*] Oudart du Biez, afterwards created a marshal of France.

[6] *With certaine daies of pardon.*] In like manner, we saw, a little above, that at Calais he gave "benediction and pardon." From a letter to the cardinal, from Humfrey Monmouth, confined in the Tower on suspicion of heresy, we may gather what notion was entertained, even by comparatively enlightened men, of the efficacy of these pardons. "If I had broken most part of the Ten Commandments of God, being penitent and confessed (I should be forgiven) by reason of certain pardons that I have, the which my company and I had graunted, whan we were at Rome, going to Jerusalem, of the holy father the pope, *a poena et a culpa,* for certain times in the year: and that, I trust in God, I received at Easter last past. Furthermore I received, when your grace was last at Pawles, I trust in God, your pardon of *a poena et a culpa:* the which I believe verily, if I had done never so great offences, being penitent and confessed, and axing forgiveness, tha I should have forgiveness."

into the abbey to his lodging, and all his traine were lodged within the highe and base townes.

The next morning, after he had heard masse, he rode unto *Muterell* (Montreuil) *sur la mer*, where he was in like case encountered with the worshipful of the towne, all in one like livery, having a learned man to make an oration unto him in Latine, whom he answered also againe in Latine; and as he entered in at the gate, there was a canopy made ready of silke embroidered with like letters and hat, even as his men had on their coates. And when that he was lighted his footemen had the same as a fee due to their office. Nowe was there made divers pageauntes for joy of his comming, who was called in the French tongue there, and in all other places through the realme, where he rode or came *Le Cardinall Pacifick*, and in Latine *Cardinalis Pacificus*, who was accompanied all that night with the gentlemen of the country there abouts.

The next day he tooke his journey towards Abbeville, where he was encountered with diverse gentlemen of the towne and country, and so conveied unto the towne, where he was most honorably received with pageantes of diverse kindes wittely and costly conveied at every turning of the streetes as he rode through the towne, having a like canopy borne over him, being of more richer sorte than the other was of Mutterell; and so brought him to his lodging, which was, as it seemed to be, a very fair house newly built with brick, and within was all in manner of galleries, notwithstanding it was faire and necessary. At which house the French kinge Lewis, was married to the kings sister, which was after married to the duke of Suffolk. In this towne of Abbeville he remained more than eight or nine daies, where resorted unto him daily diverse of the French kings counsell, sitting with him in counsell every day, and continually feasting them, and others of the lordes and gentlemen highely, both at dinners and suppers.

Then when the time came of his departing out of the towne, he rode to a castle beyond the waters of Some, called the *Channel de Picgeny*[7], standing and adjoyning unto the saide water, upon a

Strype's *Ecclesiast. Memor.* vol. i. p. 248. Appendix. The cardinal had also a bull granted by pope Leo Xth. A.D. 1518, to give in certain cases and conditions plenary remission from all sins.—Fiddes, p. 48. Appendix.

[7] *Picgeny.*] Picquigny.

greate hille and rocke, within the which there was a colledge of priestes; the situation whereof was much like unto the castle of Windsor in England; and there he was received with a solemn procession conveying him first into the church, and after into the castell to his lodging. At this castell sometime upon the bridge that goes over this water of Somme, King Edward the fourthe met with the French kinge, as ye may read at large in the chronicles of England.

When my lorde was settled in his lodging, I heard that the French king should come that day into Amiens, which was not past six English miles from thence; and being desirous to see his comming thither, I toke with me one or two of my lordes gentlemen, and rode thither incontinent, as well to furnish me with a convenient lodging, as to see the kinge. And when we came thither, being but strangers, we tooke up our inne at the signe of the Angell, directly against the west door of the cathedrall church *de notre Dame*. After we had dined there, and tarried untill three or four of the clock, expecting the king's coming, in came the dame regent, the king's mother[8], riding in a very riche chariot; and with her therein was the queen of Navarre[9] her daughter, furnished with a hundred and more of ladies and gentlewomen following, every one riding upon white palfreies; besides diverse and many ladies, some in riche horse litters, and some in chariots, who lighted at the next dore with all her traine of ladies and gentlewomen, besides her garde, which was not small in number. Then, within two houres after, the kinge came in with a great shot of gunnes and diverse pageants, made only for joye of his coming; having about his person and before him, besides the wonderfull number of noblemen and gentlemen, three great guardes apparailed diversely. The *first* was of Switzers and Burgonians with gunnes. The *second* was of Frenchmen, some with bowes and arrows, and some with billes. The *third* guarde *pour le corps*, was of talle Scots, which were more comlier persons than all the rest. The French guard, and the guard of the Scots had one livery, being apparailed with rich coates of white cloth, guarded with a rich guard of silver bullion of an handful broade.

[8] *King's mother.*] Louise of Savoy, duchess of Angoulême.

[9] *Queen of Navarre.*] The celebrated Marguerite de Valois, the "*Marguerite des Marguerites*" of her brother Francis, and wife of Henri d'Albret, king of Navarre.

The king came riding on a goodly genet, and lighted at the saide great church, and so was conveied with procession into the bishopps pallace, where he was lodged, and also his mother.

The next morning I rode againe to Pickeney to attend upon my lorde, at which time of my resorte my lorde was ready to go to horseback towards Amiens; and passing on his way, he was encountered with diverse noble personnages, making unto him diverse orations in Latine, to whome he made answer againe *extempore*, which was very much. Then was worde brought him, that the kinge was coming to incounter him; wherefore he had none other shifte but to light at an old chappell, that stoode hard by the highe way, and there he new apparailed himselfe into richer apparaille, and so mounted againe upon a new mule very richly trapped, with a foote cloathe altogether of crimson velvet, purled with gold, and fringed about the edges with gold fringe very costly, his stirroups of silver and gilt, the bosses of the same, and the checkes of his mule's bit were all gilt with fine gold. And by that time that he was thus mounted againe after this gorgeous sorte, the kinge was come very near, within lesse than a quarter of an English mile, mustering upon an hill, his guarde standing in array upon the top of the same hill, expecting my lorde's coming; to whome my lorde made as much haste as he conveniently might, untill he came within a paire of butt lengthes, and there staied. The king perceiving that, having two worthy young gentlemen with him, the one called Monsieur Vadamont, and the other Monsieur de Guise, bothe brethren to the cardinall of Loraine, and to the duke of Lorain also [1], being like apparailed as the king was, in purple velvet lined with cloth of silver, their coates cut, the king caused Monsieur Vadamont to issue from him, and ride to my lorde cardinall, to knowe the cause of his tarrying. And this monsieur, being mounted upon a faire great genet, tooke his race with his horse, untill he came even to my lorde; and there caused his horse to come aloft twise or thrise, so nighe my lord's mule, that he was

[1] *To the duke of Lorain also.*] The four brethren were, Antony, duke of Lorraine, who married Renée de Bourbon, and continued the line of the reigning dukes; Claude, duke of Guise, who married Antonie de Bourbon, and was the progenitor of that family which so long troubled France; John, cardinal of Lorraine, who died in 1550; Louis, count of Vaudemont, who was killed at the siege of Naples in 1528.

in doubt of his horse; and with that he alighted, and doing humble reverence, did his message to my lorde; and that done, he mounted againe, and made his horse to doe the same at his departing as before he did at his coming, and soe repaired againe unto the king: and his aunswer ended to the king, the king advanced forwardes. That seeing, my lorde did the like, and in the mid way they met, embracing each other with amiable countenaunce and entertainement. Then drewe into the place all noblemen and gentlemen on bothe parties, with wonderful cheere made one to another, as though they had bine of an old acquaintance. The prease [8] was such and so thicke, that divers had their legges hurt with horses. Then the king's officers cried, "*Marche, marche, devaunt, alles devaunt.*" And the king, and my lord cardinall on his right hand, rode forth towardes Amiens, every Englishe gentleman accompanied with an other of France. The traine of these two princes endured two longe English miles, that is to say from the place of their encountry unto Amiens; whereas they were very nobly received with shot of gunes and costly pageantes, until the king had brought my lord to his lodging, and then departed for that night, the king being lodged in the bishoppes palace. And the next day after dinner, my lord rode with a great traine of English gentlemen and noblemen unto the court to the king, at which time the king kept his bed, yet nevertheless my lord came into his bed chamber, where on the one side of his bed sate the king's mother, and on the other side the cardinall of Loraine, accompanied with divers other gentlemen and noblemen of France. And after a short communication, and drinking a cup of wine with the king's mother, my lorde departed, and retourned againe to his owne lodging, accompanied with diverse gentlemen and noblemen, where they supped with him. Thus continued my lorde and the king in Amiens for the space of two weekes and more, consulting and feasting each other diverse times. In Amiens then was the king and my lorde at masse, the which received bothe the sacrament. And upon our Ladies day the Assumption, my lorde saide masse before the Regent and queene of Navarre, and gave them the sacrament. And there the king dressed a number of sicke folkes.

Then it was determined that the king and my lorde should remove, and so they did, to a towne or citty called Campaigne,

[8] *Prease.*] Press, crowd.

which was more than twenty [3] English miles from Amiens; unto the which towne I was sent to prepare my lord's lodging. And as I rode on my journey, being a Friday, my horse cast a shoe in a little village [4], where stode a faire castell. And as it chaunced there dwelt a smithe, to whome I commanded my servant to resorte, to shoe my horse, and standing bye while my horse was a shoeing, there came to me a servant of the castell, perceiving me to be an Englishman and one of my lorde legates servauntes (as they then called my lorde,) requiring me to goe into the castell to my lorde his master, who he thought would be very glad of my company. To whom I consented, because I was alwaies desirous to see and to be acquainted with strangers, and in especiall with men in authority, and of honourable estate, soe I went with him: who conducted me into the castell, and, at my first entry, I was among the watch men that kept the first warde, being very tall men and comely persons. They saluted me very reverently, and knowing the cause of my comming, desired me to stay myselfe untill they had advertised my lorde their master; and soe I did. And incontinent the lorde of the castell came out unto me, who was called Monsieur Croky [5], a nobleman born, and nighe of king Lewis's bloud, which was the last king before king Fraunces that then reigned. And at his coming he embraced me, saying that I was right hartely welcome, and thanked me that I so gently would visit him and his castell, saying unto me that he was preparing him to encounter the king and my lord, to desire them the next day to come to his castell, if he could so intreat them. And in-deede he was in his riding coate of black velvet, with a paire of ermine shoes of black velvet on his feete, with a pair of gilt spurres, ready to ride. Then tooke he me by the hand, and most gently led me into his castell through an other warde. And being once entered within the castle,

[3] *Twenty.*] About *forty.*

[4] *Little village*] Moreuil, about twelve miles from Amiens and nine miles from Montdidier.

[5] *Monsieur Croky.*] Jean, sire de Créqui, surnamed *the rich*, had married Jossine de Soissons, heiress of Jean de Soissons, prince of Poix, who brought very large possessions to her husband, and, amongst others, the lordship of Moreuil. He was governor of Montreuil, through which place Wolsey had just passed. It was his uncle, Antoine de Créqui, seigneur de Pontremi, who in the previous year had so bravely defended Térouane against the united forces of Henry and Maximilian. The family was long one of the most illustrious in France.

within a base courte, I sawe all his family and servauntes in goodly order, all in blacke gownes and coates, like mourners, who led me into his hall which was hanged with hall hookes[6] upon the walles, as thicke as one could hange by an other; and in the hall stode an hawkes pearche with three or foure faire goss hawkes thereon. Then we entered into a faire parlour which was hanged with faire clothes of fine old arras, and being there but a while, communing together of my lord of Suffolk, how he was there to have beseiged the same[7], his servauntes brought in unto him bread and wine of diverse sortes. And after we had drunken of the same, "I will," quoth he, "shewe you the strength of my house, how hard it would have been for my lorde of Suffolk to have won it." Then led he me upon the walls which were marvaillous stronge, more than fourteen foote broade of my feete, and well garnished with great battering pieces of ordenaunce ready charged to be shot off against the king and my lord their comming by, if they would not enter, whose way was laid by the castle.

When he had shewed me all the walles and bullwarkes about the castle, he descended from the walles, and came downe into a faire inwarde courte, where his genet stode ready for him to mount upon, with twelve other of the fairest genets that ever I sawe, and in especial his owne, which was a mare genet, he shewed me that he might have had for it four thousand crownes, to the which I made no aunswer. But upon the other twelve genets were mounted twelve goodly young gentlemen, called pages of honour; they rode all bare headed in coates of cloth of gold, and black velvet paned, and on their legges bootes of red Spanish lether, and spurres parcell gilt.

Then he tooke his leave of mee, and commanded his steward and other of his gentlemen to attend upon me, and conduct me unto my lady his wife, to dinner. And that done he mounted upon his genet, and tooke his journey forth of his castle. Then

[6] *Hall hookes.*] Hand-guns. Singer's edit. p. 106. Perhaps the reading should be, "hanged with *hand-guns on hooks upon the walls*,"—or may not the original have read "*bill-hooks*," *i.e.* partisans or halberts. The Harl. MS. 428, has *half-hukes; i.e.* axes, from the French *hache;* the half-axe being a diminutive, like the *half-pike.*

[7] *Besieged the same.*] Shortly before the peace Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk, with Florence of Egmond, the imperial commander, had taken Montdidier, and other places, and approached within twenty leagues of Paris itself.

the steward, with the rest of his gentlemen, led me up to one of the gatehouses, where then my lady their mistress was lodged, for the time that the king and my lord should tarry there.

And I being there tarrying a while, my lady Madame Crokey [8] issued out of her chamber into her dining chamber, where I attended her comming, who received me very gently like her noble estate, having a traine of twelve gentlewomen. And when she and her traine was come all out, she saide unto me, "For as much," quoth she, "as ye be an Englishman, whose custome is to kisse [9] all ladies and gentlemen in your country without offense, although it is not soe here with us in this realme, yet I will be so bould as kisse you, and so ye shall doe all my maides." By meanes, whereof I kissed her and all her maides. Then went she to her dinner, being as nobly served as I have seene here any in England, having all the dinner time pleasant communication of the usage of our ladies and noblemen of England, and commended the behaviour of them right excellently; for she was with the king at Arde [1], when the great encounter was between the French king and the king our soveraigne lorde: At which time she was, bothe for her person and goodly behaviour, appointed to keepe company with the ladies of this realme. To be short, after dinner pausing a little, I tooke my leave, and so departed on my journey; and by reason of my tracting of time in castle Crokey, I was constrained that night to lye in a walled

[8] *Madame Crokey.*] See note at p. 521.

[9] *Whose custome is to kisse.*] Erasmus appears to have been singularly delighted with this English custom. "Quanquam si Britanniæ dotes satis pernosses Fauste, næ tu alatis pedibus huc accurreres; et si podagra tua non sineret, Dædalum te fieri optares. Nam ut e pluribus unum quiddam attingam. Sunt hic nymphæ divinis vultibus, blandæ, faciles, et quas tu tuis Camænis facile anteponas. *Est præterea mos nunquam satis laudatus:* Sive quo venias omnium osculis exciperis; sive discedas aliquo, osculis demitteris: redis? redduntur suavia: venitur ad te? propinantur suavia: discediturabs te? dividuntur basia: occurritur alicubi? basiatur affatim: denique, quocunque te moveas, suaviorum plena sunt omnia. Quæ si tu Fauste, gustasses, semel quam sint mollicula, quam fragrantia, profecto cuperes non decennium solum, ut Solon fecit, sed ad mortem usque in Anglia peregrinari." Erasmi *Epistol.* p. 315. edit. 1642. "It becometh nat therefore the persones religious to folowe *the maner of secular persones*, that in theyr congresses and commune metyngs or departyng done use to kysse, take hands, or such other touchings, that good religious persones shulde utterly avoyde."—Whytford's *Pype of Perfection*, fol. 213. b. A. D. 1532.

[1] *Arde.*] Meaning the field of the cloth of gold.

towne called *Mondedri*[2] and in Latine *Mons desiderii*, the suburbs whereof my saide lorde of Suffolk had lately burned.

And earely in the morning I rode to Campaigne, being Satterday, and market day; where at my first comming I toke up my inne against the middest of the market place, and being set at dinner in a faire chamber, that loked into the streete, I heard a great rumour and clattering of billes. With that I loked out of the windowes, and espied where the officers of the towne brought a prisonner to execution, and with a sworde stroke off his head. And when I demaunded what his offense was, it was answered me, that it was for killing of a red deare in the forest thereby. And incontinent they had set up the poore man's heade upon a pole in the market place, between the Stag's Hornes; and his quarters in foure partes of the forest.

Then went I about to prepare my lorde's lodging, and to see it furnished, which was in the great castle of the towne, whereof my lord had the one halfe assigned him for his lodging, and the king the other halfe; and in like wise they divided a long gallery between them, where was made in the middest thereof a stronge wall with a windowe and a dore. The kinge and my lorde would many times meet at the same windowe and talke, and diverse times would goe in the one to the other, at the said dore.

Nowe in this castle there was lodged Madame Regent, the king's mother, and all her ladies and gentlewomen. Then came there to my lorde the chauncellor of France[3], a very witty man, with all the king's grave counsellors, where they toke great paines dayly in consultation. In so much that I heard and sawe my lord fall out with the chauncellor of France, laying to his charge, that he went about to hinder the league, which was, before his comming, concluded betweene the king our soveraigne lord and the French king his master; insomuch that my lord stomached him stoutly, and tould him, "That it should not lie in his power to infringe the amiable friendship. And if the king his master, being there present, would followe his counsell, he shall not faile shortly after his returne, but feele the smarte, what it is to mainetaine warre against the king of England, and thereof ye shall well be assured." Soe that his stout countenance, and

[2] *Mondedri.*] Montdidier.

[3] *Chauncellor of France.*] Antoine du Prat, who was shortly afterwards made a cardinal. See p. 503.

bould wordes made them all in doubt how to quiet him, and revoke him againe to the counsell, who was then departed in great fury. There was sending, there was coming, there was intreating, and there was great submission, and intercession made unto him, to reduce him to his former communication and conclusion; who would in no wise relent, untill Madame Regent came to him herselfe, who handled the matter in such wise, that she brought him againe to his former estate of communication. And by that meanes he brought other things to passe, that before he could not obtaine, which was more for feare, than for any affection to the matter, he had the heades of the counsell so under his girdle.

The next morning after this conflict, he rose earely about the foure of the clocke, and sat him downe to write letters into Englande unto the kinge, commanding one of his chaplains to prepare him ready to masse, insomuch that the chaplaine stode ready in his vestures, untill foure of the clocke, at afternoone; all which season my Lorde never rose, neither to make water, nor yet to eat any meate, but continually wrote letters, with his owne hand, having all that time, his night cap, and his cherchief on his head. And about the houre of foure of the clocke, at afternoone, he made an end of writinge, commanding Christopher Gunner, the king's servaunt, to prepare him without delay to ride post into England with his letters, whom he dispatched away or ever he dranke. And that done, he went to masse, and said his mattins and other devotions with his chaplaine, as he was accoustomed to doe; and then went straight a walking in a garden; and after he had walked the space of an houre or more, and said evensong, then went he bothe to dinner and supper all at once. And after supper, making but small tarrying, scant an houre, he went to his bed, there to take his rest for that night.

The next night following my lord caused a great supper to be made for Madame Regent, and for the queen of Navarre, and other great estates of ladies and noble women.

There was also Madame Reine [4], one of the daughters of king Lewis, the last king, whose sister, lately dead, king Frauncis had married. These two sisters were, by their mother, inheritors of the dutchy of Britaine, and for as much as the king had married

[4] *Reine.*] Renée, who afterwards married the duke of Ferrara, and died in France in 1575. Her daughter married Francis, duke of Guise.

one of the sisters, by whome he had the one moitie of the said dutchy, to attaine to the other moiety, he kept the saide Madame Reyne, the other sister, without marriage, to the intent the whole duchy might discend unto him, or his successors, after her death, for lack of issue of her.

But now let us return to the supper or rather banquet, where all these noble personages were highly feasted; and at the middest of the saide banquet, the king with the king of Navarre, came sodeinly in upon them, unlooked for, who toke their places in the lowest parte thereof. There was not only plenty of fine meates, but also much mirth with solace, as well in merry communication, as with the noise of my lord's minstrells, who plaied there all that night soe cunningly, that the king took therein great pleasure, insomuche as he desired my lorde to lend them unto him for the next nighte. And after supper, their banquet finished, the ladies and gentlemen fell to dauncing; amongst whom one Madame Fountaine[5], a maide, had the prize. And thus passed they the most parte of the night ere they departed.

The next day the king toke my lord's minstrells and rode to a nobleman's house, where was some live image to whome he vowed a night's pilgrimage, to perform his devotion. When he came there, which was in the night, he daunced, and caused others to doe the same, after the sound of my lord's minstrells, who plaied there all night, and never rested, soe that, whether it were with extreme labour of blowing, or with poisonning, as some judged, because they were more commended by the king than his owne, or of what other mischaunce, I cannot tell, but the plaier on the shalme[6], who was very excellent in that kind of instrument, died within a day or two after.

Then the king retourned unto Campaigne, and caused a wild boar to be lodged for him in the forrest of Campaigne: and thither my lorde rode with him, to see him hunt the wild swine; where my lady Regent, with a number of ladies and damoselles, were standing in chariots, loking on the toile, on the out side,

[5] *Fountaine.*] Probably one of the daughters of Georges de Bueil, seigneu de Fontaines.

[6] *Shalme.*] The base cornet. Ps. xcviii. ver. 6. "With trumpets also, and *shawms*." Old Vers. in Common Prayer ."With trumpets and sound of *cornets*." English Bible. In the *Latin vulgate*, "*Tuba cornea*."

which was pitched there for that purpose; among whome stoode my lorde Cardinall, to regarde the hunting, in Madame Regent's chariot. And within the toile was the king with diverse minion gentlemen of Fraunce, ready furnished to this high and dangerous enterprize, of the hunting of the perrilous wild swine. The king being in his doublet and hosen, all of sheepe's colour clothe, his hosen, from the knee upwarde, were thrummed very thicke with silke of the same colour; having in his slip a brace of great white greyhoundes, who were armed, as the manner is there, to defend them from the violence of the swines tuskes. And the rest of the king's gentlemen, being appointed to hunt this bore, were likewise in their dubblettes and hosen, holding eache of them in their handes a very sharpe boare speare.

Then the king commanded the kepers to uncouch the boare, and that every other person within the toile should goe to a standing, among whom were divers gentlemen and yeomen of England: and incontinent the boare issued out of his denne, and, followed with an hound, came into the plaine, where being staied a while, and gasing upon the people, and incontinent pursued by the hound, he spied a little bushe standing upon a banke over a ditche, under the which lay two French gentlemen, and thither fled, trusting there to have defended himselfe, who thrust his head snuffing into the same bushe. These two gentlemen fled from thence, as men doe from the danger of death. Then was the boare by violence and pursuite of the hunters and the hounds, driven from thence, who ran straight to one of my lorde's footmen, a very tall and comely yeoman, who had in his hands an English javelline, with the which he was faine to defend himselfe from the boare, a great while, the boare continually foining at him with his great tuskes, so that at the last he was faine to pitche his javelin in the ground betwene him and the boare, the which the boare brake with his force and foining. And with that the yeoman drewe his sworde, and stode at his defence; and with that the hunters came to the rescue, and put him once againe to flight. With that he fled to an other young gentleman of England, called Mr. Ratcliffe, who was sonne and heire to the lord Fitzwalter, and now earle of Sussex[7], who had borrowed by chaunce of a French gentleman, a very fine and sharpe boare

[7] *Earle of Sussex.*] Henry, the second earl of the Ratcliffe family.

speare, and therewith hee thrust the boare into the mouth, and soe into his throate; whereupon the sport was ended.

Now shortly after there were divers malicious practises pretended against us by the French, who by their theft somewhat impayred us: whereupon one of them, being a man I was well acquainted with, maintained a seditious untruth, openly divulged, and set forth by a subtile and traiterous subject of their realme, saying also that he doubted not, but the like had bine attempted within the king of England his majesty's dominions; but to see so open and manifest blasphemy to be openly punished, according to their traiterous deserts, notwithstanding I sawe but small redresse. This was one of the displeasures that the Frenchmen shewed him, for all the pains and travell he toke for qualifying of the king their soveraigne lord's ransome.

Also another displeasure was this. There was no place where he was lodged, after he entered the territory of Fraunce, but that he was robbed in his privy chamber, either of little things or great; and at Campaigne he lost his standishe, which was all of silver, and gilt: and there it was espied, and the party taken, which was but a little boy of twelve or thirteen yeares of age, a ruffian's page of Paris, which haunted my lord's lodging without any suspition, untill he was taken lying under my Lord's privy staires; upon which occasion he was apprehended, and examined, and incontinent he confessd all things that he stole, the which the ruffian his master received, maintained, and procured him soe to doe. Then after the espiall of this boy, my lord revealed the same unto the counsell, by meanes whereof the ruffian was apprehended, and set on the pillory, in the middest of the market place; a goodly recompense for such an offense. Also another displeasure was some lewd person, whosoever it was, had engraved in my lord's windowe upon the leaning stone there, a cardinall's hat with a paire of gallowes over it, in derision of my lord; with diverse other unkinde demeanours, the which I omit here to write them, being so slanderous matters.

Thus passing divers daies in consultation and in other matters, expecting the return of Christopher Gunner, which was sent into England with letters unto the king in post, as is before rehearsed, at the last he returned with letters againe; upon the receipt whereof my lord made haste to return into England.

In the morning that my lord intended to remove, being then

at masse in his closet, he consecrated the chancellor of Fraunce [8] a cardinall, and put upon him his habit, his hat, and his cap of scarlet; and then toke his journey returning againe into England, making such necessary expedition that he came to Guines, where he was nobly received of my lord Sandes, then capitaine there, with all the retinue of the same. And from thence he rode to Callise, where he tarried the shipping of his stuff, horses and traine; and in the meane time he established there a marte, to be kept for all nations; but howe longe, and in what sorte it continued I know not, for I never heard of any great good it did, or any assembly there of merchants or merchandise, that was brought thither, for the furniture of so great and weighty a matter.

These things and other for the weale of the towne and garrison by him perfected and finished, as it was then thought, he tooke shipping and arrived at Dover, from whence he rode to the court [9], the king then being in his progress at Sir Henry Wiatt's house, in Kent, of whom I and other of his servauntes thought, that he should be there highly received at his home comming, as well of the king as of others of the lordes. But we were deceived in our expectation. Notwithstanding he went immediately after his comming thither to the king, with whom he had long talke, and continued two or three daies there in the court; and then returned to his house at Westminster, where he remained until Michaelmas terme, which was within lesse than a fortnight after, and exercised his high rome of chauncellorship, as he was accustomed.

And immediately after the beginning of the terme, he caused to be assembled in the Star chamber all the noblemen, judges, and justices of the peace of every shire throughout England that were in Westminster hall at that present, and there made to them a long oration, declaring unto them, the cause of the embassage into Fraunce, and his proceeding there; amongst the which he said, "he had concluded such an amity and friendship as never was hearde of in this realme before, as well betweene the Emperor and us, as also betweene the king our sovereign lord and the French king, with a perpetuall peace, the which shall be confirmed in writing eternally, sealed with the broade seales of both the realmes graven in fine gold; affirming farther, that the king

[8] *Chancellor of France.*] Antoine Du Prat. See p. 524.

[9] *To the court.*] Sept. 30, 1527. Herbert, p. 210.

shall receive yearly his tribute by that name out of the duchy of Normandy, with all the costes which he hath sustained in the warres. And also, where there was restraint made in Fraunce of the French quene's dowry, whom the duke of Suffolk had married, for diverse yeares during the warres, it was fully concluded, that she should not only receive the same again, according to her just right, but also the arrerages being unpaide during the restrainte. All which things shall be perfected shortly at the resort of the ambassadors out of Fraunce. In the which shall be such a great number of noblemen and gentlemen to conclude the same, as hath not bine seen heretofore repaire hither out of one realme. This peace thus concluded, there shall be such an amity between the gentlemen of each realme, and intercourse of merchandise, that it shall seeme to all men, both territories to be but one monarchie. Gentlemen may travaile from one country to another for their recreation and pastime; then merchaunts, being in either country arrived, shall be assured to travaile about their affaires in peace and tranquillity: so that this realme shall joye and prosper for ever. Therefore it shall be well done of all true Englishmen to rejoice, and to set forthe the same, at the resort of this great embassage, both in gesture and intertainement, that it may be an occasion unto them, bothe to accept the same in good parte, and also to use you with the semblable, and make of the same a noble reporte in their countries.

"Now my masters I beseeche you, and require you on the king's behalfe, that you shewe yourselves herein as loving and obedient subjects, wherein the king will much rejoice at your towardness." And here he ended his oration, and brake up the courte, and soe every man departed his several waye.

This great long looked for embassage[10] was now come over with a great retinue, which were in number eighty persons or above of the most noblest and worthiest gentlemen in all Fraunce, who were right honorably received from place to place after their arrivall, and so conveyed through London the twentieth of October A.D. 1527, unto the bishoppes pallace there in Paules churche

[10] *Embassage.*] The ambassadors were Anne de Montmorency, constable and grand master of France; Jean du Bellay, bishop of Bayonne (who afterwards was bishop of Paris and cardinal); Jean Brinon, seigneur de Villaynes, first president of the parliament of Rouen; and Jean, seigneur d'Humières. The memorials of this embassy are still extant amongst the MSS. in the Bibliothèque du Roi.

yarde, whereas they were lodged, or thereaboutes, for the time of their abode. To whome diverse noblemen resorted and gave them diverse goodly presents; and in especiall the mayor and citty of London, as wine, sugar, waxe, capons, wild fowle, beastes, muttons, and other necessary things in great aboundaunce, for the expences of their house. Then resorted they on the Sonday unto the courte being at Grenewiche, and were there received by the king's majesty, of whome they were highly entertained. They had a commission to establish the king's highness in the order of Fraunce; for whom they brought, for that intent, a collar of fine gold, with the Michaell hanging thereat, and robes to the said order appurtenant, the which was very comely, of blue velvet, and richly embroidered, wherein I sawe the king passe into his closet, and after in the same apparell at masse beneath in his chappell. And to gratify the French king for his great honour with the semblable, he sent incontinent a nobleman[1] of the order here in England with Garter the Herald[2] into Fraunce unto the French king, to establish him in the Order of the Garter, with a semblable collar, with a garter and robes according to the same; the ambassadors remaining here untill their retourne.

All things being then determined and concluded, concerning the perpetuall peace upon solemn ceremonies and othes contained in certaine instruments touching the same, it was therefore determined, that there should be a solemne masse sung in the cathedrall church of Paules by the cardinall, the king being present at the same in his traverse. To the performaunce of their determination, and to the preparation thereof, there was made a gallery from the west doore of Paule's churche, through the body of the same, up to the quier doore, railed on every side, upon which railes stode swete burning perfumes. Then the king and my lord cardinall, with their whole traine of noblemen and gentlemen, went upon the saide gallery into the quier, and so to the high aulter unto the travers, my lord cardinall preparing himself to sing the masse, associated with twenty four miters of bishoppes, and abbotes, who attended and served him, in such ceremonies as to him were then due, by reason of his legatine prerogative.

[1] *A nobleman.*] Thomas Bullen, then viscount Rochford, afterwards created earl of Wiltshire and Ormond, the father of queen Anne.

[2] *Garter the herald.*] Sir Thomas Writhe, or Wriothesley, uncle of the first earl of Southampton.

And after the last *agnus*[3], the king rose out of his travers and kneled upon a carpett and cushions before the high aulter; and the like did the Graunde Master of Fraunce the cheife ambassador, that represented the Frenche king, betwene whome my lord cardinall divided the blessed sacrament, as a perfect oathe, and bond of security of the saide covenante of perpetuall peace. That done, the king resorted againe to his travers, and the Grand Master to his. This masse being ended, which was solemnly sung bothe with the quier of the same churche, and with the king's chappell, my lord cardinall toke and read the instrument of peace openly before the king and all other bothe Frenche and Englishe, and there in the sight of all the people the king put his hande to the seale of gold, and subscribed the same with his own hande, and delivered the same to the Grand Master as his dede, who semblably did the like; and that done they departed.

And the king rode home with my lord cardinall to Westminster, and there dined with all the Frenchmen, passing all the day after with consultation of weighty matters, touching the conclusion of the saide articles of the saide perpetuall peace. The king then departed by water to Greenwiche; at whose departing it was concluded by the king's devise, that all the Frenchmen should resorte to Richmonde and hunt in every of the parks there, and from thence to Hampton Courte, and therein likewise to hunt, and my lord cardinall to make there a supper, or a banquet, or bothe to them; and from thence they should ride to Windsor, and there to hunt, and after their retourne againe to London, to resorte to the king at Greenwiche, and there to banquet with him before their departure. This determined, they all departed to their lodgings.

[3] *After the last agnus.*] The book of ceremonies (compiled under the influence of the bishops Gardiner and Tonstall, and in opposition to that of Cranmer, about the year 1540, and designed to retain in the church many operose and superstitious rites, by setting them off with the aids of a philosophical and subtle interpretation), describing in succession the different parts of the canon of the mass, proceeds thus: "Then saith the priest *thrice, Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi, &c.*, advertising us of *three* effects of Christ's passion; whereof the *first* is, deliverance from the misery of sin; the *second* is from pain of everlasting damnation; wherefore he saith twice *Miserere nobis*, that is to say, *Have mercy on us;* and the *third* effect is, giving of everlasting peace, consisting in the glorious fruition of God."—Strype's *Ecclesiast. Memorials*, vol. i. p. 289. Records. See also *Miror of our Lady*, fol. 189, and Becon's *Works*, vol. iii. fol. 49. A.D. 1564.

Then was there no more to doe but to make preparation of all things for this great assembly at Hampton Courte, at the day appointed. My lord cardinall called before him his principal officers, steward, treasurer, controller, and the clerkes of his kitchine, to whom he declared his full minde, touching the entertainement of the Frenchmen at Hampton Courte; whome he commaunded neither to spare for any costes, expences or travell, to make them such a triumphant banquet, as they may not only wonder at it here, but also make a glorious reporte thereof in their country, to the great honor of the king and his realme. His pleasure to them knowne, to accomplish his commaundement, they sent out all the caterers, purveyors, and diverse other persons to my lord's friends to prepare. Also they sent for all their expert cokes, and cunning persons in the arte of cokery, which were within London, or elsewhere, that might be gotten to beautify this noble feast.

Then the purveiors provided, and my lords friendes sent such provision, as you would wonder to have sene. The cokes wrought both night and day in subtelties and many crafty devises; where lacked neither gold, silver, neither any costly thing mete for the purpose.

The yeomen and groomes of the wardrobes were busied in hanging of the chambers with costly hangings, and furnished the same with beddes of silke, and other furniture for the same in every degree. Then my lord cardinall sent me, being his gentleman usher, with two other of my fellows thither, to foresee all things touching our roomes to be nobly garnished accordingly. Our paines were not small nor light, but dayly travelling up and downe from chamber to chamber. Then wrought the joiners, carpenters, masons, painters, and all other artificers necessary to be had to glorify this noble feast. There was carriage and re-carriage of plate, stuffe, and other riche implements, so that there was nothing lacking to be devised or imagined for the purpose. There were also provided two hundred and eighty beddes, furnished with all manner of furniture to them belonging, too long particularly here to be rehearsed. But all wise men may, and doe sufficiently know what belongeth to the furniture thereof, and that is sufficient at this time to be saide.

The day was come to the Frenchmen assigned, and they ready assembled before the houre of their appointment. Wherefore the officers caused them to ride to Hanworthe, a place and a

parke of the king's within three miles, there to hunt and spend the day untill night. At which time they retourned againe to Hampton Courte, and every of them was conveied to their severall chambers, having in them great fires and wine for their comforte and releife, remaining there untill the supper was ready. The chambers where they supped and banquetted, were ordered in this sorte, First, the great waitinge chamber was hanged with rich arras [4], as all other were, one better than another, and furnished with tall yeomen to serve. There was set tables round about the chamber, banquet wise covered. A cupboard was there garnished with white plate, having also in the same chamber, to give the more light, fower great plates of silver set with great lightes, and a great fire of wood and coales.

The next chamber, being the chamber of presence, was hanged with very riche arras, and a sumptuous clothe of estate furnished with many goodly gentlemen to serve. The tables were ordered in manner as the other chamber was, saving that the high table was removed beneath the cloath of estate, towards the middest of the chamber, covered. Then was there a cupboard in length as broade as the chamber, with six deskes of height, garnished with gilt plate, and the nethermost desk was garnished all with gold plate, having with lightes one paire of candlestickes of silver and gilt, being curiously wrought, which cost three hundred marks, and standing upon the same two lightes of waxe burning, as big as torches, to set it forth. This cupboard was barred round about that no man could come nighe it; for there was none of all this plate touched in the banquet, for there was sufficient besides. The plates that hung on the walles to give light were of silver and gilt, having in them great perchers [5] of waxe burning, a great fire in the chimney, and all other things necessary for the furniture of so noble a feast.

Nowe was all things in a readiness, and supper time at hande. The principall officers caused the trumpetts to blowe to warne to supper. The said officers right discreetly went and conducted these noble-men from their owne chambers, into the chambers where they should suppe. And they being there, caused them to sit downe; and that done, their service came up in such

[4] *Rich arras.*] Some of Wolsey's tapestry, with his arms interwoven, still remains at Hampton Court, in a room at the east end of the great hall.

[5] *Perchers.*] The large wax-candles usually set upon the altars.

abounddance, both costly and full of subtilties, and with such a pleasant noise of instruments of musick, that the Frenchmen as it seemed, were rapt into a heavenly paradise.

Ye must understande that my lord cardinall was not there, ne yet come, but they were merry and pleasaunte with their fare, and devised subtilties. Before the second course, my lord cardinall came in booted and spurred all sodenly among them, and bade them proface[6]; at whose comming there was great joye with rising every man from his place. Whom my saide lorde caused to sit still, and kepe their romes; and being in this apparell as he rode, he called for a chaire, and sat down in the middest of the highe table, laughing and being as merry as ever I sawe him in my life. Anon came up the second course, with many dishes, subtilties, and devises, about a hundred in number, which were of so goodly proportion and costly devise, that I thinke the Frenchmen never sawe the like. The wonder was no lesse than it was worthy in deede. There were castles with images in the same; Paules churche for the quantity as well counterfaited as the painter should have painted it on a cloath or wall. There were beastes, birdes, fowles, and personnages, most likely made and counterfaited, some fighting with swordes, some with gunnes and cross bowes, some vaulting and leaping; some dauncing with ladies, some on horses, in compleit harnes, justing with longe and sharpe speares, with many mo devises than I am able to describe. Among all, one I noted. There was a chess borde made with spiced plate[7], with men thereof to the same. And for the good proportion, and because the Frenchmen be very cunning and experte in that playe, my lord cardinall gave the same to a gentleman of France, commaunding there should be made a goodly case, for the preservation thereof, in all haste, that he might convey the same safe into his country. Then toke my lord a bowle of gold filled with hypocras, and putting off his cap, saide, "I drink to the king my soveraigne lord, and next unto the king your master," and therewith dranke a good draught. And when he had done, he desired the Grand Master to pledge him cup and all, the which was well worth five hundred marks; and so caused all the borde to pledge these two royal princes.

Then went the cuppes so merrily about, that many of the

[6] *Proface.*] Much good may it do you! Ital. *profaccia,* Lat. *proficiat.*

[7] *Plate.*] Q. *paste?*

Frenchmen were faine to be led to their beddes. Then rose up my lord, and went into his privy chamber to pull off his bootes, and to shifte him; and then went he to supper in his privy chamber, and making a very shorte supper, yea rather a short repaste, retourned into the chamber of presence among the Frenchmen, using them so lovingly and familiarly, that they could not commend him too much.

And whilst they were in communication and other pastimes, all their liveries were served to their chambers. Every chamber had a basen and an ewer of silver, a great livery-pot of silver, and some gilt; yea and some chambers had two livery pots with wine and beare, a bowle and a goblet, and a pot of silver to drink in, bothe for their beare and wine; a silver candlestick, bothe white and plaine, having in it two sizes, and a staffe torche of waxe; a fine manchet, and a cheat loafe[8]. Thus was every chamber furnished throughout all the house, and yet the cupboardes in the two banquetting chambers not once touched. Thus when it was more than time convenient they were convaied to their lodgings, where they rested at ease for the night. In the morning after they had heard masse, they dined with my lorde, and so departed towardes Windsor. They being then departed, my lord retourned againe to London, because it was in the middest of the tearme.

It is not to be doubted, but that the king was made privy of all this worthy feast, who then intended far to excede the same; which I leave untill the retourne of the Frenchmen; who had given an high commaundement to his officers to devise a farre more sumptuous banquet for the strangers, than they had at the cardinall's; which was not neglected but pursued with all dilligence.

After the retourne of these straungers from Windsor, which place with the order thereof they much commended, the day approached that they were by the king invited to the courte; where first they dined, and after dauncing and other pastimes by them done, the time of supper came on. Then was the banquetting chamber in the tilt yarde at Greenwiche furnished for the enterteinement of these strangers, to the which place they

[8] *Cheat loafe.*] Todd derives *cheat* from *achet*, bought bread, as distinguished from the coarser bread made at home; others suppose it a diminutive of manchet.

were conducted by the noblest personnages then being in the courte, where they did bothe sup and banquet. But to describe unto you the order, the dishes, the subtilties, and strange devises of the same, I lack both a head of fine wit, and also cunning in my bowells to declare these wonderful devises. But thus ye shall understande; although it were marvaillous sumptuous at Hampton Courte, yet that notwithstanding, this banquet excelled the same, as farre as gold doeth exceed silver, in value of weight for weight; and for my parte I never sawe, heard nor read of the like. Then in the middest of this banquet, there was tourning at the barriers with lusty gentlemen in compleat armour very gorgious on foote; then was there the like on horseback; and after all this the most goodly disguising or enterlude, made in Lattine, that I have seen; the plaiers apparell being so riche, and of so strange devises, that it passeth my capacity to expound.

This done, there came a number of the fairest ladies and gentlewomen, that bare any brute[9] of bewty in all the realme, in most richest apparell that their tailors coulde invent or devise to set forthe their gesture, proportion and beauty, that they semed to all men to be rather celestial angels descended from heaven, than creatures of flesh and bone. Surely to me, simple soule, it was inestimable; and so I think it was to other of an higher judgment: with whom these gentlemen of Fraunce daunced, untill a gorgious maske came in of noble gentlemen, who daunced and masked with these ladies, every man as his fantasy served him. That done, and the maskers departed, came in an other maske of ladies so costly and gorgeously apparelled, that it passeth my wit to manifest and declare. Wherefore least I should rather deface their riches, I leave it untouched. These ladies maskers toke each of them one of the Frenchemen to daunce, and to maske. Ye shall understande, that these noblewomen maskers spake good French unto the Frenchemen; which delighted them very much, to heare these ladies speake to them in their owne tongue.

Thus was this night occupied and consumed from five of the clock, untill two or three of the clock after midnight; at which time it was convenient for all estates to drawe to their lodgings, and take their rest. And thus every man departed, whereas

[9] *Brute.*] *Bruit,* reputation, fame.

they had most releife. Then as nothing, either health, wealth, or pleasure, can alwaies endure, so ended this triumphant banquette, which in the morning seemed to all the beholders but as a phantasticall dreame.

After all this solemne cheere, at a day appointed they prepared them with bag and baggage to retourne into Fraunce. Then, according to the order of all honorable persons, they resorted in good order unto the courte, to take their leave of the king, and other noblemen then being there: to whom the king declared first his princely pleasure of commendations unto the king their master, and thanked them for their paines and travell, and after long communication had with the most honorable among them of the embassage, he bad them adieu.

Then came they to Westminster unto my lord to doe the like; of whome they received the king's rewardes, the which were these; every man of honour and estimation had plate, some to the value of three or four hundred poundes, and some more, and some lesse, besides other great giftes, received before of the king's majesty, as gownes of velvet with rich furres, great chaines of gold, and some had goodly horses, or geldings, of great price and valewe, with diverse other giftes, which now I cannot call to remembrance. And the least of them had an ounce of crownes of gold: the worst page amonge them had twenty crownes for his parte. And being thus nobly rewarded they departed. My lorde after humble commendations had by them to the Frenche king, bad them adieu. And the next day they were conveied with all their furniture, unto the sea side, with lusty young gentlemen of Englande. And what praise, or commendation, or salutation they made in their country at their retourne, in good faithe I cannot shewe you, for I never heard any thing thereof. For then began other matters to brue, that occupied our heades and imaginations, wherewith all men's stomakes were full, with small digestion.

The long-hid and secret love that was betweene the king and mistress Anne Bullen brake now out, and the matter was by the king disclosed unto my lorde cardinall; whose persuasion upon his knees long time before to the king to the contrary would not serve: the king was so affectioned, that will bare place, and discretion was banished cleane for the time. My lorde being provoked to declare his opinion and wisdome in the avauncement of his desired purpose, thought it not mete to wade too farre alone,

or to give his hasty judgement or advice in so weighty a matter, but desired of the king license to aske counsell of men of auncient study, and famous learning, bothe in the divine and civil lawes. That obteined,—by his legantine authority, he sent his commission out for all the bishoppes of this realme, that were learned in either of the saide lawes, or else had in any highe estimation for their prudent counsaile and judgement in princely affaires of long experience.

Then assembled these noble prelates at Westminster before my lorde cardinall, as well auncient famous and notable clerkes of bothe universities of Oxford and Cambridge, as also of divers cathedrall colleges of this realme, reckoned and accompted learned and of witty discretion in the determination of doubtful matters. Then was this matter of the king's case debated, reasoned, argued, and consulted of from day to day, and time to time, that it was to the learned a goodly hearing, but in the conclusion, (as it semed to me, and other,) the auncient fathers of bothe the lawes, (by my small estimation,) at their departure, departed with one judgement, contrary to the principall expectation. I heard then the opinion of some of the most famous persons amonge that sorte, reporte, that the king's case was too obscure for any learned man to discuss, the pointes therein were so doubtfull to have any true understanding or intelligence. And therefore they departed without any resolution or judgement.

Then in this assembly of bishoppes it was thought most expedient, that the king should first send out his commissioners into all the universities of Christendome, as well here in Englande, as into forraine regions, to have among them his grace's case argued substauntially, and to bringe with them from thence the very definition of their opinions in the same, under the seales of every university. That for this time was their determination; and so allowed, that diverse commisioners were incontinent appointed to this matter, who were divided, as some to Oxonforde, some to Cambridge, some to Lovaine, some to Paris, some to Orleaunce, some to Bononye, and some to Padway, and so forthe. Although these commisioners had the travell, yet was the costes and charges the king's; the which were no lesse than great and notable sommes of money, and all went out of this realme. For as I heard reported (and as it semed in deede) besides the charges of the embassage, the famous and most notable persons, and in especiall such as had any rule, or had the

custody of their universitie seales, were choked by the commisioners with such notable sommes of money [1], that they were the more glad to agree to their requestes, and to graunt to all that they desired; by meanes whereof all the commisioners retourned home againe with their purpose finished according to their commision, under the particular seale of every severall university, whereat there was no small joy conceived of the principall persons: in so much as the commisioners were not only ever after in great estimation, but also most liberally advaunced and rewarded, far beyond their worthy desertes. Notwithstanding, they prospered, and the matter went still forwarde, having now (as they thought) a sure staffe to stand by.

These procedings declared to my lord cardinall, he sent againe for the bishoppes, to whom he declared the effect and travell of these commisioners, and for affirmaunce thereof shewed them the instruments of every university [2] under the severall seales. Then this matter brought to passe, they went once againe to consultation, how it should be ordered to the purpose. —It was then thought good and concluded, that the king should send unto the pope, declaring the opinions of those universities, which were manifestly authorized by their common seales; to the which it was thought that the consent of these worthy prelates of this realme should be necessary to be sent also thither, altogether comprised in an instrument, sealed with all their seales annexed to the saide instrument, which was not long in doing; nor was long after, but the ambassadors were assigned

[1] *Such notable sommes of money.*] It is a question of fact which has been warmly debated, whether the suffrages of the universities in Henry's favour were purchased by money. It does not seem very necessary that *we* should enter into this dispute. But any one who wishes so to do, may consult Burnet's *History of the Reformation*, vol. iii. p. 401, Appendix; Harmer's [Wharton's] *Specimen of Errors*, p. 7; Fiddes's *Life of Wolsey*, p. 420; Poli *Epistolæ*, vol. i. p. 238. A.D. 1744.

[2] *The instruments of every university.*] Eight of these determinations soon after were printed in one volume, with a long discourse in support of the judgments contained in them, under the following title: "The Determinations of the moste famous and mooste excellent universities of Italy and Fraunce, that it is so unlefull for a man to marry his brother's wyfe, that the pope hath no power to dispence therewith: Imprinted by Thomas Berthelet the 7. day of Novembre, 1531." They were also published in Latin: in which language they are exhibited by Bishop Burnet, in his *History of the Reformation*, vol i. book ii. No. 34. Records.

to travaille in this matter, and to take upon them this journey accordingly, having furthermore certaine instructions, amonge which one was this, that if the pope would not hereupon agree to give judgement definitive in the king's case, then to require another commision from his holiness, to be graunted under leade[3] to establish a court to be kept in Englande for that purpose, only directed to my lord cardinall and legate of Englande, and to the cardinall Campaigne (who was then, although he were a stranger, bishoppe of Bathe[4], the which the king gave him at a certaine time, being an ambassador from the pope,) to determine and justly to judge according to their conscience and discretions. To the which after long sute made, and the good will of the sayd cardinall by faire promises obteined to travell into England, the pope graunted to their sute. And this done and atcheved, they made retourne unto the king, making relation unto him, that now his graces pleasure and purpose should be brought substantially to passe, being never more likely, considering the state of bothe the judges.

Long was the expectation on all sides for the comming of this legate from Rome, with his commision. After very long desire this legate was arrived in England, and being sore vexed with the disease of the goute, was constrained by force thereof to make a longe journey or ever he came to London; who should have bine most solemnely received at Blackheath, and so with triumph conveied to London, but his desire was such, that he would not so be entertained with pompe, and vaine glory, and therefore sodainly came to his house without Temple barre, called then Bathe Place, where he was lodged, which was furnished with all manner of stuffe and implements of my lord's provision.

So then after some deliberation, and consultation in the ordering and using of the king's matters, and his commision and the articles of his ambassage seene, read, and digested, it was determined, that the king and the good queene, his just wife, should be lodged at Bridewell. And then in the Black Friars a certaine place was there appointed most convenient for the king and queene's repaire to the courte, there to be kept for the disputa-

[3] *Under leade.*] Under a leaden seal or bull, *bulla plumbea.*

[4] *Bishoppe of Bathe.*] A manifest error: John Clerk was at this time bishop of Bath and Wells. Campeggio was bishop of Salisbury, which see had been given to him by Henry, during a mission from the pope to solicit aid against the Turk.

tion and determination of the case, whereas these two legates sat judges; before whom the king and queene were asscited and summoned to appeare; which was a strange sight, and the newest device, that ever was read or heard of before, in any region story or chronicle, a king and a queene to be constrained by process compellatory to appeare in any courte as common persons, within their owne realme and dominion, to abide the judgements and decres of their own subjects, being the royall diademe and prerogative thereof.

Forsoothe it is a world to consider the desirous will of wilfull princes, when they be set and earnestly bent to have their wills fulfilled, wherein no reasonable persuasions will suffice; and how little they regard the dangerous sequell that may ensue as well to themselves as to all their subjects. And above all things, there is nothing that maketh them more willfull than carnall love, and sensuall affection of voluptuous desire, and pleasures of their bodies, as was in this case; wherein nothing could be of greater experience than to see what inventions were furnished, what lawes were enacted, what costly edifications of noble and auncient monasteries were overthrowne[5], what diversity of opinions then rose, what executions were then committed, how many noble clerkes and good men were then for the same put to deathe, and what alteration of good, auncient, and holesome lawes, customes, and charitable foundations were tourned from reliefe of the poore, to utter destruction and desolation, almost to the subversion of this noble realme. It is sure too much pitty to heare or under-

[5] *Monasteries were overthrowne.*] At the same time we must not forget the example before set by Wolsey himself, in procuring the confiscation of some of these, for building and endowing his colleges at Oxford and Ipswich. In a letter from the king, given by Lord Herbert, highly honourable both to Henry's head and heart, he thus expresses himself, in a tone of friendly, anxious apprehension and warning, on this particular subject.

"As touching the help of religious houses to the building of your college, I would it were more, so it be lawfully: for my intent is none but that it should so appear to all the world, and the occasion of all their mumbling might be secluded and put away; for surely there is great murmuring of it throughout all the realm, both of good and bad. They say not, that all that is ill gotten is bestowed upon the college, but that the college is the cloke for covering all mischiefs. This grieveth me to assure you, to hear it spoken of him which I so intirely love. Wherefore methought I could do no less than thus friendly to admonish you." We shall see below, in the course of the present narrative, that "all the revenues belonging to the college of Oxenforde, and Ipswiche, the kinge toke into his owne handes."

stand the things that have since that time chaunced and happened to this region. The profe thereof hath taught us all Englishmen the experience, too lamentable of all good men to be considered. If eyes be not blind men may see, if eares be not stopped they may heare, and if pitty be not exiled the inwarde man may lament the sequell of this pernicious and inordinate love. Although it lasted but a while, the plague thereof is not yet ceased, which our Lorde quenche, and take his indignation from us! *Qui peccavimus cum patribus nostris, et injuste egimus.*

Ye shall understande, as I saide before, that there was a courte erected[6] in the Black Friars in London, whereas sat these two cardinalls for judges in the same. Nowe I will set you out the manner and order of the saide courte. First, there was a courte planted with tables and benches, in manner of a consistory, one seat raised higher (for the judges to sit in) than the other were. Then as it were in the middest of the saide judges, aloafte above them three degrees highe, was a cloath of estate hanged, with a chaire royall under the same, wherein sat the king; and besides him, some distaunce from him, sat the queene; and under the judges feete sat the scribes, and other necessary officers for the execution of the process, and other things appertaining to such a courte. The chiefe scribe was Doctor Stevens[7] after bishoppe of Winchester, and the apparitour, who was called doctor of the courte, was one Cooke, most commonly called Cooke of Winchester. Then, before the king and the judges, within the courte, sat the archbishoppe of Canterbury doctor Warham, and all the

[6] *A courte erected.*] For "Proceedings relating to the dissolution of the marriage between king Henry VIII. and Catharine of Arragon, 19 Hen. VIII. 1528," &c. see *State Trials*, vol. i. p. 299—368, from Lord Herbert, &c.

[7] *Was Doctor Stevens.*] Doctor Stephen Gardiner, afterwards bishop of Winchester, at this time in great estimation with Wolsey. In letters and other documents of this period he is often called Doctor *Stevens*. Mr. Granger, in the third volume of Bishop Burnet's *History of the Reformation*, p. 385, Appendix, intimates that this was a colloquial vulgarism; "*vulgarly*, as Stephen Gardener was Mr. *Stevyns*, in Wolsey's Letter." But it is questionable, I think, whether this is the true account of that name. The bishop himself, in his Declaration of his Articles against George Joye, A.D. 1546, fol. 3. b. of the 4to edition, thus speaks of it, "a booke, wherein he wrote, how Doctor *Stevens* (by *whiche name* I was *then* called) had deceyved hym." And Cavendish below adverts to this appellation in very similar terms. "To this embassage was appointed Dr. Stephen Gardiner, *then called by the name of Doctor Stephens*, and secretary to the king."

other bishops. Then stoode at bothe endes within, the consellors learned in the spirituall lawes, as well the king's, as the queene's. The doctors of lawe for the king was doctor Sampson, that was after bishoppe of Chichester, and doctor Bell, which was after bishoppe of Worcester, with diverse other: and procurators in the same lawe, on that side, was doctor Peter[8], who was after chiefe secretary, and doctor Tregonwell, with diverse others.

Nowe on the other side there was a councell for the queene standing there; that is to say, doctor Fisher, bishop of Rochester, and doctor Standishe[9], bishop of Saint Asaphe in Wales, two notable divines, and in especiall the bishop of Rochester, a very godly man; for whose deathe many noble clerkes and good men lamented, who lost his heade for this cause ere it was ended, on Tower hill. There was also another auncient doctor called doctor Ridley, a very small person of stature, but surely a great and an excellent clerke in divinity.—Thus was the courte ordered, and furnished.

The judges commaunded[1] the crier to proclaim silence, whilest their commision was reade bothe to the courte and to the people assembled. That done, then the scribes commaunded the crier to call the king, by the name of "King Henry of England, come into the courte," and with that the king aunswered and said "Here." Then called he againe the queene by the name of "Katherine queene of Englande, come into the courte," who made no aunswer thereto, but rose incontinent out of her chaire, whereas she sat, and because she could not come to the king directly, for the distance severed betweene them, she toke paine to goe about by the courte, and came to the king, kneeling downe at his feete in the sight of all the courte and people, to whom she sayd in effect these words[2], in broken Englishe, as hereafter followeth.

[8] *Doctor Peter.*] Afterwards better known as Sir William Petre.

[9] *Doctor Standishe.*] See note to *Life of Dean Colet*, p. 456.

[1] *The judges commaunded.*] May 21, 1529. Lord Herbert, in *State Trials*, vol. i. p. 317.

[2] *In effect these words.*] Upon all this process the reader may consult Burnet's *History of the Reformation*, vol. iii. p. 46—48. The bishop affirms positively that the king did not appear personally, but by proxy; and that the queen withdrew after reading a protest against the competency of her judges. "And from this it is clear (says the bishop), that the speeches that the historians have made for them, are all plain falsities." It is no easy matter to contradict the confident affirmation of the historian, and the alleged autho-

" Sir," quoth she, " I beseeche you to doe me justice and right, and take some pitty upon me, for I am a poore woman and a straunger, borne out of your dominion, having here no indifferent counsell, and lesse assuraunce of friendship. Alas! Sir, what have I offended you, or what occaision of displeasure have I shewed you, intending thus to put me from you after this sorte? I take God to my judge, I have bine to you a true and an humble wife, ever conformable to your will and pleasure, that never constrained or gainesayd any thing thereof, and being alwaies contented with all things wherein you had any delight or daliaunce, whether it were little or much, without grudge or countenaunce of discontentation or displeasure. I loved for your sake all men whome ye loved, whether I had cause or no cause; or whether they were my friends or enemies. I have bine your wife this twenty yeares or more, and ye have had by me diverse children.

" And when ye had me at the first, I take God to my judge, that I was a very maide; and whether it be true or no, I put it to your conscience. If there be any just cause that ye can alleadge against me, either of dishonesty or other matter lawfull to put me from you, I am content to departe to my shame and rebuke; and if there be none, then I pray you let me have justice at your handes. The king your father was in his time of such an excellent wit, that he was accompted among all men for his wisdome to be a second Solomon. And the king of Spaine my father Ferdinand, was reckoned to be one of the wisest princes that reigned in Spaine, many yeares before his daies: and so they were bothe wise men and noble kings. It is not therefore to be doubted,

rity upon which he professes to rely, which is corroborated also by Fox's *Acts*, p. 958; but at the same time, it must be observed, that the testimony for the personal appearance of the king before the cardinals is surprisingly powerful; I mean, even though we do not go beyond Cavendish, and the other ordinary historians. But in addition to these, we may refer to the authority of William Thomas, clerk of the council in the reign of king Edward VI., and a well-informed writer: who, in a professed Apology for Henry VIII., addressed to the noted Peter Aretin, " the scourge of princes," which is still extant in MS. in the Lambeth and some other libraries, and printed in the year 1774, speaking of this affair, affirms, " that the cardinal (Campeggio) caused the king as a private partie in person to appeare before him, and the ladie Katharin both." p. 31, MS. (or p. 27, printed edition.) And yet Lord Herbert gathers from an " authentic record," that the king appeared (notwithstanding what the chronicles say), only by his proctor.—*State Trials*, vol. i. p. 319.

but that they had gathered together as wise counsellors unto them of every realme, as to their wisdomes they thought meete. And, as me semeth, there were in those daies as wise and well learned men in bothe realmes as be now at this day, who thought the marriage between You and Me good and lawfull. Therefore it is a wonder to heare what new inventions are now invented against me, that never intended but honesty. Aud now to cause me to stand to the order and judgement of this courte, it should, as semeth me, doe me much wronge: for ye may condemne me for lack of aunswer, having no counsell but such as you have assigned me. Ye must consider that they cannot be indifferent on my parte, when they be your own subjects, and such as ye have taken and chosen out of your owne counsell, whereunto they are privy, and dare not disclose your will and intent. Therefore I humbly desire you, in the way of charity to spare me, untill I may knowe what counsell and advise my friends in Spaine will advise me to take. And if you will not, then your pleasure be fulfilled." And with that she rose up and made a low courtesy to the king, and departed from thence, many supposing that she would have resorted againe to her former place; but she toke her way streight out of the courte, leaning upon the arme of one of her servauntes, who was her General Receiver, called Mr. Griffithe. The king being advertised that she was ready to goe out of the house whereas the courte was kept, commaunded the crier to call her againe, who called her by these wordes, "Katherine queene of Englande, come into the courte." With that quoth Mr. Griffithe "Madame ye be called againe." "On, on," quoth she, "it maketh no matter, it is no indifferent courte for me, therefore I will not tarry. Goe on your waies." And thus she departed, without any further aunswer, at that time, or any other, and never would appeare after in any other courte.

The king perceiving she was departed thus, and considering her wordes which she pronounced before time, saide to the audience these wordes in effect. "For as much," quothe he, "as the queene is gone, I will, in her absence, declare unto you all, that she hath bine to me as true, as obedient, and as conformable a wife as I could wishe or desire. She hath all the virtuous qualities that ought to be in a woman of her dignity, or in any other of a baser estate. She is also surely a noble woman borne, her conditions will well declare the same." With that quoth the lord cardinall "Sir, I most humbly require your highness to

declare before all this audience, whether I have bine the cheife[3] and first mover of this matter unto your majesty or no; for I am greatly suspected of all men herein." "My lord cardinall" quoth the king "I can well excuse you in this matter. Mary (quoth he), ye have bine rather against me in the attempting hereof, than a setter forthe, or a mover of the same. The speciall cause that moved me unto this matter was, a certaine scrupulosity that pricked my conscience, upon certaine wordes spoken at a time by the bishop of Bayon[4], the Frenche ambassador, who had bine hither sent upon the debating of a marriage to be concluded betweene the princess our daughter, the lady Mary, and the duke of Orleaunce second sonne to the king of Fraunce. And upon the consultation and determination of the same, he desired respite to advertise the king his master thereof, whether our daughter Mary should be legitimate, in respect of this my marriage with this woman, being sometime my brother's wife. Which wordes once conceived in the secrete bottom of my conscience, engendered such a scrupulous doubt, that my conscience was incontinently accombred, vexed, and disquicted; whereby I thought myself to be in great danger of God's indignation; which appeared to me, as me semed, the rather for that he sent us no issue male; and all such issues male, as my said wife had by me, died incontinent after they came into the world; so that I doubted the great displeasure of God in that behalfe. Thus my conscience being tossed in the waves of scrupulous doubtes, and partly in despaire to have any other issue than I had already by this lady now my wife, it behoved me further to consider the state of this realme, and the danger it stode in for lack of a prince to succeede me. I thought it good therefore in release of the weighty burden of my weak conscience, and also the quiet state of this worthy realme, to attempt the lawe therein, whether I may lawfully take an other wife more lawfull, without spot of carnall concupisence, by whom God may send me more issue, in case this my first copulation was not good: and not for any displeasure or misliking of the queene's person and age, with whom I could be as well contented to continue, if our marriage may stande with the lawes of God, as with any woman alive; in which

[3] *Whether I have bine the cheife.*] See Neve's *Animadversions on Phillips's Life of Cardinal Pole*, p. 62.

[4] *Bishop of Bayon*] Jean du Bellay. See note to p. 530.

pointe consisteth all this doubt that we goe nowe about to try by the learning, wisedom, and judgement, of you our prelates and pastors, of all this our realme and dominion, now here assembled for that purpose; to whose conscience and learning I have committed the charge and judgement, according to the which I will (God willing) be right well content to submit myselfe, and for my parte obey the same. Wherein after I perceived my conscience so doubtfull, I moved it in confession to you, my lord of Lincolne[5], then my ghostly father. And for as much as then you yourself were in some doubt, you moved me to ask counsell of all you my lordes; whereupon I moved it to you my lorde of Caunterbury, first to have your license, (in so much as ye were metropolitaine) to put this matter in question; and so I did of you all, my lordes, to which all ye graunted under all your seales, and that I have here to be shewed." "That is truth, if it please your grace," quoth the bishoppe of Canterbury, "I doubt not but that my brethren here present will acknowledge the same." "No sir, not so, under your correction," quothe the bishoppe of Rochester, "for you have not mine, no." "Ah," quoth the king, "loke here, is not this your hand and your seale?" and shewed him the instrument with seales. "No forsoothe," quoth the bishop. "How say *you* to that," quoth the king to my lord of Caunturbury. "Sir, it is his hand, and his seale," said my lorde of Caunterbury. "No, my lorde," quoth the bishop of Rochester. "Indeede you were in hand with me to have bothe my hand and seale, as other of my lordes have done; but then I

[5] *To you, my lord of Lincolne.*] John Longland. "In a manuscript Life of Sir Thomas More, written not many years after Longland's death, this account is given: 'I have heard Dr. Draycot, that was his' (Longland's) 'chaplain and chancellor say, that he once told the bishop, what rumour ran upon him in that matter; and desired to know of him the very truth. Who answered, that in very deed he did not break the matter after that sort, as is said; but the king brake the matter to him first; and never left urging him, until he had won him to give his consent. Of which his doings he did forethink himself, and repented afterward.' MSS. Coll. Eman. Cantab'. Baker's Notes on Burnet's *History of the Reformation;* in Burnet, vol. iii. p. 400, Appendix. The same life is among the MSS. in the Lambeth Library, No. 827 (see fol. 12), and in the British Museum, Harleian 6253 (see fol. 19), and, I have reason to think, was composed about the year 1556, and by Nicolas Harpsfield. From these concurrent testimonies it should appear, that the charge which has been often urged against Wolsey, that it was through his intrigues that Longland first suggested his scruples to the king, is unfounded.

saide againe to you, I would never consent to any such acte, for it was much against my conscience; and therefore my hand and seale shall never be set to any such instrument, God willing, with much more matter touching the same communication between us." "You say truthe," quoth the bishop of Caunterbury, "such wordes you had unto me; but you were fully resolved at last, that I should subscribe your name, and put to your seale myselfe, and you would allowe the same." "All which," quoth the bishop of Rochester, "under your correction my lord, is not true." "Well, well," quoth the king "it maketh no great matter; we will not stand with you in argument: you are but one man."—And with that the king rose up, and the courte was adjourned untill an other day.

The next courte day the cardinall sat againe, at which time the councell on both sides were there ready presently to aunswer. The king's counsell alledged the matrimony not to be lawful at the beginning, because of the carnall copulation had betwene prince Arthur and the queene. This matter was very sore and vehemently touched on that side; and to prove the carnall copulation they alleadged many reasons and similitudes of truthe. And being aunswered againe negatively on the other side, it seemed that all their former allegations were very doubtfull to be tried, and that no man knewe the truth. "Yes," quoth the bishop of Rochester, "I knowe the truth." "How knowe you," quoth my lord cardinall, "more than any other person?" "Yes forsoothe my lorde," quoth he, "*Quia ego sum professor veritatis*, therefore I knowe the truth. I know that God is truth itselfe, and he never sayeth but truth; and God saith, *quos Deus conjunxit, homo non separet*. And forasmuch as this marriage was joined and made by God to a good intent, I say that I knowe the truthe; and that men cannot break, upon any wilfull occaision, that which God hath made and constituted." "Soe much doe all faithful men," quoth my lord cardinall, "know as well as you. Yet this reason is not sufficient in this case; for the king's counsell doe alleadge diverse presumptions, to prove that it was not lawfull at the beginning, *ergo*, it was not ordained by God, for God doeth nothing without a due order. Therefore it is not to be doubted, but if the presumptions be true, which they alleadge to be most true, then the conjunction was not, ne could be, of God. Therefore I say unto you, my lord of Rochester, ye know not the truthe, unless ye can avoide their presumption by just

reasons." "Then," quoth one Doctor Ridley, "it is a shame and a great dishonour to this honorable presence, that any such presumptions should be alleadged in this open courte, which be too detestable to be rehearsed." "What," quoth my lord cardinall, "*Domine Doctor, magis reverenter.*" "No, no, my lord," quoth he, "there belongeth no reverence to be given to this matter; for an unreverent matter would be unreverently answered." And there they lefte, and proceeded forthe with other matter.

Thus this courte passed from session to session, and day to day, till at a certaine day of their session the king sent for my lord cardinall to come to him to Bridewell; who to accomplish his commaundement went to him, and being there with him in communication in his privy chamber from an eleven untill twelve of the clocke at noone, and past, my lord departed from the king and toke his barge at the Blackfriars, and went to his house at Westminster. The bishop of Carlile[6] being in his barge at that time, saide unto him, (winding of his face), "It is a very hot day." "Yea my lord," quoth the cardinall, "if ye had bine as well chafed as I have bine within this houre, ye would say it were very hot." And as soon as he came home to his house at Westminster, he went incontinent to his naked bed, where he had not lyen fully two houres, but that my lorde of Wiltshire, mistress Anne Bulleines father, came to speake with him of a message from the kinge. My lord, understanding of his comming, commaunded he should be brought to his bedde's side; and he being there shewed him the king's pleasure was, that he should incontinently goe with the other cardinall to the queene whoe was then in Bridewell, in her chamber there, to perswade with her by their wisdomes, and to advise her to surrender the whole matter unto the king's handes by her owne consent and will; which should be muche better to her honor, than to stande to the triall of lawe, and thereby to be condemned, which would seem much to her dishonour. To fulfill the king's pleasure, my lord saide, he was ready, and would prepare him to goe thither out of hande, but quoth he farther to my lord of Wiltshire, "Ye and other my lordes of the counsell, are not a little mis-advised, to put any such fantasy into the king's head, whereby you doe trouble all the realme; and at length get you shall small thankes for your

[6] *Bishop of Carlile.*] John Kite, afterwards archbishop of Armagh.

laboures, both of God and the world," with many other vehement wordes and reasons, which caused my lord of Wiltshire to weepe[7], kneling by my lorde's bedde side, and in conclusion departed. And then my lord arose, and made him ready, taking his barge, and went streight to Bathe Place to cardinall Campeigne; and so they went together to Bridewell, directly to the queene's lodging and being in her chamber of presence they shewed the gentleman usher that they came to speake with the queene's grace. The gentleman usher advertised the queene, that the cardinalls were come to speake with her. With that she rose up, and with a skaine of white thread about her necke, came into her chamber of presence, where the cardinalls were attending her comming. At whose comming, quoth she, "Alack my lordes, I am very sorry to make you attend upon me; what is your pleasure with mee?" "If it please your grace," quoth my lord, "to goe into your privy chamber, we will shewe you the cause of our comming." "My lord," quoth she, "if you have any thing to say, speake it openly before all these folkes; for I feare nothing that ye can say or alleadge against me, but that I would all the worlde should bothe heare and see it; and therefore speake your minds openly, I pray you." Then began my lorde to speake to her in Latine. "Nay good my lorde," quoth she, "speake to me in Englishe, for I can, I thanke God, both speake and understande English; although I doe understande some Latine." "Forsoothe," quoth my lord, "good Madame, we come bothe to knowe, if it please your grace, your minde, how you are disposed to doe in this matter betweene the king and you, and also to declare secretly our opinions and counsell unto you, which we doe only for very zeale and obedience we beare unto your grace." "My lord," quoth she, "I thanke you for your good will; but to make an aunswer to your requestes I cannot so sodainly, for I was set among my maides at worke, thinking full little of any such mattere, wherein there nedeth a longe deliberation, and a better heade than mine, to make aunswer; for I nede of counsell in this case, which toucheth mee too neare; and for any counsell or friendship that I can find in Englande, they are not for my proffit. What thinke you, I pray you, my lordes; will any Englishman counsell me, or be friendly to me against the king's pleasure, that is his subject? Nay forsoothe: and as for my counsell in whom I will put my trust, they be not here; they be

[7] *To weepe.*] "To be silent." MS. 250. Lamb. Libr.

in Spaine in mine own country. Also my lordes, I am a poore woman lacking wit, to aunswer to any such noble persons of wisdome, as ye be, in so weighty a matter. Therefore I pray you be good unto me, a poore woman destitute and barren of friendship here in a forraine country: and your counsell also I will be glad to heare."

And therewith she toke my lord cardinall by the hande, and led him into her privie chamber, with the other cardinall; where they tarried a season talking with the queene, and we might hear her very loude, but what she said we could not tell. The communication ended, they departed and went to the king, making to him relation of her talke; and after returned home to their houses to supper.

Thus this strange case went forwarde from courte to courte, untill it came to the judgment, so that every man expected the judgment would be given the next court day. At which day the king came thither, and sat him downe in a chaire, within a dore in the ende of the gallery, which opened directly against the judgment seate, to heare the judgment given; at which time all their proceedings were openly read in Latine. That done, the kings counsell at the barre, called fast for judgment. With that, quoth cardinall Campaine, "I will not give judgement[8] till I have made relation to the pope of all our proceedings, whose counsell and commaundement in this case I will observe. The matter is too highe for us to give any hasty judgement, considering the highness of the persons, and the doubtful occasions alleadged; and also whose commisioners we be, under whose authority we sit. It were therefore reason, that we should make our chiefe head of counsell in the same, before we procede to judgement definitive. I come not to speake for favour, mede, or dread of any person alive, be he king or otherwise. I have no such respect to the person that I will offend my conscience. I will not for the favour or displeasure of any highe estate doe that thing that should be against the will of God. I am an ould man, bothe weake and sickly, that loketh daily for deathe. What should it availe me to put my soule in daunger of Gods displeasure, to my utter damnation, for the favour of any prince or high estate in this world? My being here is only to see justice

[8] *Will not give judgment.*] Compare Lord Herbert, in *State Trials*, vol. i. p 333 and 338, 9. The date is July 23, 1529.

ministred according to my conscience, which thing myselfe doe also most desyer. And forasmuch as I doe understande, having perceivance by the allegations in the matter, the case is very doubtful, and also the party defendaunt will make no aunswer here, but doth rather appeale from us, supposing that we be not indifferent, considering the kings high dignity and authority within his owne realme which he hath over his subjects; and we being his subjects, she thinketh that we cannot doe justice for feare of displeasure; therefore to avoide all these ambiguities and doubts, I will not damne my soule for any prince or potentate alive. Therefore, I intend not to wade any farther in this matter, unles I have the just opinion and assent of the pope, and such other of more auncient experience, or as be sene better in such doubtful laws, than I am. Wherefore I will adjourne this courte, for this time, according to the order of the courte of Rome, from whence semblably our jurisdiction is derived. And if we should goe further than our commision doeth warrant us, it were great folly and much to our blames; and we may be breakers of the order of the high courte from which (as I said) our authorities be derived."—And with that the courte was dissolved, and no more done.

Then stept forthe the duke of Suffolke [9] from the kinge, by his

[9] *The duke of Suffolke.*] These proceedings led the way to the next great step in the progress of the Reformation, the renunciation of the pope's authority, and the establishment of the regal supremacy. The following account of the manner in which these questions were first brought to the king's mind may not be unacceptable to my readers.

"Now unto that you say, that because pope Clement would not dispense with his second matrimonie, his majestie extirped out of England the papal authoritie, a thinge of most auncient and godly reverence as you take it, I aunsweare that after the kinges highness had so appeared in person before the cardinal Campegio, one of the princes of his realme, named the *duke of Suffolk*, a great wise man, and of more familiaritie with the kinge, than any other person, asked his majestie "how this matter might come to passe, that a prince in his own realme should so humble himself before the feet of a vile, strange, vitious priest,' (for Campegio there in England demeaned himself in very deed most carnally ——). Whereunto the king aunswered, 'he could not tell; but only that it seemed unto him, the spiritual men ought to judge spiritual matters: and yet as you saye (sayd the king) me seemeth there should be somewhat in it, and I would right gladly understand, why and how, were it not that I would be loth to appeare more curious than other princes' 'Why sir (sayd the duke) your majestie may cause the matter to be discussed secretly by your learned men, without any rumour at all.' 'Very

commaundement, and spake with an hault countenaunce these wordes, "It was never merry in Englande," (quoth he,) "while

well (sayd the kinge), and so shall it be.' And thus inspired of God, called he diverse of his trusty and great doctours unto him: charging them distinctly to examine, *what lawe of God should directe so carnal a man as Campegio, under the name of spiritual, to judge a king in his owne realme.* According unto whose commandment, these doctors resorting together into an appointed place, disputed this matter *largè et strictè*, as the case required. And as the blacke by the white is knowen, so by conferring the oppositions together, it appeared that the evangelical lawe varied much from the canon lawes in this pointe. So that in effect, because two contraries cannot stand *in uno subjecto, eodem casu et tempore*, they were constrained to recurre unto the kinges majesties pleasure, to knowe whether of these two lawes should be preferred: who smiling at the ignorance of so fonde a question aunsweared, that the gospell of Christ ought to be the absolute rule unto all others; commanding them therefore to followe the same, without regard either to the civile, canon, or whatsoever other lawe. And here began the quicke: for these doctours had no sooner taken the gospel for their absolute rule, but they found this popish authoritie over the kinges and princes of this earth to be usurped: for Peter hymself, whose successor the pope presumeth to be, commaundeth all Christians to obey and honour kynges or princes with feare and reverence, because the kynges of the earth are ordeyned of God; and so sayth Paul, and so sayth Solomon: and so Christ hymselfe by example hath commaunded, when entryng into Capernaum, he humbled hymself unto the payment of the princes custome. And if Peter, Paul, Solomon, and Christ hym self (sayd they) have directed us to the obedience of kynges in the tyme when there was no *Christian* kynge in the world, how much more *now* ought all Christians to obey their princes absolutely, *when* they, the kynges themselves are not onely membres of the selfe body of Christ, butt also ministeres of the Christian justice. And what greater dishonour (sayde they) can a kynge receyve, than in his owne realme to be made a subjecte, and to appere not before another vertuous kynge, or emperor, but before one growne of a dung-hill, to answere in judgment? Thys (sayde they) proceded not of the divine law, but rather the contrary, for as much as the spiritual office of the Christian religion procedeth altogether by charitable counsaile. From their just and evangelical conclusion his highness resolved of that he had to do, with patience of his passed errour, he licensed the sayde Cardinal Campegio to return to Rome, not so highly rewarded as the sayde Cardinal loked for, nor yet with such commission, as pope Clement thought should have mended hys hungrye purse, for the new lycence that he had prepared unto the kynges second marriage. For, incontinently after Campegio's departure, the kynge assailed in conscience of his first divorced matrimonye, both by the law of God, and also by the publique consent of the whole church of England, and hys Barons, and hys Commons, proceded unto his second matrymonye, without further bribe or sute unto the pope, so that Clement seyng hys lyne broken, and the fish escaped with the hooke or bayte, like a mad ragyng dog vomited his fulminacions, and by consistorial sentence excommunicated both kynge

we had any cardinalls [1] amongst us:" which wordes were set forthe bothe with countenaunce and vehemency, that all men marvailed what he intended: to whome no man made aunswer. Then the duke spake againe in great despight. To the which my lord cardinal perceiving his vehemency, soberly maide aunswer, and saide, "Sir, of all men within this realme, ye have least cause to dispraise cardinalls: for, if I, poore cardinall, had not bine, you should have had at this present no head upon your shoulders, wherewith you might make any such bragge, in despight of us, who intend you no manner of damage; neither have we given

and country; affirmyng that the kynge began to rebell agaynst the Romayne see, for none other reason but because hys holy fatherhed woulde not graunte hym the licence of the new mariage; and with this new blesyng brought the kynge in slaunder of the ignoraunt superstitious world." William Thomas's *Apology for king Henry the Eighth*, written A.D. 1547, p. 34. Lambeth Library. MSS. No. 464. The original, in the author's own hand, is in the British Museum, Cotton MSS. Vespas. D. xviii.

Since the former editions were published, I find that the MS. has been printed under the title of the "Works of William Thomas, Clerk of the Privy Council, in the year 1549, by Abraham D'Aubant, Esq. London, 1774." 8vo. The passage here quoted will be found p. 28—33.

In further pursuance of the main object of this note, I may remark, that Lord Herbert, after describing the dismissal of the suits by "the sudden advocation of the cause to the pope, and the inhibiting further proceedings in England," subjoins a hint, that "the *consequences* thereof extended further yet than *our king then thought, or the pope would easily have imagined.*" *State Trials*, vol. i. p. 334. 8vo.—The people too began to sympathize with the king as an aggrieved person, and to resent the neglect and insult to the nation by these subterfuges and delays, as in a case in which the stability of the succession, and with that the peace and welfare of the whole kingdom, were deeply interested. Hence the House of Lords in a Declaration to the Pope (July, 1530), subscribed by their own hands and seals, significantly reminded him, (after complaining how long they had fruitlessly and in vain sought redress,) that the affair "will not be wholly desperate, since *it is possible to find relief some other way. Desperate remedies* indeed are not without extremity to be applied; but he that is sick, *will by any means get rid of his distemper.*" Ibid. p. 344.—The Pope a "distemper," plainly indicated the probability of an approaching crisis.

[1] *While we had any cardinalls.*] The intrigues and other evils which cardinals brought along with them wherever they came, had involved their name in a degree of proverbial disrepute. Even so early as the days of Piers Ploughman, we learn, that there was a general outcry against them.

> "The commune *clamat quotidie*, ech a man to other,
> *The contry is the cursseder that cardinals comen in.*"
>
> Visions of Piers Ploughman, fol. 110. edit. 1550.

you any cause, to be with such despight offended. I would you knew it my lord, I and my brother here intend the king and this realme, as much honor, wealthe, and quietness, as you or any other, of what degree soever he be, within this realme; and would as gladly accomplish his lawful desire. Sir, I pray you my lord, shew me what you would doe in case you were the kings commisioner in a forraine country, having a very weighty matter to treat on: and upon the doubtful conclusion thereof, would you not advertise the kings majesty or ere ye went through with the same? Yes, I doubt not. Therefore put your hasty malice and despight away, and consider that we be but commisioners for a time, and cannot, ne may not, by virtue of our commision procede to judgement, without the knowledge and consent of the heade of our authority, and licence of him obtained; which is the pope. Therefore we doe neither more nor lesse than our warrant will beare us; and if any man will be offended with us therefore, he is an unwise man. Therefore hold your peace, my lord, and pacify yourselfe, and speak like a man of honor and wisdome, and speak not so quickly or reproachfully to your friends; for you know best what friendship [2] I have shewed you, which I never yet revealed to any person alive before nowe, neither to my glory, nor to your dishonor." And therewith the duke gave over the matter, without any further wordes or aunswer, and went his way.

This matter continued thus a longe season, and my lord cardinall was in displeasure [3] with the king, for that the matter in his sute toke no better successe to his purpose: notwithstanding, my lord excused him by his commision, which gave him no authority to procede in judgement, without knowledge of the pope, who reserved the same to himselfe.

At the last they were advertised by their post, that the pope would take deliberation in the matter, until his courtes opened, which should not be before Bartholmewe tide next. The king considering the same too long before it should be determined,

[2] *You know best what friendship.*] Alluding to the exercise of his influence upon Henry, to reconcile that monarch to the duke's marriage with his sister, the queen of France. For the history of this great obligation of the duke of Suffolk to the cardinal, see Grove's *History of the Life and Times of Cardinal Wolsey*, vol. ii. p. 254.

[3] *Was in displeasure.*] Compare Lord Herbert, in *State Trials*, vol. i. p. 338, 9.

thought it good to send an ambassador to the pope, to perswade with him to shewe such honorable favor to his majesty, that the matter might sooner be ended, than it was like to be, or else at the next courte to rule the matter over, according to his request.

To this embassage was appointed doctor Stephen Gardiner, then called by the name of doctor Stephens, and secretary to the king, who after was made bishop of Winchester. This doctor Stephens went thither, and there tarried till the latter end of sommer, as ye shall hear hereafter.

Then the king commanded the queene to be removed out of the courte, and sent to another place; and his highness rode in his progress, with Mrs. Anne Bullen in his company all that season.

It was so that the cardinall Campaigne made sute to be discharged, that he might returne to Rome. Then it chaunced that Mr. secretary was retourned home from thence; whereupon it was concluded that cardinall Campaigne should come to the king at Grafton in Northamptonshire, and to be conducted by my lord cardinall. And so they toke their journey from the Moore thitherward, and were lodged the first night at a towne in Bedfordshire, called Leighton Bussarde, in the parsonage there, being Mr. doctor Chambers's benefice, the kings phisition. And from thence they rode the next day, which was Sonday, to Grafton; before whose comming, there rose diverse opinions in the courte, that the king would not speake with my lord cardinall; whereupon were laied many great wagers.

These two prelates being come to the gates of the courte, they lighted from their horses, supposing they should have been received by the head officers of the household; howbeit it fell out nothing so. Nevertheless, for as much as cardinall Campaigne was but a straunger, the sayd officers met him, with their white staves in their handes, in the base courte, and so conveied him to his lodging prepared for him only. And after my lord had brought him to his lodging, he departed thinking to have gone likewise directly to his chamber, as he was wont to doe. Then it was told him, that he had no chamber nor lodging ordained or appointed him in the courte. Being astonied with this newes, sir Henry Norris, which was then grome of the stole to the king, came unto him, desiring his grace to take his chamber for the time, untill another might be provided for him, "For sir, I assure you,"

quoth he, " here is very little roome in this house for the king; therefore I beseech your grace to accept mine for the season." And therewith my lord, thanking him for his gentleness, went streight to Mr. Norris's chamber, where he shifted his riding apparel; and in the meane while, being thus in his chamber, diverse of the noblemen and gentlemen, being his loving freindes, came to welcome him to the courte, by whom my lord was advertised of all things touching the kings favor or displeasure towards him; which did him no small pleasure; for being admonished of the cause of the kings displeasure, he was the more ready to make his excuse against the same.

Then was my lord advertised that he should prepare himselfe to goe into the chamber of presence, there to attend the kings comming, who was disposed there to talke with him. The other cardinall came into my lords chamber, and bothe together went into the said chamber of presence, where the lordes of the counsell stode all in a rowe in order along the chamber. My lord cardinall, putting off his cappe, spake to every of them most gently, and soe did they no lesse to him: at which time the chamber was furnished with noblemen and gentlemen, and others, that expected the meting, countenaunce, and enterteinement of the king towardes my lord cardinall.

Then immediately after, the king came into the chamber of presence, and standing under the clothe of estate, my lord cardinall toke cardinall Campaigne by the hande, and kneled downe before the king: but what he said unto him I know not: neverthelesse the king, as amyably as ever he did before, stooped downe, and with bothe his handes toke him up, and after toke him aside by the hand, and led him to the windowe, where he talked with him.

Then, to behold the countenaunce of the noblemen and others, that had made their wagers, it would have made you smile; and specially of those that laid their money, that the king would not speake with him. Thus were they deceived. The king was in earnest and long communication with him, in so much as I might heare the king say, " How can that be; is not this your owne hand?" and pulled a letter or writing out of his bosome, and shewed the same to my lord: and as I perceived my lord aunswered the same, that the king had no more to say; but said to him, " My lord goe to dinner, and call my lordes here to keepe you company; and after dinner I will come to you againe,

and then we will common further with you;" and so departed, and dined himselfe that day, with Mrs. Anne Bullen in her chamber.

Then was there set up in the chamber of presence a table for my lord, and other lordes of the counsell, where they dined together, sitting at dinner and commoning of divers matters. "The king should doe well," quoth my lord cardinall, "to send his bishops and chapleines home to their cures and benefices." "Yea Mary," quoth my lord of Norfolke, "and so it were mete for you to doe also." "I should be well content therewith," quoth my lord, "if it were the kings pleasure to licence me, with his graces favor, to goe to my benefice at Winchester." "Nay," quoth my lord of Norfolke, "to your benefice at Yorke, whereas is your greatest honor and charge." "Even as it shall please the king," quoth my lord cardinall, and so fell into other matters. For the lordes were lothe he should be so neare the king as to continue at Winchester. Immediately after dinner they fell to counsell untill the waiters had dined.

And as I heard it reported by them that waited on the king at dinner, mistress Anne Bullen was much offended, as farre as she durst, that the king did so gently entertaine my lord cardinall, saying as she sat with the king at dinner, in communication of my lord, "Sir," quoth she, "is it not a marvellous thing to see, what debt and danger he hath brought you in with all your subjects?" "How soe sweeteharte?" quoth the king, "Forsothe," quoth she, "there is not a man within all your realme, worth five pounds, but he hath indebted you to him;" (meaning a loane which the king had of his subjects). "Well," quoth the king, "as for that, there was in him no blame; for I know that matter better than you, or any other." "Nay sir," quoth she, "besides that, what things hath he wrought within this realme to your great slander? There is never a nobleman, but if he had done halfe so much as *he* hath done, he were well worthy to lose his heade. Yea, if my lord of Norfolke, my lord of Suffolke, my lord my father, or any other nobleman within your realme, had done much lesse than he hath done, they should have lost their heades 'eare this."

"Then I perceive," quoth the king, "you are not the cardinalls friende?" "Why sir," saith she, "I have no cause[4], nor

[4] *I have no cause.*] See p. 500.

any that loveth you: no more have your grace, if ye consider well his doings."

By that time the waiters toke up the table, and so ended their communication. Nowe ye may perceive howe the olde malice began to kindle, and to be set on fire, which was as much provoked by his auncient enemies (of whome I touched the cause, and named to you the persons before in this treatise) as of herselfe.

Well, there is no more to doe, but after all this communication, and the dinner thus ended, the king departed from her, and went directly into his chamber of presence, whereas my lord and the other lords were attending his comming. And when the king was come into the chamber of presence, he called my lord unto him into the great windowe, and talked with him a while very secreetely. And at the last, the king tooke him by the hand, and led him into his privy chamber, sitting in consultation with him there all alone consulting without any other of the lords of the counsell, untill it was dark night; which blancked his enemies very sore, and made them to stirre coals; and being in doubt of themselves, they had no other refuge but mistress Anne, in whom was all their whole truste and affiaunce, to the accomplishing of their enterprize; for without her they doubted all their purpose was but frustrate.

Then was I warned that there was no roome for my lord in the courte; and so was faine to provide him a lodging in the country there about, which I found at a house of Mr. Empson's called Euston, about three miles from Grafton, wheither my lord came to supper, by torche light, it was so late ere he departed from the king. At whose departing the king willed him to resorte againe the sooner in the morning, for that he would talke with him farther in such matters as they had commoned on before.

After my lord was departed from the king, and come to Euston to his lodging, he had to supper with him diverse of his freindes of the court; and sitting at supper, in came doctor Stephens, the king's secretary, whoe was late ambassador to Rome; but to what intent I know not: howbeit my lorde toke it, that he came either to dissemble a love towards him, or else to espy his behaviour, and to heare his communication at supper. Whereupon my lorde went to him, and bade him welcome, and willed him to sit downe at the table to supper, having all his

communication with him, under this manner. "Mr. secretary," quoth he, "ye be welcome home from Rome; when came he ye home?" "Forsoothe," quoth he, "I came home almost a monthe ago." "And where have you bine," quoth my lord, "ever since?" "Forsoothe sir," quoth he, "following the court in this progresse." "Then have you hunted, and had great pastime," quoth my lord. "So I have had sir," quoth he. "What good great houndes have you?" quoth my lord. "I have some, sir," quoth he. And thus in hunting, and like disportes, passed they all their communication at supper; and after supper my lord and he talked secretly together, till it was midnight ere they sundred.

The next morning my lord rose earely and rode to the courte; at whose comming the king was ready to ride, willing my lord to counsell with the lordes in his absence, and saide he would not tarry with him, commanding my lord to retourne againe with cardinall Campaigne, who had taken his leave of the king. Upon which occasion my lord was constrained to take his leave of the king also, with whome the king departed amyably in the sight of all men. This sodein departing in the morning was by the especiall labour of Mrs. Anne, who rode with him, only to lead him away, because he should not retourne until the departure of the cardinalls, the which retourned after dinner to the Moore.

The king rode that morning to view a place and ground to make a newe parke, which was afterwardes, and is at this day called Harewell Parke, where mistress Anne had provided a place for his grace to dine, fearing his retourne, ere the cardinalls were gone.

Then rode my lorde and the other cardinall after dinner on their way homewarde, and so came to St. Albones, and there lay one day; and the next day they rode together to the Moore; and from thence cardinall Campeignes toke his journey towards Rome, with the kings rewarde; but what it was I am uncertaine. Nevertheless, after their departure, it was reported to the king by the counsell, that cardinall Campeigne was departed, and carried with him great treasures of my lord cardinalls of England, to be conveied in great sommes to Rome, whither they surmised he would secretely repaire out of this realme. Insomuch as they caused a post to ride after the cardinall to search him[5]. And

[5] *To search him.*] "When he came to take ship the searchers, upon pretence he carried either money or letters from England to Rome, ransacked all

when they overtoke him at Callis, where he was staied untill search was made, there was not found so much money as he received of the kings rewarde; and so he was dismissed and went his way.

And after that cardinal Campeigne was thus departed and gone, Michaelmas terme drewe on, against which time my lord cardinall resorted unto his house at Westminster; and when the tearme began, he went unto the hall, in such like sorte and gesture as he accustomed most commonly to doe, and sat in the chauncery being then chauncellor. After which day he never sate more[6]. The next day he tarried at home, expecting the

his coffers, bags, and papers; not without hope to recover that decretal bull our king so much longed for. I find also, by some relations, that *divers love-letters betwixt our king and Mrs. Bullen,* being conveyed out of the king's cabinet, were sought for, though in vain; *they having been formerly sent to Rome.* Which usage so offended Campeius, that he complained immediately to the king."—Lord Herbert, in *State Trials,* vol. i. p. 339. The king's love-letters forsooth (and *such* love-letters!) stolen from his private cabinet, and carried off to Rome? Wherefore this; but because fish of whatever kind was fair game for the net of the Vatican fisherman, the successor of St. Peter, the vicar of Christ? *Scire volunt secreta domus, atque inde timeri.* We in England possess these letters, ages after, only from the pope's *stolen* copy. See *Harleian Miscellany,* &c.

[6] *He never sate more.*] "Cardinal Wolsey being now divested of his late power, (wherein he had the glory, in some sort, to have been superior to his king), and for the rest being left alone, and exposed not only to a general hatred, but to the private machinations of the present and future queen, became sensible of his ill estate: though yet he did not believe himself so near his overthrow, as it appeared afterwards. But what could he hope for, when such puissant enemies did procure his destruction? Therefore, though he received some advices from Rome, which might argue a care rather than a power for his conservation, yet in effect what secret intelligence soever passed betwixt the pope and him came to the emperor first, and after to queen Catherine, who cunningly caused it to be whispered into the king's ears, by some more indirect ways than it could possibly be imagined to proceed from her. Likewise Mrs. Anne Bullen, having learned from some of the king's wisest and gravest counsellors, divers malversations of the Cardinal, was so far from disguising them, that she even misinterpreted his better actions. Edmund Campian adds to these reasons, that Sir Francis Bryan being in Rome, did by the means of a familiar of one who kept the pope's papers, obtain a letter of the cardinal's which wrought his ruin,—in this manner. Having first shewed her the cardinal's hand-writing, and then corrupted her, this courtesan so dexterously performed the rest, that upon pretence of visiting her servant in his study, she conveyed away this letter and gave it Bryan, who failed not immediately to send it to our king. Which relation of Cam-

comming of the dukes of Suffolke and Norfolke, who came not that day; but the next day they came thither unto him; to whom they declared the kings pleasure; which was that he should surrender and deliver up the great seale into their hands, and to departe simply unto Ashere, which was an house scituate nighe unto Hampton Courte, belonging to the bishopricke of Winchester. The cardinall demanded of them their commision, that gave them such authority so to doe; who aunswered him againe, that they were sufficient commisioners, and had authority to doe no lesse by the king's mouthe. Notwithstanding he would in no wise agree to their saying in that behalfe, without further knowledge of their authority, saying also, that for the greate seale, it was delivered him by the kings person to enjoye the ministration thereof, with the rome of the chauncellor, for terme of his life, whereof for his surety he had the kings letters patent to shewe. Which matter was greatly debated betweene him and the dukes, with many great and heinous wordes, all which he toke in patience; insomuch that the dukes were faine to departe againe without their purpose, at that time; and rode to Windsor to the king from whence they came. And what reporte they made, I am uncertaine; howbeit, the next daye they retourned againe from Windsor, from the king, bringing with them the king's letters.

Then my lorde delivered unto them the great seale[7], and was

pian, though I will not contradict, yet I suppose to be the more improbable, that I find by original despatches, Bryan was come from Rome before any argument of the king's disfavour to the cardinal appeared." Still, that the king was in possession of *some* papers of the cardinal betraying his bad faith is plain from what we have lately read: "How can that be? *Is not this your own hand?*" and Lord Herbert himself tells us, in another place, that "the king believed he held underhand intelligence with the pope, which might be by some notice he might have of a joint dispatch (a minute whereof is extant in our records), from Wolsey and Campeius, whereby they desired the pope to avoke the cause to himself." *State Trials*, vol. i. p. 338—91.—"However, the way the king took to overthrow him was merely legal; though approaching to *summum jus* after most men's opinions. In the carriage whereof yet that secresy was used, that the cardinal did not, or perchance out of greatness of mind, *would* not take notice of what was intended against him. So that though the Bill or Indictment was put in, at the beginning of Michaelmas term, yet did he ride that day to the chancery with his accustomed pomp. Of which our king being advertised, thought fit to forbid him the place." Lord Herbert, in *State Trials*, vol. i. p. 367—69.

[7] *The great seale.*] Oct. 19, 1529. Herbert, p. 290.

content to obey the kings commandement, and to departe simply, taking with him nothing but only certaine provision for his house; saying that the king intended to come thither within two or three daies.

And after longe talke between him and the dukes, they departed with the great seale of Englande unto Windsore, and brought the same unto the king. Then went my lord cardinall, and called his officers before him, and toke account of them for all suche stuffe and things whereof they had charge. And in his gallery were set diverse tables, whereupon lay a great number of goodly riche stuffes; as whole pieces of silke of all coulores, velvet, satten, damask, tufted taffeta, grograine, sarcenet, and other things, now not in remembrance; also there lay on these tables a thousand pieces of fine hollande clothe, whereof as he reported after, there was five hundred of the said pieces of clothe stolne, and conveied away from the king and him; yet there was laide upon every table, bokes, made in manner of inventories, reporting the number and contents of the same. And even so there were bokes made in manner of inventories[8] of all things here after rehearsed, wherein he toke great paines to set all things in order against the king's comming. Also he hanged all the walls of the gallery on the one side, with clothe of golde, clothe of tyssewe, clothe of silver, and with riche clothe of bodkin[9] of divers colours. Also on the other side were hanged the richest suite of copes of his owne provision (made for his colledges of Oxenforde and Ipswiche) that ever I sawe in Englande. Then had he two chambers adjoyning to the gallery, the one called most commonly the *gilt chamber*, and the other the *counsell chamber*, wherein were set up two broade and long tables, upon tressles, whereupon was set suche a number of plate of all sortes, as was almost incredible. In the *gilt chamber* were set out upon the table nothing but gilt plate; and upon a cupboarde, and in a windowe was set no plate but all gold very riche. And in the

[8] *Inventories.*] The original inventory of his furniture, tapestry, and linen, is amongst the MSS. of Sir Simonds D'Ewes, now forming part of the Harleian Collection (No. 599) in the British Museum.

[9] *Clothe of bodkin.*] "Baudekyn, *Cloth of Gold.*" Phillip's *World of Words.* "Baldekinum—pannus omnium ditissimus, cujus utpote stamen ex filis *auri*, subtegmen ex *serico* texitur. *Clothe of Baudkins* dicitur in statutis Parliamentariis nostris." Watts's Glossary, subjoined to his edition of Matthew Paris.

counsell chamber was all white and parcell gilt plate; and under the table in baskets was all olde broken silver plate, not esteemed worthy to be occupied, as plate, but as broken silver; and bokes set bye them, purporting every kinde of plate, and every parcell, with the content of the ounces thereof. Thus was all things furnished and prepared, giving the charge of all the saide stuffe with all other things remaining in every office to be delivered to the king, as well unto diverse persons, in whom he put his trust, as to one in especiall of his officers, in every office of his house, to make aunswer to their charge, charged in their indenture of the parcells; for the order was suche, that every officer was charged with the receipt of the stuffe belonging to their office by indenture.

Then all things being ordered as it is before rehearsed, my lord prepared him to departe by water. And before his going, sir William Gascoigne, being his treasurer, came unto him, to whom he gave, among other, the charge of the delivery of the saide goods, to be delivered unto the king, who saide unto the cardinall, then being his lord and master, "Sir," quoth he, "I am sorry for your grace, for ye shall go straightway to the Tower, as I heard say." "Is this the goode counsell, and comforte," quoth my lord cardinall unto him, "that you can give your master in adversity? It hath alwaies been your naturall inclination to be very lighte of credite; and much more lighter of reporting lies. I would you should knowe, sir William, and all these reporters, that it is untrue; for I never deserved to come there, although it hath pleased the king, to take my house ready furnished for his pleasure at this time. I would all the world knewe that I have nothing, but it is *his* of right; for by him, and of him, I have received all that I have; therefore it is of convenience and reason, that I render unto his majesty the same againe, with all my harte. Therefore goe your waies, and attend well to your charge." And therewithall he made him ready to ride; and then with his traine of gentlemen and yeomen, whiche was no small number, he toke his barge at his privy staires, and so went by water unto Putney. At the taking whereof, there was walking up and downe[1] on the Thames boates filled with people of London, expecting the cardinalls departing by water, sup-

[1] *Walking up and downe.*] *Waffeting.* Singer's edit. p. 185.

posing that he should have gone to the Towre, whereat they joied very much.

O wavering and new fangled multitude! Is it not a wonder to consider the mutability of this uncertaine worlde! The common people desireth allwaies those things for the newelties sake, which after turneth them to small profit or commodity. For if the sequell be well and directly weighed and considered, they had but small cause to rejoice at his fall. What hath succeeded wise men doe knowe, and the common sorte themselves have felt. Wherefore to wonder at it, it were but a folly; to study the remedy it profiteth not; for thus it hath ever bene, and will alwaies; do what you will to redresse the same, it botethe not. I cannot see, but alwaies men in authority be disdained with the common sorte of people; and they most of all, that doe observe and minister justice. For where they please some one that receiveth the benefit of the lawe at their hands according to justice, they doe in like wise displease the contrary parte, supposing himselfe to sustaine wrong, where he hath righte. Thus all justices be in some contempt with the people allwaies, for the ministration of their duty. Yet must some such be alwaies elected and deputed soe to doe; for else, if the world should be without inquisitors and order, there should be too much error and abomination.

When he was with all his traine arrived at Putney, being upon the lande, he toke his moile, and every man to their horses. And riding not paste a paire of butt lengths, he espied a gentleman come riding in poste downe the hill, in the towne of Putney, and demanding of his gentlemen aboute him, what *he* was, that came riding downe so faste. "Forsoothe sir," quoth they, "it is Mr. Norris, as it seemeth to us." And by and by he came to my lord saluting him, and sayd, "Sir, the kings majesty commendeth him unto you, and commaunded me to shewe you, that you be as muche in his favor as ever you were, and so shall be. Therefore he would that you should be of good cheere, and take no thought, for ye shall not lacke. And although he hath done thus unkindly towards you, it is more for the satisfying of some, than for any indignation: and yet you knowe well, he is able to recompence you againe, and to restore you to twise so much; and thus he bad me, that I should shewe you, and willed me to bid you to take all this matter in patience. And sir, for my parte, I truste to see you in better estate, than ever you were.

But when he heard Mr. Norris reporte the good and comfortable words of the king, he quickly lighted off his mule, all alone, as though he had bine the youngest amongst us, and incontinent kneeled downe in the dirte upon bothe his knees, holding up his hands for joye of the kings most comfortable message. Mr. Norris alighted also, espying him so sone upon his knees, and kneeled by him, and toke him in his armes, and asked howe he did, calling upon him to credite his message. "Mr. Norris," quoth he, "when I consider the joyfull newes that yee have brought to me, I could doe no lesse than greatly rejoice. Your wordes pierced my harte, that the sodain joye, surmounted my memory, having no regarde or respecte to the place, but I thought it my duty, in the same place where I received this comforte, to laud and praise God upon my knees, and most humbly to render to my soveraigne lorde my harty thanks for the same."

And as he was thus talking upon his knees to Mr. Norris, he would have pulled off a velvet night cap, which he wore under his black hat, and scarlet cap; but he could not undoe the knot under his chin; wherefore with violence he rent the laces of his cap, and pulled his said cap from his head, and kneeled bare headed. And this done, he rose up and mounted upon his mule, and so rode forthe up the high waye in the towne, talking with Mr. Norris. And when he came unto Putney Heathe, where Mr. Norris should departe from him, Mr. Norris gave him a ring of gold with a stone, and sayd unto him, that the king sent him the same for token of good will, "which ringe," quothe he, "the king saith you know very well." It was the privy token between the king and him, when the king would have any especiall thing sped at his hands. Then saide he to Mr. Norris, "If I were lorde of a realme, the one halfe were too small a rewarde to give you for your paines, and good newes. But, good Mr. Norris, consider with me, that I have nothinge lefte me but my clothes upon my backe. Therefore I shall desire you to take this small rewarde at my hands;" the which was a little chaine of gold, made like a bottle chaine, with a crosse of gold, wherein was a piece of the *Holy Crosse*[2], which he continually ware about his necke next his body; and saide furthermore, "Master Norris, I assure you, when I was in prosperity, although

[2] *The Holy Crosse.*] See above, p. 383, note (1).

it seme but small in valeue, yet I would not gladly have departed with the same for a thousand poundes. Therefore I shall require you to take it in good worthe, and to weare it about your necke continually for my sake, and to remember me to the king when ye shall see opportunity, unto whose Highness I shall most instantly require you, to have me most humbly commended; for whose charitable disposition to me, I can but pray for the preservation of his royall estate. I am his obedient subject, his poore chaplaine, and beadman, and so will be during my life, accompting myselfe nothinge, nor to have any thinge, but only of him and by him, whome I have justly and truely served, to the best of my grosse wit." And with that he toke Master Norris by the hand bare headed, and so departed. And when he was gone but a small distance, he returned againe, and caused Mr. Norris to be called to him. When Master Norris was returned, he said unto him, "I am sorry," quothe he, "that I have no token to send to the king. But if you will at my request present the king, with this poore Foole, I trust he will accept him, for he is, for a nobleman's pleasure, forsoothe, worthe a thousand poundes."

So Master Norris toke the Foole; with whom my lord was faine to send sixe of his tallest yeomen, to helpe him to convaie the Foole to the courte; for the poore Foole toke on like a tyrant, rather than he would have departed from my lord. Notwithstanding they convaied him away, and so brought him to the courte, where the king received him very gladly. After departure of Master Norris with his token to the kinge, my lorde rode straight to Ashur, which is an house belonging to the bishopricke of Winchester, situate in the county of Surry, not farre from Hampton Courte, where my lord and his family continued the space of three or fowre weeks, without either beds, sheets, table clothes, or dishes to eat their meete in, or wherewith to buy any. Howbeit, there was good provision of all kind of victualls, and of drinke, as bere and wine, whereof there was sufficient and plenty enough. My lord was compelled of necessity to borrowe of Mr. Arundell, and of the bishop of Carlile, plate and dishes, bothe to drinke in, and to eate his meate in. Thus my lord with his family continued in this strange estate, until after All-hallowne tide.

It chanced me upon All-hallowne day to come into the *Great Chamber* at Assher, in the morning, to give mine attendance,

where I found Mr. Cromwell leaning in the great windowe with a Primer in his hand, saying our Lady mattens; which had bine a strange sight[3] in him afore.—Well, what will you have more? He prayed no more earnestly, than he distilled teares as fast from his eyes. Whom I saluted, and bad good morrowe. And with that I perceived his moist chekes, the which he wiped with his napkine. To whom I saide, "Why Mr. Cromewell, what meaneth this dole? Is my lord in any danger, that ye doe lament for him? or is it for any other losse, that ye have sustained by misfortune?"

"Nay," quoth he, "it is for my unhappy adventure. For I am like to lose all that I have laboured for, all the daies of my life, for doing of my master true and diligent service." "Why Sir," quoth I, "I trust that you be too wise, to do any thing by my lord's commaundement, otherwise than ye might doe, whereof you ought to be in doubt or daunger for losse of your goods." "Well, well," quoth he, "I cannot tell; but this I see before mine eyes, that every thing is as it is taken; and this I knowe well, that I am disdained withal for my master's sake; and yet I am sure there is no cause, why they should doe so. An evill name once gotten will not lightly be put away. I never had promotion by my lord to the encrease of my living. But this much I will say to you, that I will this afternoone, when my lord hath dined, ride to London, and so the courte, where I will *either make or marre*, or ever I come againe. I will put myselfe in prease[4],

[3] *A strange sight*] "Dr. Wordsworth's edition," (says Mr. Singer, in *his* edition of this Life, vol. i. p. 193, A.D. 1825) "and the later manuscripts read, '*which* had been a strange sight in him afore;' *but this can hardly be right*." The reader's *wishes* unquestionably will go along with Mr. S. in the opinion here expressed. But I see no sufficient reasons for entertaining it; or for any change in the text. I fear Cromwell, in his earlier years, may have been a man to have given occasion for such a remark being made as that objected to; especially by a writer of George Cavendish's principles. What is the account which Mr. S. gives us, in this same page, from cardinal Pole, another Roman Catholic writer? "Cardinal Pole relates that Cromwell openly professed to him his Machiavellian principles. He had learned, he said, that vice and virtue were but names: fit indeed to amuse the leisure of the learned in their colleges, but pernicious to the men who seek to rise in the courts of princes."—But it is almost enough of itself, to advert merely to the different sides in religion taken by Cromwell and Cavendish. The latter was a person who would naturally entertain a mean opinion of Cromwell's devotional habits and propensities.

[4] *In prease.*] See p. 520, where it signifies a press or crowd, but that can scarcely be its meaning here; it may mean under arrest: French, *prise*.

to see what they be able to lay to my charge." "Mary," quoth I, "then in so doing you shall doe wisely, beseeching God to send you good lucke, as I would myselfe." And with that I was called into the closet, to see and prepare all things ready for my lord, whoe intended to say masse there that day himselfe; and so I did.

Then my lord came thither with his chaplaine, one doctor Marshall, and first said mattens, and heard two masses in the time of his mattens saying. And that sayd, he prepared himselfe to masse; and so saide masse himselfe. And when he had finished all his service, incontinent after he was returned into his chamber, he called for his dinner, who was served into his privy chamber, and there dined among diverse his doctors, among whome this master Cromwell dined; and sitting at dinner, it came to passe [that he fell] in communication of his gentlemen and servaunts, whose true and faithful service my lord much commended. Whereupon Mr. Cromwell toke an occasion to tell my lord, that he ought in conscience to consider the true and good service that they did him in this his necessity, the which doe never forsake him in weale ne in woe, and saide,

"Sir, it should be well done for your Grace to call them before you, bothe gentlemen which be worthy personnages, and also your yeomen, and let them understande, that ye righte well consider their paines and truthe with their faithful service; and to give them your commendation, with good words, the which shall be to them great courage to sustaine your misery with paines and patience, and to spend their life and substance in your service."

"Alas Thomas," quoth my lord, "ye knowe I have nothing to give them, and wordes without deeds be not often well taken. For if I had but as I late had, I would departe with them so frankely, as they should be well contente: but nothing, hath no savor; and I am bothe ashamed, and also sorry that I am not able to requite their faithful service. And although I doe rejoice as I may, to consider the fidelity I see in a number of my servants, who will not forsake me in my miserable estate, but be as diligent and as serviceable about me as they were in my great triumphe and glory, yet I doe lament againe, as vehemently, the want of substance, to distribute among them." "Why Sir," quoth master Cromewell, "have ye not here a number of chapleines, to whom ye have departed liberally with spirituall promotions, in so much as some may dispend, by your Grace's prefer-

ment, a thousand pounds by yeare, and some five hundred marks, and some more and some lesse; you have not a chapleine within all your house, or belonging to you, but he may spend well at the least (by your procurement and promotion) three hundred markes yearely, who have had all the profit and gaines at your handes, and other your servauntes nothing: and yet have your poore servauntes taken much more paines in one day, than all your idle chapleines have done in a yeare. Therefore if they will not frankely and freely consider your liberallity, and departe with you of the same goods gotten in your service, now in your great indigence and necessity, it is pitty that they live; and all the world will have them in indignation and hatred, for their ingratitude to their master."

"I think no lesse Thomas," quoth my lord, "wherefore, I pray you, cause all my servants to assemble without, in my great chamber, after dinner, and see them stand in order, and I will declare my mind unto them."

After that the borde's end was taken up, master Cromewell came to me, and saide "Heard you not," quoth he, "what my lorde saide?" "Yes Sir, that I did," quoth I. "Well then," quoth he, "call all the gentlemen and yeomen up into the great chamber;" and even so I did, commanding all the gentlemen to stand on the right side of the chamber, and all the yeomen on the other side. And at the laste my lord came out in his rochet upon a violet gowne, like a bishop, who went streight to the upper ende of the saide chamber, where was the great windowe. Standing there a while, his chapleins about him, beholding this goodly number of his servaunts, he could not speake unto them, untill the teares ran downe his chekes: which fewe teares perceived by his servants, caused the fountaines of water to gusshe out of their faithfull eyes, in such sorte as it would cause a cruell harte to lament. At the last, after he had turned his face to the windowe, and dried his moisted chekes, he spake to them in this sorte in effect;

"Most faithfull gentlemen, and true hearted yeomen, I doe not lament to see you about me, but I lament in a manner a certaine ingratitude on my behalfe towards you all, in whome hath bin a great defaulte, that in my prosperity I have not done so much for you, as I might have done, either in deede or worde, which lay in my power then to doe: but then I knewe not the juell and speciall treasure I had in my house of you my faithful servants;

but now experience hath taught me, and with the eyes of my discretion I doe well perceive the same. There was never thing that repented me more that ever I did, than doeth the remembraunce of my great and most oblivious negligence, and unkinde ingratitude, that I have not promoted, preferred or advaunced you all, accordinge to your demerits. Howbeit, it is not unknowne unto you all, that I was not so fully furnished of temporall promotions in my gifte, as I was of spiritual preferments. And if I should have preferred you to any of the king's offices, then should I have runne in the indignation of the king's servants, who would not much let to reporte behinde my backe that there could no office in the king's gifte escape the cardinall and his servants, and thus should I have runne in open slaunder before all the world. But now it is come to this passe, that it hath pleased the king to take all that ever I have into his hands, so that I have nothing to give you; for I have nothing lefte me but my bare clothes upon my backe, the which are simple in comparison to that I had: howbeit if it might doe you any good, I would not sticke to divide the same among you, yea, and the skinne of my backe too, if it might countervaile any value among you. But my good gentlemen and yeomen, my trusty and faithful servaunts, and of whome no prince hath the like, I shall require you to take some patience with me awhile, for I doubt not but that the kinge, considering my suggested offence by mine enemies, which is put against me, to be of small griefe or hurte, for so great and soddaine an overthrowe, will shortely restore me to my living, so that I shall be more able to divide my substance among you, whereof ye shall not lacke. For what-soever shall chaunce hereafter to be an overplus and superfluity of my revenewes, at the determination of my yearely accompt, it shall be distributed among you. For I will never during my life esteeme the goods and riches of this world any otherwise than which shall be sufficient to mainetaine the estate that God hath and shall call me unto. And if the kinge doe not shortly restore me, then will I write for you, either to the king, or to any noble man within this realme, to retaine your service; for I doubt not but the kinge or any noble man within this realme, will credite my letter in your commendation. Therefore, in the mean time, I would advise you to repaire home to your wives, such as have wives; and some of you that have no wives, to take a time to visit your parents in the country. There is none of you all, but would once in a yeare require license to see and visit your

wife, and other of your friends: take this time therefore in that respect, and in your retourne I will not refuse you, to beg with you. I consider that your service in my house hath been such, that ye be not apt to serve any man under the degree of a king; therefore I would advise you to serve no man but the king, who I am sure will not refuse you. Therefore I shall desire you to take your pleasure for a month, and then ye may come againe, and by that time, I trust the king will extend his mercy upon me."

"Sir," quoth master Cromewell, "there be diverse of these your yeomen, that would be glad to see their friends, but they lacke money: therefore here be diverse of your chapleines that have received at your hands great benefices and livings; let them shew themselves unto you as they be bound to doe. I think their honesty and charity is such that they will not see you lacke any thing that may doe you good or pleasure. And for my parte, although I have not received of your graces gifte one penny towards the increase of my livinge, yet will I give you this towards the dispatch of your servantes," and therewith delivered unto my lord five pounds in gold. "And now let us see what your chapleines will doe. I think they will departe with you, much more liberally than I, who be more able to give you a pound than I a penny." "Goe to, my masters," quoth he to the chapleines; insomuch as they gave to my Lord liberally, some ten pounds, some twenty nobles, some five pounds, and so some more and some lesse, as their powers would extend, at that time; by means whereof my lord received among them as much as paid the yeomen ten shillings the pece towardes their quarters wages, and as much money as would pay every of them for a monthes borde wages; and then they departed downe into the hall, where some determined to goe to their friends, and some would not departe from my lorde, untill they might see him in better estate. My lord retourned into his chamber lamenting the departure from his servants, making his mone to master Cromewell, who comforted him the best he could, and desired my lord to give him leave to goe to London, whereas he would *either make or marre* (the which was alwaies his common terme). Then after a little communication with my lord in secret, he departed and toke his horse, and rode to London, at whose departinge I was by, to whome he saide, "Farewell, ye shall heare shortly of mee, and if I speede well, I will not faile to be here againe, within these

two daies." And so I toke my leave of him, and he rode on his journey. Sir Rafe Sadler, now knight, was then his clerke, and rode with him.

After my lord had supped that night, and all men gonne to bed, being All-hallowne day, about midnight, one of the porters came to my chamber dore, and knocked there to wake me. And being once awake, and perceiving who was there, I asked him, what he would have at that time of the night? "Sir," quoth he, "there be a great number of horsemen at the gate, that would come in, saying that it is sir John Russell, and so it appeares by his voice; and what is your pleasure that I should doe?" said he, "Mary," quoth I, "goe downe againe, and make a great fire in your lodge, until I come, to drie them;" for it rained all that nighte most vehemently, as it did at any time the yeare before. Then I arose and made me ready, and put on my night gowne, and came to the gates, and asked who was there. With that Mr. Russel spake to me, whom I knewe right well, and caused the gates to be set open, and let them all come in, who were wet to the very skin. I caused Mr. Russel to goe into the porter's lodge to the fire to drie him; and he shewed me that he was come from the king unto my lord in message, with whom he required me to speake. "Sir," quoth I, "I trust your newes be good." "Yea, and so I promise you on my fidelity; and so tell him, that I have brought him such newes, as will please him right well." "Well then, I will goe," quoth I, "and wake him, and cause him to rise." I went incontinent to my lord's chamber dore, and knocked there, so that my lord spake to me, and asked me what I would have. With that I tould him of the comming of Sir John Russell; and then he called up to him one of his gromes to let me in; and when I was come to him, I tould him againe of the journey that Sir John Russell had taken that troublesome night. "I pray God all be for the beste," quoth he. "Yes Sir," quoth I, "he shewed me, and so bade me tell you, that he had brought suche newes, as you would greatly rejoice thereat." "Well then," quoth he, "God be praised, and welcome be his grace! Go ye and fetch him to me, and by that time I will be ready to talke with him."

Then I returned into the lodge, and brought Mr. Russell from thence unto my lord, who had cast about him his night gowne. And when Mr. Russell was come before him, he most humbly reverenced him, upon his knees, whome my lord stowped unto,

and toke him up, and bade him wellcome. "Sir," quoth he, "the king commendeth him unto you;" and delivered him a great ring of gold with a Turkeis, for a token; "and willed me, to bid you be of good cheere; for he loveth you as well as ever he did, and is sorry for your trouble, whose minde runneth muche upon you. Insomuch that before his Grace sat downe to supper, he called me unto him, and desired me to take the paines secretly to visite you, and to comforte you the best of my powre. And Sir, I have had the sorest journey for so little a way, that ever I had to my remembraunce."

My lorde thanked him for his paines and good newes, and demaunded of him if he had supped; and he saide "Nay." "Well then," quoth my lord, "cause the cookes to provide some meate for him; and cause a chamber to be provided for him, that he may take his rest awhile upon a bed." All which commaundement I fulfilled, and in the meane time my lord and master Russell were in secret communication; and in the ende, master Russell went to his chamber, taking his leave of my lord, and said he would tarry but a while, for he would be at the courte at Greenwiche againe before day, and would not for any thing that it were knowne, that he had bin with my lorde that night. And so being in his chamber, having a small repaste, he rested him a while upon a bed, whiles his servauntes supped and dried them; and that done, incontinent he rode away againe with speede to the courte. And after this within a while, my lord was restored to plate, vessells, and householde stuffe, of every thing necessary some parte, so that he was better furnished than before.

Now let us retourne againe to master Cromewell to see how he hath spedde, since he departed. The case stode so, that the parliament should begin *crastino animarum*, or there abouts, and he being within London devised with himself to be one of the burgesses of the parliament, and chaunced to meete with one Sir Thomas Rush, knighte, a speciall friend of his, whose son was appointed to be a burgess, of whome he obtained his rome, and so put his fete into the parliament house; so that within two or three daies after his departure from my lord, he came againe to Asshere, with a pleasaunte countenaunce, and saide to me, that he had once adventured to put in his feete, where he would be better regarded, or ever the parliament were finished. Then talked he with my lorde, and after his talke he rode againe to London, because he would not be absent from the parliament.

There were was nothing done against him in the parliament house, but he sent to my lorde to knowe what answer he might make in his behalfe; insomuch that there was nothing alleadged against my lord, but that he was ready to make aunswer thereto; insomuch that at the length his honest estimation and earnest behaviour in his master's cause, grewe so in every man's opinion, that he was reputed the most faithful servant to his master of all other, wherein he was greatly of all men commended.

Then was there brought in[5] a bill of articles into the Parliament house to have my lord condemned of treason; against which bill Mr. Cromewell inveighed so discreetly, with such witty persuasions and depe reasons, that the same could take no effect. Then were his enemies constrained to indight him[6] in a *premunire*, and all was to intitle the king to his goods and possessions, the which he had obtained and purchased for the maintenance of his colledges in Oxonforde and Ipswiche, whereof he was then in building in the most sumptuous wise[7]. Wherein when my lord was demaunded by the judges, which were sent unto him to knowe his mind, and to take his aunswer therein, he aunswered them in this wise, "My lordes, judges," quoth he, "the kings highness knoweth, whether I have offended his majesty or no, in using of my prerogative legantine, for which I am indighted. I have the king's licence in my coffers under his hande and broad seale for the exercising and using thereof, in the most largest wise; the which now are in the hands of my ennemies. Therefore, because I will not stande in question with the kinge in his owne cause, I will here presently confesse before you the indightment, and put me wholly into the mercy and grace of the kinge, trusting that he hath a conscience and a discretion to consider the truthe, and my humble submission and obedience; wherein I might right well stand to the triall thereof by justice. But thus much ye may say to his highness, that I am wholly under his obedience, and will; and doe submit myselfe to all things that shall be his princely pleasure, whose will and commaundement I

[5] *Brought in.*] Dec. 1529. Lord Herbert, p. 302.

[6] *To indight him.*] See *State Trials*, vol. i. p. 367—86.

[7] *Sumptuous wise.*] Cavendish, it is much to be regretted, had no taste for enlarging on his master's noble designs for the advancement of learning and science. For instance, one of these was, to procure all the manuscripts in the Vatican to be transcribed for the service of his country.—Grove's *Life of Wolsey*, vol. ii. p. 313.

never disobeied or repugned, but was alwaies contented and glad to please him before God, whom I ought most chiefely to have obeied; the which now me repents. Notwithstanding, I most hartely require you, to have me unto his royall majestie comended, for whome I doe and will, during my life, pray to God, to send him much prosperity, honour, and victory over his enemies." And therewith they toke their leave, and departed.

Shortly after the king sent the duke of Norfolk unto him in message; but what it was I am not certaine; therefore I omit to speake thereof. But my lord being advertised, that my lord of Norfolke was comming even at hand, he caused all his gentlemen to waite upon him downe through the hall into the base courte, to receive the duke at the gates; and commaunded all his yeomen to stand in order still in the hall. And he himselfe, with all his gentlemen, went to the gates, where he received my lord of Norfolke bareheaded; who imbraced each other; and so led him by the arm through the hall into his chamber. And when the duke had passed through unto the upper end of the hall, regarding the number of tall yeomen that stood on each side thereof; he tourned againe to the yeomen, and saide, "Sirs," quoth he, "your diligent and faithful service unto your master in this his calamity, hath purchased you of all men, noble and ignoble, much honesty; in so much that the king comaunded me to say to you in his name, that for your true and lovinge service that ye have done to your master, his highness will see you all at any time furnished with services, according to your demerits." With that my lorde put offe his cappe, and saide to my lord of Norfolke; "Sir," quoth he, "these men be all approved men: wherefore it were pitty they should want any service; and being sorry that I am not able to doe for them, as my harte wisheth, I will therefore require you, my good lord, to be good lord unto them, and extend your charity among them, where and when ye shall see occasion, at any time hereafter; and that ye will preferre their diligence and faithfull service unto the king." "Doubt you not my lord," quoth my lord of Norfolke, "but I will doe for them the beste in my powre; and whereas I shall see cause, I will be an earnest suter for them to the king; and some of you I will retaine my selfe in service for right honest men. And as ye have begonne, so continue, untill ye heare more of the king's pleasure. God's blessing and mine be with you!" And so went up into the great chamber to dinner, whom my lord cardinall

thanked; and saide unto him, "Yet my lord, of all other noble men, I have most cause to thanke you for your noble and gentle harte, the which you have shewed me behinde my backe, as my servante Thomas Cromewell well hath reported unto me. But even as ye be a noble man in dede, so have you shewed yourselfe no lesse to all men in calamity, and in especiall to me, whome ye have brought downe, from my high estate, but now againe, being in this my miserable estate, you have extended your favour most honorably with great charity. Ye doe right well deserve to beare in your armes [8] the noble and gentle lion, having the very property of the lion, whose naturall property is, when he hath vanquished a cruell beaste, and seeth him yelded, lying prostrate before him under his feete, then will he be mercifull unto him, and doe him no more hurte, ne suffer any ravenous beast to devour him: all whose naturall inclination ye have; where I may say these verses in your commendation,

> "Parcere prostratis scit nobilis ira leonis:
> Tu quoque fac simile, quisquis regnabis in orbe."

With these words the water was brought them to washe; to the which my lorde called my lorde of Norfolke, to washe with him: but he refused so to doe of curtesy, and saide, "that it became him no more to presume to washe with him now, than it did before [9]." "Yes," quoth my lord, "for my legacy is gone, wherein stode all my high honnor." "A strawe," quoth my lord

[8] *In your armes.*] Alluding to the lions of *Mowbray* and *Segrave*, which are quartered with the arms of Howard by the dukes of Norfolk. That of Mowbray is a silver lion, on a red field, and that of Segrave a silver lion with a crown of gold, on a sable field. There is no lion in the coat of *Howard*, save the augmentation granted to the earl of Surrey after the battle of Flodden.

[9] *Than it did before.*] During the visit of the emperor Charles V. to Henry VIII. "On Monday at nine of the clocke at night, was begun a banquet, which endured till the next morning at three of the clocke, at the which banquet the emperor, the king, and the queene did wash together, the duke of Buckingham giving the water, the duke of Suffolke holding the towel. Next them did washe *the Lord Cardinall*, the queene of Fraunce, and the queene of Aragon. At which banquet the emperor kept the estate, the king sitting on the left hand, next him the French queene; and on the other side sate the queene, *the cardinall*, and the queene of Aragon; which banquet was served by the emperor's owne servants."—Stowe's *Annals*, p. 510. Edit. 1615.

of Norfolke, "for your legacy. I never esteemed your honnor the higher for that. But I esteemed your honnor, for that ye were archbishop of Yorke, and a cardinall, whose estate and honnor surmounteth any duke within this realme; and even so will I honnor you, and acknowledge the same, in doing you reverence and honnor accordingly. Therefore contente you, I will not presume to washe with you; and therefore I pray you hold me excused." Then was my lord compelled to wash all alone; and when he had done, then my lorde of Norfolke washed by himselfe. That done, my lord cardinall would have had him sit downe on the chaire, in the inner side of the table, but he refused the same with much humbleness. Then was there another chaire set for my lorde of Norfolke, over against my lord cardinall, on the outside of the table, the which he caused to be based something beneathe, and would not sit directly against my lord: having all their communication of the diligent service of the gentlemen, who waited upon him there at dinner, and how much the king and all the other lordes did esteeme and commend them in so doing; and how little they are regarded in the courte that are come to the king's service, and have forsaken their master in this time of necessity; whereof some he blamed by name. And thus their dinner and conversation ended, they rose and went into my lordes privy chamber, where they continued in consultation.

And being there, it chaunced Mr. Shelley, the judge, came thither, who was sent from the king; whereof relation was made to my lord, which caused the duke and him to break up their communication; and the duke desired to goe to a chamber, to repose him there for a while. And comming forthe of my lorde's chamber, he met with Mr. Shelley, to whome Mr. Shelley resorted, and after he had made relation of the cause of his comming, he desired my lorde of Norfolke to tarry and to assist him in doing of his message; whom he denied and saide, "I have nothing to doe with your message, wherein I will not meddle;" and so departed into a chamber, where he toke his rest for an houre or two. And in the mean time my lorde issued out of his privy chamber, and came to Mr. Shelley to knowe his message. Who, after due salutation, did declare unto him, the king's pleasure was to have my lorde's house, called York Place nere Westminster, belonging to the bishopricke of Yorke, and to possess the same according to the lawes of his realme. "His highness hath sent

for all the judges, and all the learned counsaile, to knowe their opinions for the assurance thereof; whose opinions be fully resolved, that your Grace must make a recognisaunce, and before a judge acknowledge and confesse the right thereof to belong to the king and his successors; and so his highness shall be assured thereof. Wherefore it hath pleased the king to appoint and send me hither, to take of you the same recognisaunce, having in your grace such affiaunce, as that ye will not refuse soe to doe. Therefore I shall desire your grace to know your pleasure therein."—"Master Shelley," quoth my lord, "I knowe that the king of his owne nature is of a royall stomache, not willing more than justice shall leade him unto by the lawe. And therefore, I counsaile you and all other judges and learned men of his counsaile to put no more into his heade than lawe, that may stande with conscience; for when ye tell him this is the lawe, it were well done ye should tell him also that although *this* be the lawe, yet *this* is conscience; for lawe without conscience is not mete to be given to a king by his counsell, to be ministered by him, ne by any of his ministers: for every counsellor to a king ought to have a respect to conscience, before the rigour of the lawe, for *laus est facere quod decet, non quod licet.* The king ought for his royall dignity and prerogative to mitigate the rigour of the lawe, where conscience hath the more force: and therefore in his princely place, he hath constituted a chauncellor to order for him the same. And therefore the courte of the chauncery hath been commonly called the courte of conscience; because it hath jurisdiction to command the lawe in every case to desist from the execution of the rigour of the same, whereas conscience hath most effect. Therefore I say unto you in this case, although you and other of your profession, perceive by the orders of the lawe, that the king may lawfully doe the thing which ye require of me; how say you Mr. Shelley may I doe it with conscience, to give that away which is none of mine, from me and my successors? If this be the lawe and conscience, I pray you shewe me your opinion." "Forsothe, my lorde," quoth he, "there is no great conscience. But having regarde to the king's high powre, and to a better purpose, it may the better stand with conscience; who is sufficient to recompense the churche of Yorke with double the valewe." "That I knowe well, but there is no such condition," quoth my lorde, "but only a bare and simple departure with another's right. For if every bishoppe that may, should so doe, then might every prelate give

away the patrimony of their churches; and so in process leave nothing for their successors to maintain their dignity; which should be but smally to the king's honnor. Well, I will not stand long with you in this matter, let me see your commission." To whome Mr. Shelley shewed the same, and that seene, "Mr. Shelley," quoth he, "ye shall shewe the king's highness, that I am his most faithfull subjecte, obediencer, and beadman, whose royall commaundement and requeste I will in no wise disobey, but fulfill his pleasure in all such things, wherein ye fathers of the lawe say I may lawfully doe. Therefore I charge your conscience to discharge me. Howbeyt, shewe his highness from me, that I most humbly desire his majestie to call to his most gracious remembrance, that there is both a heaven and a hell." And herewithall the clerke toke and wrote the recognisaunce, and after some secrete talke they departed. Then rose my lorde of Norfolke from his repose, and after some communication with my lorde he likewise departed.

Thus continued my lorde at Asshur, who received daily messages from the courte, some good and some as evil, but moe evil than good. For his enemies, perceiving the good affection and minde that the king bare allwaies towards him, devised a mean to disquiet his patience; thinking thereby to give him an occasion to fret and chafe, that death should rather ensue, than otherwise, the which they most desired. They feared him more after his fall, than they did in his prosperity, doubting his retourne againe into authority by the kings favour; whereby they might rather be in daunger of their lives, than in any assuraunce, for their cruelty ministered unto him by their malicious inventions, surmised and brought to passe against him.

Therefore they toke this order in their matters with him, that daily they would send him something, or doe something against him, wherein they thought they might give him an occasion of heaviness. As some day they would cause the king to send for fowre or six of his gentlemen from him to serve the king: and some other day they would lay newe matters newely invented against him. Another day they would take away some of his promotions; or some of their promotions from them whom he had preferred before. Then would they fetch from him some of his yeomen; in somuche that the king toke sixteen of them at one time into his garde.

This was his life continually; so that there was not one day

but, or ever he went to bed, he had an occasion greatly to chafe, and to frete the harte out of his body, but that he was a wise man, and bare all things in patience.

At Christmas he fell very sore sicke, most likely to die. Whereof the king being advertised, was very sorry, and sent doctor Buttes[1], his phisition, unto him, to see in what estate he was. Doctor Buttes came unto him, finding him lying very sicke in his bed; and perceiving the daunger retourned to the king. Of whom the king demaunded, saying, "Have you seen yonder man?" "Yea, sir," quoth he. "How do you like him?" quoth the king. "Sir," quoth he, "if you will have him dead, I warrant him he will be dead within these foure days, if he receive no comforte from you shortly, and Mrs. Anne." "Marye," quoth the king, "God forbid that he should die. I pray you, master Buttes goe againe unto him, and doe your care unto him; for I would not lose him for twenty thousande poundes." "Then must your grace," quoth master Buttes, "send him first some comfortable message, as shortly as ye can." "Even so I will," quoth the king, "by you. And therefore make speede to him againe, and ye shall deliver him this ring from me, for a token," (in the which ring was the king's image, engraved within a ruby, as like the king as could be devised). "This ring he knoweth right well; for he gave me the same; and tell him, that I am not offended with him in my harte nothing at all, and that shall he knowe shortly. Therefore bid him pluck up his harte, and be of good comforte. And I charge you come not from him, untill ye have brought him out of the daunger of death." Then spake the king to mistress Anne Bullen, saying, "Good sweete harte, I pray you, as ye love me, send the cardinall a token at my desire, with comfortable wordes; and in so doing ye shall deserve our thankes." She not being disposed to offend the king, would not disobey his loving request, what soever in her harte she intended[2]

[1] *Dr. Buttes.*] Sir William Buttes, knight, whose portrait is introduced by Holbein, in the picture representing Henry VIII. giving a charter of incorporation to the barber-surgeons' company.

[2] *What soever in her harte she intended.*] The reader will recollect that Wolsey, at the king's desire, had broken off her engagement with the heir of the earl of Northumberland: but he had done more than this, for he had endeavoured by all means to engage the king to marry Eleanor, duchess of Alençon, the sister of Francis I. "It was the providence and just judgement of God, that that which he intended to the harme of others should be the

towards the cardinall; but toke incontinent her tablet of gold, that hung at her girdle, and delivered it to master Buttes, with very gentle and comfortable wordes. And so master Buttes departed with speede to Asshur; after whom the king sent doctor Cromer the Scot, doctor Clement[3], and doctor Wotton[4], to consulte with master Buttes for my lordes recovery.

After that master Buttes had been with my lorde and delivered the kings and mistress Annes tokens unto him, with the most comfortable wordes that he could devise on the kings and mistress Annes behalfe, he rejoiced not a little, and advaunced himselfe on his bed, and received the tokens most joyfully, thanking master Buttes for his paines and good comforte. Master Buttes tould him furthermore that the kings pleasure was, that he should minister unto him for his health: and to joine with him, for the better and most assured waies, he hath sent heither doctor Clement, doctor Cromer, and doctor Wotton. "Therefore my lorde," quoth he, "It were well done they were called in to visite you, and to consulte with them, and to have their opinions of your disease, trusting to Almighty God that we shall, through his grace and helpe, ease you of your paines, and rid you of your infirmities." To this motion my lorde was contented to hear their judgements; for he trusted more to doctor Cromer than to all the rest, because he was the very meane to bring him from Paris into Englande, and gave him partly his exhibition in Paris.

occasion of his owne overthrowe. For the king (the cardinall nothing less expecting) had fallen in love with Ann Bullen, and upon her his heart was so thoroughlie and entirely fixed, that he had, contrarie to his speeches to the cardinall, resolutely determined to marry her. Wherefore there was a messenger dispatched with letters to the cardinall, willing and commanding him, that of other matters he should breake with the French kinge, but in no cause he should speake a word of the marriage. Yet the cardinall moved it, as being the chief thing to bring his malicious drift to effect. *Which Ladie Anne understanding, afterwards never ceased to urge and press the king against him, till he was utterlie overthrowne."—Life of Sir Thomas More,* book iii.; in vol. ii. of this collection. Wolsey was fully conscious of this feeling towards him, for in a letter written at this time from Esher to Cromwell, he desires to know "specialness if the desspleasure of my lady Anne be sumwhat assuagyd, as I pray God the same may be."—Ellis's *Original Letters,* 2nd ser. vol. ii. p. 28.

[3] *Clement.*] "Dr. John Clement, famous for his singular skill in Greek and in Phisicke."—*Life of Sir T. More,* in the second volume of this collection.

[4] *Wotton.*] Dr. Nicholas Wotton, afterwards dean of Canterbury and York.

Then when they were come into his chamber, and had talked with him, he tooke upon him to debate his disease learnedly, so that they might perceive that he was sene in that arte. After they had taken order for their ministration, it was not long ere they brought him out of daunger; and within foure daies they set him on his feete, and got him a stomache to meate. All this done, and he in a right good way of amendment, they toke their leave to departe, to whome my lorde offered to each of them his rewarde; the which they refused, saying, that the king had given them a speciall commaundement, that they should take of him nothing for their paines and ministration; for at their retourne he himselfe would sufficiently rewarde them of his owne costes: and with great thankes they departed, and lefte my lord in good state of recovery.

After this time my lord amended daily, and continued at Asshur, untill Candlemas; before and against which feaste, the king caused to be sent unto my lorde three or foure carte loades of stuffe, and most thereof, excepte beds and kitchin stuffe, was loaded in great standards, wherein was bothe plate and rich hangings and chappell stuffe. Then my lord, being thus furnished, was therewith contented; although they whome the king assigned did not deliver him so good, ne so riche stuffe, as the kings pleasure was, yet was he well contented, and rendered most humble thanks to the king, and thanked them that appointed the same for him, saying to us his servaunts, when those appointed persons were gone, at the opening of the saide standardes, that he thought it might have bene better appointed. "But sirs," quoth my lord, "he that hath nothing is glad of somewhat: and though it be not in comparison so much, ne yet in valewe so good as we had before, of all the great aboundaunce that then we had, yet we give the kinge our most humble thankes, trusting after this to attaine to more. Therefore let us all rejoice, and be glad that God and the king hath so graciously favoured us to restore us to something to maintaine our estate like a noble person."

Then commanded he master Cromwell to make earnest suite to the kinge, that he might remove from thence to some other house, for he was weary of the house of Asshur[5]; for with con-

[5] *Weary of the house of Asshur.*] In a letter to Gardiner, Wolsey thus describes his feelings at Esher: "I pray you at the reverens of God to help, that expedition be used in my presents, the delay wherof so replenyssheth my

tinuall usage the house waxed unsavoury; supposing that if he might remove, he shoulde much sooner recover his healthe. And also the counsell had put in the kings heade, that the newe gallery, which my lorde had lately builded before his fall shoulde be very necessary for the king, to take it downe and set it at Westminster; which standeth at this day there, from the old gallery next the kings lodging, unto the first gatehouse. The taking away whereof was a great course that his enemies daily invented of new, to torment him, the which discouraged him any longer to continue there.

Nowe master Cromewell thought it but folly and vaine to move any of the king's counsell, who were my lordes ennemies, to helpe his suite to the kinge for my lordes removing, for they would rather have removed him further from the king, than to have holpen him to come nearer unto him; wherefore he made suite to the kings person only; whose suite the kinge graciously heard, and thought it very convenient to be graunted; and therewith, through the motion of master Cromewell, the kinge was contented he should remove to Richmond, which place my lorde had a little before repaired to his great costes; for the king had made an exchaunge thereof with him for Hampton-court. All this was done without knowledge of the kings counsell; for if they might have had understanding thereof before, then would thay have persuaded the king to the contrary: but when they knewe of the kings graunt and license, although they dissimuled their mindes in the kings presence, yet were they afraide of him, lest his nigh resorte to the king, might move the king at some braide [6], to have resorted unto him, and to have called him home

herte with hevyness, that I can take no reste, nat for any vayne fere, but onely for the miserabli condycion that I am presently yn, and lyclyhod to contynue in the same onles that ye, in whom ys myn assuryd truste, do help and releve me therein; for fyrst contynuyng here in this moweste (moist) and corrupt eyer, beyng enteryd in to the passyon of the dropsy, *cum prostratione appetitus, et continuo insompnus,* I cannat lyve; wherfor of necessyte I must be removyd to summe other dryer eyer and place, wher I may have comodyte of physycyans."—Ellis's *Original Letters,* 1st ser. vol. ii. p. 7.

[6] *Braide.*] Quarrel, dispute, *upbraiding.*

So, in Roy's *Satire against the Cardinall:*

"If he had been at this brayde,
He would have made such a noyse
With his horrible shryll voyce,
Mete to have made them afrayde."

Harleian Miscell. vol. ix. p. 17.

againe considering the great loving affection that the king daily shewed unto him; wherefore they doubted his rising up againe, if they founde not the meanes shortly to remove him further from the king. Insomuch that they thought it convenient for their purpose to move the king, upon considerations which they invented, that it were very necessary that my lorde should goe downe into the North unto his benefice, where he should be a good staye for the country; to the whiche the king condescended, thinking no lesse than all had been true as they had made relation. Their suggestion was forced so with wonderful imaginations of depe considerations that the king was straightways persuaded to their conclusion. Whereupon my lorde of Norfolke bade master Cromewell, who daily resorted to my lord, to say to him, that he must goe home to his benefice, and there looke to his charge: who at his next repaire to my lorde, then lying at Richmond, declared unto him, howe it was determined that he should goe home to his benefice, "Well then Thomas," quoth my lord, "we will go to Winchester." "I will," quoth master Cromewell, "shewe my lorde of Norfolk what ye saye." And so he did at his next meting with him. "What should he doe there?" quoth the duke. "Nay, let him goe to his riche bishopricke of Yorke, where his honors and more charge lieth; and so shewe him." The lordes who were not his friends, perceiving that my lorde was disposed to plant himselfe so nighe the kinge, thought then to withdrawe his appetite from Winchester, and then moved the king to give my lord a pension of four thousand markes out of Winchester, and all the rest to distribute among his nobility and servants; and soe likewise to divide the revenues of St. Albans: whereof some had three hundred marks, and some a hundred pounds, and soe some more and some less; and all the revenues of the lands belonging to the colledge of Oxenforde[7]

[7] *The colledge of Oxenforde.*] "The revenues also of his two colleges were torn and divided, which grieved him more than any other affliction: insomuch that he wrote to the king, humbly, as on his knees, with weeping eyes, that the college of Oxford might stand, and importuned Cromwell to this purpose, since they are in a manner, saith he, *opera manuum tuarum.* But Cromwell returned him no comfort herein, saying, 'the king was determined to dissolve them, though whether he meant to restore them again, and found them in his own name, he knew not; but wishes him to be content,' &c. Howsoever, in the traffic concerning these and other lands, as well as negociating his master's business, Cromwell shewed that dexterity which at last won him

and Ipswiche, the kinge toke into his owne hands; whereof master Cromewell had the receipt and government before by my lorde his assignment; wherefore it was thought very necessary that he should so have still, who executed all things thereof so exactly and wittily, that he was had in great estimation for his behaviour therein, and also for the true and faithful demeanour towards his lord and master.

Then it came to passe that those to whome the kings majestie had given any annuities or fees for terme of life by patent could not be good, but only during my lords life, forasmuch as the king had no longer estate therein, the which he had by reason of my lord his attaynder in the premunire, and to make their estates good and sufficient for the termes of their lives, there was none other shifte but to obtaine my lords confirmation of their patents. And this to be brought aboute, there was no meane, but to sue to master Cromewell to obtaine the same at my lord his handes, whom they thought the best instrument for their purpose.

Then began every man bothe noble and gentleman who had any patents of the kinge out of Winchester or St. Albans, to make suite to Mr. Cromewell to solicit the cause to my lorde, to get therein his confirmation; and for his paines therein, bothe worthely to rewarde him, and every man to shewe him such pleasures, as should be at all times in their severall powers, whereof they assured him. Wherein master Cromewell perceived an occasion given him by time to help himselfe, and to bring to passe that he long sought for; intending to worke in this matter according to their desires, the soner to bringe his owne enterprise and purpose to passe.

Then at his next retourne to my lorde, he moved this matter unto him, and so persuaded with him, that they bothe wrought together to bringe in master Cromewell in place, where he might doe good to my lorde, and to himselfe. Now began matters to worke to bringe master Cromewell into estimation, in suche sorte as was much hereafter to his increase of dignity; and every man having an occasion to have my lord his confirmation to their pattents, made new earnest suite unto him, who undertooke to do his beste. And having the ordering and disposition of the landes of these colleges, he had a great occasion of suitors, besides the

much credit both with the king and his principal counsellors."—Lord Herbert, in *State Trials*, vol. i. p. 382.

continual access to the king, by meanes whereof, and through his witty demeanour, he grewe continually into the kings favour, as ye shall hereafter hear in this history.—But first let us retourne to the business for the assuraunce of all those great pattents, which the king hath given and graunted to diverse noblemen and other gentlemen of his servants, wherein master Cromewell made great suite to my lorde, so that in processe he served so their tournes that they had their purpose, and he their good will. Thus rose his name and friendly acceptaunce with all men. The fame of his honesty and wisdome, came to the king, and he perceived no lesse by his wise demeanors in those receipts and governments that he had of those landes as I shewed you before; and the conference that he had therein with the king, caused the king to repute him to be a very wise man, and a mete instrument to serve his grace, as after it came to passe.

Sir, nowe the lords thought very longe to have my lord removed further out of the kings way; wherefore among other of my lords, my lord of Norfolke saide to master Cromewell. "Cromewell," quoth he, "me thinketh that the cardinall thy master maketh no haste to goe northwarde. Tell him if he goe not away but shall tarry, I shall teare him with my teethe. Therefore I would advise him to prepare himselfe away, as shortly as he can, or else he shall be sent forwarde." These wordes master Cromewell reported to my lord at his next repare unto him, who then had an occasion to resort unto him, for the dispatche of the noble and gentlemens pattents. And here I will leave off this matter, and shewe you of my lord his comming and continuing at Richmond.

My lord having license of the king, which master Cromewell obtained for him, as I shewed you before in this history, to repare unto Richmond, he made haste all that he could to prepare thitherwarde; and so he came and lodged there within the lodge of the great parke, which was a very pretty house and neat, lacking no roomes that be convenient for so little a house, where was also a very faire garden. There my lord lay from the time of his comming from Asshur unto Lent, with a pretty number of servants, because the house was very small for his whole familie; and the rest of his servants went to borde wages.

I will tell you a pretty tale, by the way of communication. As my lorde was accustomed to walke towardes the evening in his garden there, and to say his evensonge, and other his divine ser-

vice with his chapleine, it was my chaunce to waite upon him there; and standing in an alley, whilst he in another alley walked with his chapleine, saying his service, as is aforesaide; as I stode, I espied certaine images of beastes counterfeited in timber, standing in a corner under the lodge, to the whiche I repared to behold. Among whom I sawe stande there a dunne cowe, whereon I most mused, because of the likely entailing[8] thereof. My lorde being in the further side of the garden, espied me, howe I vewed and surveied those beastes; and having finished his service, came soddenly upon me, or I was ware, and speaking unto me, saide, "What have you espied here, that you look so attentively upon?" "Forsoothe, if it please your grace," quoth I, "here I behold these images; the which I suppose were ordeined to be set up within some place about the king's palace: howbeyt, sir, among them all, I have most considered this cowe, in which (as me seemeth) the workman has most lively shewed his cunning." "Yea, mary" quoth he, "upon this cowe hangeth a certain prophecy, the which is this; because peradventure you never heard it before, as I will shewe you. There is a saying,

"'When the cowe rideth the bull,
Then, priest, beware thy scull.'"

Of which prophecy neither my lord that declared it, nor yet I that heard it, understood the effecte; although the compassing thereof was at that present a-working, and about to be brought to passe. This cowe the king gave by reason of the earldom of Richmonde, which was his inheritance; and this prophecy was afterwards expounded in this wise. The dunne cowe, because it was the kings beaste, betokened the king; and the bull betokened mistress Anne Bulleine, which was after queene, because that her father gave a blacke bulls heade in his cognisaunce, and was his beaste. So that when the king had married queen Anne, the which was then unknowen to my lorde, or to any other that he would doe so, then was this prophecy thought of all men to be fulfilled[9]. For, what number of priestes, religious and seculers,

[8] *Entailing.*] From the Ital. *intagliare*, to cut, carve, &c.

[9] *Thought of all men to be fulfilled.*] This curious story is singularly corroborated by some circumstances which appear hitherto to have escaped notice, as indicating a desire, on the part of Henry, to avoid as far as possible the use of the name of Bullen. That it was not by reason of the inferiority

lost their heades for offending such lawes as were made to bring this marriage to effect, is not unknowne to all the worlde. Therefore it may well be judged that this prophecy is fulfilled upon this occasion.

Nowe, what dark riddelles and prophecies be, you may behold in the same: for before it came to passe there was not the wisest divinour, that could perfectly declare it, as it came to passe. Trust not therefore to any kind of darke prophecies, wherein ye may, as many have bene, be deceived; and which hath brought many to destruction. And often the imagining to avoide such straunge prophecies hath bin the very occasion, the soner to bring the same to performaunce and effect. Therefore let men beware to deme and assure themselves upon any such prophecy; for who so doeth shall first deceive himselfe, and then bring many into

of the family of Anne is proved from Lord Percy's declaration, that it was equal with his own; "although she be but a simple maid, having but a knight to her father, yet she is descended of right noble blood and parentage. As for her mother, she is nigh of the Norfolk's blood, and as for her father, he is descended of the earl of Ormond, being one of the earl's heirs general. Why should I then, sir, be anything scrupulous to match with her, whose estate and descent is equal with mine, even when I shall be in most dignity?" (See p. 498 of this volume.) Yet in the letters patent, by which she was created marchioness of Pembroke, she is styled not Anna Bullen, but Anna *Rochford*, which was a *title* of her father. In the arms which she bore as marchioness of Pembroke, her paternal coat of Bullen (*being that alluded to in the prophecy*, argent a chevron gules between three *bulls' heads* couped sable), is wholly omitted. Her arms as marchioness consisted of four quarters, viz., Butler of Ormond; Thomas of Brotherton, earl of Norfolk; Rochford; and Warren and Surrey. As queen she bore the same, with three additional quarters, granted to her as augmentations by Henry, viz. Lancaster, Angoulême, and Guienne; still omitting the coat of Bullen. To Catherine Howard, Jane Seymour, and Catherine Parr, Henry also granted augmentations, but in their several achievements the coats of Howard, Seymour, and Parr formed the second quarter. Anne Bullen's is the exception. It is not easy to account for this, save from a probable desire, on the part of Henry, to nullify the coarse allusion in the proverb repeated by Wolsey. It might be worth while to ascertain, from contemporary evidence, when the name was changed from Bullen to Boleyn.

Amongst the Harleian MSS. in the British Museum is a volume written for Anne's use, when marchioness of Pembroke, with her arms in it, and in the Old Royal Library is another volume with her arms as queen. These last occur also in the title-page of Marsilius's work, mentioned in a former note at p. 199. A copy of her patent of peerage is in one of the Harleian MSS. which also belonged to her, and which contains a recital of the various grants made to her by Henry.

error with him; whereof experience hath bin of late, the more pitty. But if men will needes think themselves so wise, that they think they be assured of such prophecies, and will worke their willes therein, either to avoide or fulfill the same, God sende him well to speede, for he may as well and much soner, take damage than avoide the daunger thereof! Therefore let prophecies alone, a God's name, and apply your vocation, and commit such riddles unto him that both knoweth the sequell, and can torne the same at his pleasure, and after all your enterprises to nothing, and cause you to repent your folly, the which you will confesse, when you shall smarte, for it yourselfe, and find it to be bothe great folly and much more foolishness to trust in such fantasies. Commit therefore all to God and to his disposition, who governeth and punisheth according to his pleasure, and not to all men's judgement.

You have heard heretofore what wordes the duke of Norfolke had to master Cromewell touching my lord his going unto his benefice at Yorke. At such time as master Cromewell repaired next to my lord, then shewed he him the wordes that my lorde of Norfolke had commaunded him to say. "Mary, Thomas," quoth my lord, "then it is time to be going, if he take it so. Therefore I pray you to go to the king, and ye may say that I would goe to my benefice at Yorke, but for lacke of money; desiring his grace to helpe me with some. For ye may say, the last money I received from his grace, hathe bin too little to paye my old debts; and to compell me to the payment of the rest of my debts hath bin too much extremity; bothe to take from me all my goods, and to put me to the paiment of my debts also; wherein I trust his grace will have a charitable respect. Ye may also shewe my lord of Norfolke, and other of the counsell, that I would departe if I had money." "Sir," quoth master Cromewell, "I shall doe my best." And after other communication he departed againe, and went to London.

My lord then in the beginning of lent removed out of the Lodge into the Charterhouse of Richmond, where he lay in a lodging, which doctor Collet made for himselfe[1], untill he removed northwarde; which was in the Passion Weeke after; and every day resorted to the Charterhouse there, and in afternoones he would

[1] *Collet made for himselfe.*] See note to the *Life of Colet*, p. 444 in this volume.

sit in contemplation with one of the most auncient fathers of that house in their celles, who converted him, and caused him to despise the vaine glory of the world, and gave him shirtes of heare to weare, the which he ware diverse times after. And thus he continued for the time of his abode there in godly contemplation.

Whan master Cromewell came to the court, he shewed my lord of Norfolke that my lord would most gladly goe northwarde, but for lacke of money, wherein he desired his helpe to the king. Then was the king moved therein, as well by master Cromewell, as by the counsell; the which matter the king referred to determine and assigne to the counsell; who were in diverse opinions. Some would he should have none, some would he should have enough, and some would have him to have but a small somme; and some thought it should be much against the king's dignity and honnor, and also very much against the counsellors honnor, to see him want, that had bin in such estimation with the king, and in great authority in this realme; yea, and it should rather be a slander to the kinge and his whole realme amonge forreine potentates, to see him want that had so much, and now so little. "Therefore," quoth one of them, "rather than he should lacke (although he never did me a pleasure), yet would I lay all my plate to gage for him for a thousand poundes, rather than he should departe northwarde, so bare and simply, as some would have him to doe. Let us doe to him as we would be done unto; considering the lightness of his offense, and the greate inestimable substaunce that he hathe departed withall, only for the king's pleasure, rather then he would disobey his grace's will." So after longe debate in this matter, it was concluded, that he should have by the way of a prest[2], a thousand markes of his pension out of Winchester, the which the king had graunted him out thereof, because the king had resumed the same bishopricke wholly into his hands; and yet out of the same he had graunted

[2] *By the way of a prest*] *Prêt, Somme prêtée.* Fr. A sum in advance. *Imprest* is a word still used officially.

"Commend me to all our faithfull brethren, and bid them with a good courage look for their redemption, and frame themselves to be hearty *souldiours* in Christ. They have taken his *prest money* a great while, and now let them show themselves ready to serve him faithfully, and not to fly out of the Lord's *camp* into the world, as many do."—Letter of John Philpot, Fox's *Acts*, p. 1664.

diverse other great pensions to many of the noblemen and other of his counsell, so that I doe suppose, all things accompted, the least part was his. So, when this determination was concluded, they declared the same to the king, who streightway commaunded the said thousand markes to be delivered out of hand to master Cromewell; and so it was. The king commaunded master Cromewell to resorte to him againe, when he had received the same somme of money. And according to the same commaundement, when he had received the money, he repaired againe to the king; to whom the king saide, "Shewe my lord, although our counsell have assigned no somme of money, for to beare his charge, yet ye shall shewe him in my behalfe, that I have sent a thousand poundes of my benevolence, and tell him that he shall not lacke, and bid him be of good cheare." Master Cromewell most humbly, on my lord his behalf, thanked the king for his noble harte and great liberallity, towardes my lord, "whose comfortable wordes of your grace," quoth he, "shall rejoice him more than three times the value of the money." And therewith departed, and came directly unto my lord to Richmond; to whom he delivered the money, and shewed him of all the debate and progresse of all the matter in counsell, and what money, and whereof it was levied that they sent him; and of the money which the king sent; adding thereto the kings comfortable sayings and message, wherein my lord did not a little rejoice, but toke thereof greate pleasure and comforte. Then did master Cromewell counsell with him for the furniture of his journey into the Northe: wherein they included many things to be done, as I shall recite hereafter.

Then prepared my lord all things with speede for his journey, and repaired into the Northe with all celerity, and sent to London for livery clothes for his servants, that should ride with him thither. Some of his servants he refused, suche as he thought were not meete to serve; and some againe of their own minde desired his honnur to tarry still in the south, being very lothe to forsake their native country, their parents, wives, and children, whom he right gladly and with good will licensed so to doe, and rendered unto them his harty thanks for their longe tarrying with him in his trouble. So that, all things being furnished towards his journey, he tooke the same in the beginning of the Passion Weeke, before Easter; and so rode from Richmond to a place which was the abbots of Westminster, called Hendon; and the next day he removed to a place where my lady Parrey lay, called

the Rye; the next day he rode to Royston, where he was lodged in the priory there; then went he the next day to Huntington, and there lodged within the abbey; and the next day he rode to Peterborough, and there lodged in the abbey, makinge there his abode all the next weke, where he kept the solemne feast of Easter, with all his traine, (save a fewe in nomber, which were continually attending on him) who were lodged in the towne, and had borde wages; his traine was in number a hundred and three score persons, haveing with him twelve cartes to carry his stuffe of his owne, which he sent for from his colledge of Oxenforde, that were there provided, besides three score other cartes of his daily carriage of necessaries, for his buildings. Upon Palme Sundaye he bare his palme, and went in procession, with the monkes, setting forth the devine service right honourably, with suche singing men, as he then had there of his owne. And upon Maunday Thursday he made his Maundy there in our Ladies chappelle, having fifty-nine [3] pore men, whose feet he washed, and kissed; and after he had wiped them, he gave every of the saide pore men twelve pence in money, three ells of good canvass to make them shirtes, a paire of new shoes, a cast of red herrings, and three white herrings, and one of them had two shillings. Upon Easter day he rose to the resurrection [4], and that day he went in

[3] *Fifty-nine.*] This number denotes that he was now fifty-nine years old.

[4] *He rose to the resurrection.*] The book of Ceremonies before cited, which was compiled in the reign of Henry VIII. observes: "Upon Easter-day in the morning *the ceremonies* of the *resurrection* be very laudable, to put us in remembrance of Christ's resurrection, which is the cause of our justification." Strype's *Eccles. Memorials*, vol. i. p. 294. Records. What these ceremonies were we may collect from the Rubrics upon that day, in the *Processionale secundum usum Sarum*, fol. 72, edit. 1555, which are to this effect: On Easter day, before mass, and before the ringing of the bells, let the clerks assemble, and all the tapers in the church be lighted. Then two persons shall draw nigh to the sepulchre, and after it is censed, let them take the cross out of the sepulchre, and one of them begin *Christus resurgens.* Then let the procession commence. After this they shall all worship *(adorent)* the cross. Then let all the crucifixes and images in the church be unveiled, &c. &c In like manner Good Friday also had its peculiar ceremonies. Bishop Longland closes his sermon preached on that day before king Henry VIII. A.D. 1538, in the following manner: "In meane season I shall exhorte you all in our Lord God, *as of old custome hath here this day bene used*, every one of you or ye departe, with moost entire devocyon, knelynge tofore our savyour Lorde God, this our Jesus Chryst, whiche hath suffered soo muche for us, to whome we are soo muche bounden, *whoo lyeth in yonder sepulchre;* in honoure of

procession in his cardinalls vesture, haveing his hat on his heade, and sang the high masse there he himselfe solemnely. After his masse he gave his benediction to all the hearers with cleane remision[5]; and there continued he till Thursday next.

My lord continuying there at Peterborough after this manner, intending to remove from thence shortly, commaunded me to ride to sir William Fitzwilliams knight, who dwelt within three or foure miles from Peterborough, to provide him there a lodging, for three or foure daies, in his journey northwardes. And being with this sir William Fitzwilliams, I did my message accordingly; whereof he was, as it appeared by his worde and dede, the gladdest man alive, that my lord would so lovingly take his house in his way; saying that he should be most heartily welcome of any man, the king his soveraigne except; saying furthermore that my lord should not nede to dislode or discharge any parte of his stuffe and carriage for his owne use, during his abode there; but should have all necessary stuffe of his owne to occupy, unles it were my lordes bed for his own person. This upon reporte made to my lord at my retourne, rejoiced him not a little; and he commaunded me to give warning unto all his officers and servauntes to prepare them to remove from Peterborough upon Thursday next, which was in Easter weke. Then made every man himself, and all things in such readiness, as was convenient, paying in the towne for all such things as they had taken; for which cause my lord caused proclamation to be made in the towne, that if any person or persons were greved by any of his servants, they should resorte to his officers, and there they should be answered, and have due remedy; so that, all things redy furnished, my lord toke his journey from the abbey of Peterborough on the Thursday in Easter weeke, to Mr. Fitzwilliams, where he was joiously received, and had worthy and honorable entertainement at the only costes and charge of the said Mr. Fitzwilliams all the time of my lord his being there with him.

The occasion that moved Mr. Fitzwilliams thus friendly to doe, was this: he was sometime a merchant of London, and sheriffe

hym, of his passyon and deathe, and of his five woundes, to say five Paternosters, five Aves, and one Crede: that it may please his mercifull goodness to make us parteners of the merites of this his most gloryous passyon, bloode, and deathe." *Imprynted by Thomas Petyt.* See also Michael Wood's *Dialogue, or Familiar Talks.* A.D. 1554. Signat. D. 3.

[5] *With cleane remision.*] See above, n. (6) p. 516.

thereof, and bore the charge of the same in the said city: and after there fell a great debate and grudge betweene the bench of aldermen and the said sir William, for that he would have a new corporation of Merchaunt Taylors, contrary to the order of the citty, the which caused him to surrender up his cloake, and gave over his freedom of the citty; against whose malice my lord bare him much, and after received him into his service, whome he made his treasurer, and after that his high chamberleine, and in conclusion, for his wisdom, gravity, eloquence, and porte, being a comely gentleman, my lord made him one of the king's counsell, who so continued during all his life after. And for the speciall goodness he alwaies found in my lord in his trouble with the citty, like a faithful servant he was redy then most joyfully to requite him with the semblable, and graunted to shew him any pleasure that lay in him to doe.

Thus my lord continued there from Thursday in Easter weke, at Mr. Fitzwilliams costes, untill the Monday next following; at which time he removed from thence unto Stamforde; where he lay all night, at the signe of the bull. And the next day he removed from thence to Grantham, and was lodged in a gentlemans place whose name was Mr. Hall. And the next day he rode to Newark, and lodged in the castle all that night, and the next day also; which is within four miles of Southwell, whither my lord intended to ride, and there to continue, as here after ye shall heare.

I cannot chose but to declare unto you a notable communication had at Mr. Fitzwilliams house, between my lorde and me, which was this: My lord walking in the garden at Mr. Fitzwilliams his house, saying his evensong with his chapleine, and I being there attending upon him, after he had finished his praiers, he commaunded his chapleine that bare up his gowne traine to deliver the same to me, and to goe aside; and after the chapleine was gone, he spake to me in this wise, calling me by my name, "Ye have bine lately at London," quoth he; "Forsoothe my lord," quoth I, "not since I was there to buy your liveries for your servants." "And what newes was there then," quoth he; "heard you no communication of me? I pray you tell me." Then perceiving that I had a good occasion to speake my mind unto him, I said, "Sir, if it please your grace, it was my chaunce to be at dinner in a certaine place, where I also supped, and many honest worshipful gentlemen, who were for the most parte of

mine old acquaintance, and therefore durst the bolder participate with me in conversation of your grace, knowing that I was still your servant; and they asking of me howe ye did, and how you accepted your adversity and trouble; I answered that you did well, and accepted all things in good parte; and as it seemed to me, they were your indifferent friends, of whome they said none evill, but lamented your decay and fall very sore, doubting much the sequell not to be good for the common wealth. Also they mervailed much that you, being of such excellent witt, and of such high discretion, would so simply confesse yourselfe guilty unto the king, as you did. For, as they understode by reporte of some of the kings counsell, your case being well considered, you have great wronge: to the which I could make no direct answer." "Is this," quoth he, "the opinion of wise men?" "Yea forsothe, my lord," quoth I, "and commonly of all men else." "Well then," quoth he, "for all their wisdome, they perceived not so much as I. For I considered, that mine enemies had brought the matter so to passe against me, that they conveied and made it the kings matter and case, and caused the king to take the matter into his owne hands; and after he had once the possession of all my goods, being the kings only case, rather than he would have delivered me my goods againe, and taken a foile or overthrow therein at my hands, without doubte he would not have missed (by the setting forthe and procurement of my evil-willers) to have imagined my undoing and destruction therein; whereof the best had bine perpetual imprisonment, or the daunger of my life. I had rather confesse the matter, as I did, and to live at large, like a poor vicar, than to live in prison with all the goods and honors I then had. And therefore it was for me the better way to yeild me unto the kings mercy and clemency, than to stand stiffe against him in triall of the wronge, which I sustained; wherein the king would have bine bothe to have bine noted, and in my submission, the king, I doubt not, had a conscience, wherein he would rather pitty me than maligne me. And also there was the nighte-crowe[6], that cried ever in his ears against me; and if she might have perceived any obstinacy in me; she would not have failed to have set it forthe with such vehemence, that I should rather have obtained the kings indignation, than his

[6] *Nighte-crowe, that cried ever.*] Evidently meaning Anne Bullen. See note at p. 582.

lawful favor: and his favor once lost (which I then knewe that I then had done) would never have bin by me recovered. Therefore I thought it better to kepe still his favor, with losse of goods and dignity, than to win his indignation with all my wit, truthe, and policy. And this was the cause (which all men know not) that I yealded myselfe so soone guilty to the *premunire;* wherein the king hath since conceived a conscience; for he knoweth, and allwaies did, more the effect thereof than any other person living, and whether I offended him therein or no, to whose conscience I commit the truthe of my cause." And thus we lefte the substance of our communication in this matter; although we had much more talke: yet this is sufficient to make you understande, as well bothe the cause of his confession in the *premunire*, as also the occasion of the losse of his goods.

Now let us retourne where we lefte my lorde, being now at the castle of Newarke, intending to ride to Southwell, which was but four miles from thence, as I shewed you before. He toke his journey thither against supper, where for lacke of reparation of the bishoppe's place, which belonges to the see of Yorke, he was compelled to lie in a prebendaries house, over against the bishoppes place, and there kept house untill Whitsontyde, against which time he removed into the place, being then newly repaired, and there continued all the most parte of that sommer, not without great resorte of the most worshipful of the country. And diverse noblemen, having occasion to repaire into the same country there, thought it good to visit my lord, as they travailed through the country, of whom they were most gladly entertained, and had right good chere, whose noble and gentle behaviour caused him to have much love in the country of all kinde of people. He kept there a noble house, where was bothe plenty of meate and drinke for all comers, and also muche almes given at the gate to the poore of the towne and country. He used much charity and clemency among his tenants, and other of the kings subjects. Although the hearinge thereof were not pleasaunt in the eares of suche as bare him no good will, yet the country and common people will say as they find cause; for now he was very much familiar among all persons, who then accustomably kept him company, and glad at any time when he might doe them any goode. He made many agreements and concordes betweene gentleman and gentleman, and betweene some gentlemen and their wives, and other meane persons, the which had bin long

before a sunder in great trouble; making for every of them, as occasion did serve, great assemblies and feastes, not sparing his purse, where he might make a peace and amity; which gat him much love[7] and friendshippe in the contry.

It chaunced so that upon Corpus Christi even my lord gave me a warning, after supper, to prepare all things in a readiness; for he intended to sing high masse the next day following; which I did not forget, although it were late; and I gave like warning to the head officers and other of my fellowes, to see in their romes all things furnished accordingly. I was not after that scantly laid in my bed, nor fully asleepe, but one of the porters came to my chamber dore, calling for me, and sayd, that there were two gentlemen at the gate, that would speake with my lord from the king. I rose up incontinent, and went with the porter to the gate. I demaunded who was there without. They made answer and sayde, that there was Mr. Brereton[8], one of the gentlemen of the kings privy chamber, and Mr. Wretherly[9], who were come from the kinge in post, to speake with my lorde. Then having

[7] *Him much love.*] The favourable representation given of this portion of the cardinal's life, notwithstanding what is said by Fox, p. 908, is fully confirmed by an authority which cannot be suspected of partiality to his memory, that of a State Book, which came out from the office of the king's printer in the year 1536, entitled *A Remedy for Sedition.* "Who was lesse beloved in the northe than my lord cardynall, God have his sowle, before he was amonges them? Who better beloved, after he had ben there a whyle? We hate oft times whom we have good cause to love. It is a wonder to see howe they were turned; howe of utter enemyes they becam his dere frendes. He gave byshops a ryght good ensample, howe they might wyn mens hartys. There was few holy dayes, but he would ride five or six myle from his howse, nowe to this parysh churche, nowe to that, and there cause one or other of his doctours to make a sermone unto the people. He sat amonges them, and sayd masse before all the paryshe. He sawe why churches were made. He began to restore them to their ryght and propre use. He broughte his dinner with hym, and bad dyvers of the parish to it. He enquired, whether there was any debate or grudge betweene any of them; yf there were, after dinner he sente for the parties to the churche, and made them all one. Men say well that do well. Godde's lawes shal never be so set by as they ought, before they be well knowen." Signat. E. 2.

[8] *Brereton.*] William Brereton, who was afterwards executed as a participator in queen Anne's supposed guilt.

[9] *Wretherly.*] I suppose Thomas Wrethesly, or Wriothesly, afterwards Lord Chancellor and earl of Southampton, but who at this time was one of the clerks of the signet, and king's attorney in the Court of Common Pleas.

understanding what they were, I caused the porter to let them in. And after their entry they desired me without delay to speake with my lord; whose request I endeavoured myselfe to obey, and went to my lord his chamber, who was in his bed a-sleepe. But when he heard me speake, he demaunded of me what I would have. "Sir," said I, "there is beneathe in the porter's lodge, Mr. Brereton of the kings privy chamber, and Mr. Wretherly, come from the kinge to speake with you: they will not tarry in any wise, but speake with you, and so departe. "Well then," quoth my lord, "bid them come up into the next chamber, and I will prepare myselfe to come to them." Then departed I from my lord, and went downe, and shewed them that my lord desired them to take the paines to come up into his dining chamber; to whome my lord shortly came. They seeing him in night apparel, did to him due reverence; whome he toke by the hands, demaunding of them, how the king his sovereigne lord did. "Sir," saide they, "right well and merry, thanks be to God. Sir," sayd they, "we must desire you to talke with you aparte." "With a right good will," quoth my lord. Then talked they with him in secrette in a great windowe; and after longe talke they toke forthe of a little male a close thing, in manner of a little coffer, covered with greene velvet, and bound with barres of silver and gilt, with a locke on the same, having a gilt key, with the which they opened the chest; out of the which they toke an instrument or writing [1], containing more than a skin of great parchment, having many seales hanging to the same, whereunto they put more waxe for my lord his seale; the which my lord sealed, and subscribed his name with his own hande, and delivered the same againe unto them, desiring them (for as much as they made haste to departe) to tarry, and take a bed, for it was very late, about midnight or something past. They thanked him, and saide they might in no wise tarry, but saide they would streightway ride to the Earl of Shrewsbury, and do as much as they could to be there before he should be stirring. And my lord, seeing their speedy haste, caused them to eate such cold meate as there was ready in the house, and to drinke a boll or

[1] *Instrument or writing.*] Not improbably the indenture between the king and the cardinal, that the latter should give up the bishoprick of Winchester and the abbey of St. Alban's, in lieu of an annual allowance of 1000 marks. It is printed in Rymer's *Fœdera*, Holmes's edit. vol. vi. pt. ii. p. 147.

two of wine. And that done, he gave each of them foure old sovereignes of fine gold, desyring them to take it in gree [2], saying, that if he had bin of greater hability, he would have given them a better rewarde; and so taking their leave they departed. And after they were departed, as I heard say, they were not contented with their rewarde. Indede they were none of his indifferent friends, which caused them to accept the same so disdainfully. Howbeit, if they had knowne what little store of money he had at that time, being but his indifferent friends, they would have given him great thanks: but nothing is more lost or cast away, than such things as be given to such persons. My lord went againe to bed; and yet neverthelesse, for all his disquietness and smalle rest that he had that night, he rose in the morning betimes, and sang High Masse as he was appointed the night before. There was fewe or none of all the house, besides myself and the porter, that knewe of the going or comming of Mr. Brereton and Mr. Wretherly; and yet there lay in the house many strangers and worshipfull gentlemen of the shire.

After this sorte and manner my lord lay at Southwell, untill about the latter end of grasse time; at which time he intended to remove to Scroby, which is an other house and lordeship of the bishopricke of Yorke. And against the day of his removing, he caused his officers to prepare all things in a readiness, as well provision to be made for him there, as also for his carriage thither, and other matters concerning the same. His removing and intente was not so secrete, but that it was abrode knowne in the country; which was not so much sorrowe to all his neighboures there about Southwell, but it was as joyfull to all the contry about Scroby.

Against the day of his removing all the knightes and other worshipfull gentlemen of the shire of that contry came unto him to Southwell upon Sonday to dinner, and lay with him all that night, to accompany and attend upon him in that journey the next day, and so to conduct him through the forrest country

[2] *In gree.*] Fr. *gré,* good will.

"—— We ought
Receiven all in gree that God us sent."
Chaucer's *Clerk's Tale.*

unto Scroby. But he being of their purpose advertised, and how they intended to lodge a great stagge or twaine by the way, where he should needes ride, purposing to shewe him all the disporte and pleasure that they could devise for him, was very lothe to use any such honnor and disporte, not knowing how the king would take it; being also well assured how his enemies would much rejoice, to understande, that he would take upon him any such presumption, whereby they might finde an occasion to persuade with the kinge how sumptuous he was notwithstanding his adversity and displeasure, and so to bring the king in a perfect ill opinion of him, and thereby brede small hope of reconciliation, but rather to informe the king, that he sought a meane to obtain the favor of the contry than of him; with diverse such imaginations, wherein he might rather obtaine displeasure than honnor. And also he was lothe to make the worshipfull gentlemen privy of this his imagination, least they should conceive any toy in their heades by meanes thereof, and so to leave their accustomed accesse unto him, which was much to his comforte. Therefore he devised an other way, which might be taken rather for a laughing disporte, than otherwise. And thus it was: he first called me unto him secretly at night, going to rest, and commaunded me that I should in most secrette wise that might be, cause six or seven horses, besides his mule, to be in a readiness for him by break of the day, and such persons as he appointed to ride with him to Newsted, an abbey in the which he intended to lodge by the way to Scroby, willing me to be also in a readiness to ride with him, and to call him so early that he might hear masse or ever he went forwarde, and be on horseback by the breake of day.—What will ye have more? All things being accomplished and finished according to his pleasure, he with those small number of persons appointed, mounted on his mule, and set forwarde by the breaking of the day towards Newstede, which was about sixteen miles from thence; whither my lord and we came before six of the clocke in the morning, and so went incontinent unto his bed, leaving all the gentlemen and his houschold at Southwell in their beddes, not knowing of my lord his sodain departure, whoe expected his uprising untill eight of the clocke. But after it was knowne unto them and to all the rest, there was no more to doe, but every man to his horse-backe, and so galloped after, supposing to overtake him.

But he was at his lodging at rest, ere they set forthe out of Southwell, and so was their cheife hunting[3] laid aparte, and the great stagges uncoursed. But at their thither repaire, sitting at dinner, the matter was laughed at, and so merrily jested out, that all was well taken.

Then my lord intending the next day to remove from thence, there resorted to him the earle of Shrewesburys keepers and gentlemen sent from him, to desire my lord, in their maisters behalfe to hunt in a parke of their maisters called Worsoppe Parke, which was even at hand, and the nearest and best way for my lord to travaile through in his journey, where was much plenty of game, that was laide for him in a readiness to hunt. Howbeit he thanked bothe my lord their maister for his gentleness, and them for their paines; and then saide, he was a man not meete to receive any such pleasure: for such pastime was mete for men of honnor, that delighted themselves therein, for whome he saide it was more convenient than for him. Nevertheless he could doe no lesse than thinke my lorde of Shrewsbury to be much his friend, in whom he found such gentleness and noble offer; and rendered also to him his most lowly thanks, from the very bottom of his harte. But in no wise could they intreat him to hunt. Although the worshipfull men in his company did much provoke him thereto, yet he would not consent, desiring them to be contented; saying that he came not into the contry, to frequent or followe any such pleasures, or pastimes, but rather to attend to a greater care that he had in hand, which was both his study and pleasure. And with such reasons and persuasions he pacified them for the time. Howbeit as he rode through the parke, bothe my lorde of Shrewesbury servants, and also the aforesaid gentlemen moved him once againe, before whome the deare lay very faire for all purposes of pleasure. But it would not availe; and therefore he made as much spede through the parke as he could. And at the issue out he called the gentlemen, and my lord of Shrewesbury's keepers unto him, desiring them to commend him to my lord their master, thanking him for his most honorable offer, trusting shortly to visite him at his owne house: and gave the kepers forty shillings for their rewarde in conducting him through the parke. And so rode to

[3] *Cheife hunting.*] So the MSS. except Harl. 428, which has *great hunting*. But, perhaps the true reading is, *Cerf* hunting, *i.e. stag-hunting.*

dinner to an other abbey called Rufford abbey; and after dinner he rode to an other abbey called Blithe, where he lay all nighte. And the next day he came to Scroby, where he continued till after Michaelmas, exercising many dedes of charity. And most commonly every Sonday (if the weather did serve) he would travaile unto some pore parish churche there aboute, and there would say his divine service, and either saie or heare masse, and caused one of his chapleines to preach the word of God unto the people. And that done, he would dine in some honest house in the towne, where should be distributed to the people a great almes of meate and drinke; or of money to supply the want of meate, if the nomber of the pore did so excede in necessity. And thus with other good dedes practising and exercising himselfe during his abode there, as making of love daies and agreements betweene party and party, being at variance, he daily frequented himself there abouts.

Then about the feast of St. Michaell[4] next after, he tooke his journey to Cawood Castle, within seven miles of York; and passing thither he lay two nights and a day at St. Oswalde's abbey, where he in proper person the next day confirmed children in the churche, from the houre of eight untill twelve of the clocke at noon. And, making a short dinner, resorted thither againe soon after one of the clocke, and for weariness, at the last was constrained to call for a chaire; and there confirmed moe children from the saide hour unto six of the clocke towards night, or ever he could finishe and make an ende, the number of the children was suche. That done he went to his supper and rested him there all that night. And the next morning he applied himselfe to departe towardes Cawood; and or ever he went, he confirmed almost an hundred children more; and then rode his way from thence. And in his journey at a plaine greene a little beyonde Ferrybridge, within a quarter of a mile, there were assembled, at a great crosse made of stone, a nomber of more children, accompted by estimation to be about the number of five hundred; where he was faine to alighte, and from thence never removed untill he had fully confirmed them every one; and then toke his mule and rode to Cawood; where he laye long after with much honnor and love of the country, bothe of the worshipfull and of the simple, doing of good deds of charity, and

[4] *Of St. Michaell.*] A.D. 1530. Lord Herbert, p. 340.

held there an honnorable and plentiful household for all comers; and also built and repaired the castle, which was greatly in decay, having a great multitude of artificers and labourers, about the number of three hundred persons, dayly in wages.

Lying there at Cawood he had intelligence by the gentlemen of the contry, that repaired unto him, that there was sprung a great variance and deadly hate betweene sir Richard Tempest, knight, and one Mr. Brian Hastings, then being but an esquire, betweene whome was like to ensue great murder, unless some meane mighte be founde to redress the inconvenience that was like to ensue. My lord being thereof advertised, lamenting the case, made such meanes by his wise letters and other persuasions, that these two gentlemen were contente to resorte unto my lord at Cawood, and there to abide his order, highe and lowe. A day was appointed of their thither resorte; at which day they came bothe to Cawood, not without great number on either parte assembled. Wherefore against that day, my lord had required many worshipful gentlemen to be there present, to assiste him with their endevour to accorde these two gentlemen, being thus at deadly feude. First my lorde commaunded no more to enter the castle with these gentlemen but six of their menyall servants, and all the rest to remaine without in the towne, or where they listed to repaire. And himselfe issuing forthe at the gates, calling the nomber of bothe parties togeither before him, he streightly charged them in the king's name firmely to keep the peace, upon their perilles, without either bragging or quarrelling either with other; and caused them to have bothe bere and wine sent them into the towne. And then he returned into the castle, being about nine of the clocke in the morning. And because he intended to have bothe these gentlemen to dine with him at his owne table, he thought it good to appease the rumour before dinner. Whereupon he called them into his chappell; and, with the assistance of the other worshipful gentlemen, he began to fall to communication in the matter, declaring to them the dangers that were like to ensue by their willfull and stoute stomaches; with many other good and wholesome exhortations. Notwithstanding, the parties laying and alleadging many things for their defense, sometime added stoute and despitefull words of defiance eche to other, which my lord and the other there assembled had much adoe to qualify, their malice was so great.—What will ye have more? With long continuance and depe arguments

made unto them by my lorde, at last being there untill foure of the clock in the afternone, my lord brought them to a final concorde and peace, concluding a certaine determinate ende betweene them, the which I doe not now remember; and so made them friends. And as it seemed, they were bothe contented therewith, and very joyous of the same. And then my lord caused them, after they had shaken hands together, to goe arme in arme to dinner; the sight whereof pleased much the beholders: and so went to dinner, although it were too late to dine[5], yet notwithstanding they dined with the other gentlemen at my lord his table, where was drinking unto eche other, in great amity as the manner is, and making great semblance of amity and love. After dinner my lord caused eche of them to discharge their route and assembly that remained without, out of the towne, and to retaine with them no more than they were accustomed to ride withall. And that done, these gentlemen, fulfilling his commaundement, taryed with all the rest at Cawood, and lay there all that nighte; whome my lorde entertained in suche sorte, that they toke his gentleness in great nobleness and friendship, trusting to have of him a speciall jewell in their country: and so it proved after by their demeanour towardes him, as it shall appeare by their giftes, which they prepared for him against his stallation.

It is not to be doubted but that the worshipful persons, as doctors, and prebendaries of the close of Yorke, would resorte unto my lord according to their duties, as unto the chiefe heade, father and patron of their spirituall dignity, at his first comming into the country so nighe their churche, which was but bare six

[5] *Too late to dine.*] "With us" (says Harrison, in the description of Englande, prefixed to Holingshed's Chronicle, p. 171) "the nobilitie, gentrie, and students do ordinarilie go to dinner at eleven before noone, and to supper at five, or betweene five and six at afternoone. The merchants dine and sup seldome before twelve at noone, and six at night, especiallie in London. The husbandmen dine also at high noone, as they call it, and sup at seven or eight: but out of the tearme in our universities the scholars dine at ten. As for the poorest sort, they generally dine and sup when they may; so that to talke of their order of repast, it were but a needlesse matter.

"*Theophilus.* You wente to dinner betyme I perceave. *Eusebius.* Even as I doe commonly, when I have no busynes, betwene nyne and ten; me thinkes it is a good houre: for by that meanes I save a breakfast, whyche for such idlers as I am, is most fittest."—*Dialogue between Eusebius and Theophilus.* Signat. B. 4. A.D. 1556.

miles. Wherefore ye shall understande that Doctor Hickden, then doctor of the churche[6] of Yorke, a worshipfull man and a divine, with the treasurer, and diverse other officers of the same college, repaired to my lord, and most joyfully welcomed him into those partes; saying that it was to them no small comforte to see their heade among them, who hath bine so long absent from them, being all the while like fatherless and comfortlesse children; but they trusted shortly to see him among them in his owne churche. To whome he aunswered, that it was the speciall cause of his comming, not only to be among them for a time, but also to continue his life among them, as a father and as a natural brother. "Sir then," quoth they, "ye must understande the ordinaunces and rules of our churche, whereof although ye be heade and governour, yet ye be not therewith so well acquainted as we be. Therefore, if it please your grace, we shall, under supportation of the same, open unto you some parte of our auncient lawes and customes of our churche. Sir, where ye doe intend to repaire unto us, the old lawe and custome hath evermore bin suche, that our head prelate and pastor, as ye now be, could, ne ever mighte, come above our quier dore, nor have any stall in the quire, untill he by due order were there stalled. Nor, if you should happen to die before your stallation, ye shall not be buried above in the quier, but in the nether parte of the body of the churche. Therefore we shall heartely desire, in the name of all our brethren, that ye would vouchsafe to doe, herein, as our honorable fathers your predecessors have done; and that ye will breake no laudable custome of our churche, to the which we be obliged by othe at our first admittaunce, to observe that, and diverse others, which in our chapiter remaine in recorde." "Those recordes," quoth my lord, "would I faine see; and this sene and digested, I shall then shewe you further of my minde." And thus in this matter they ceased communication, and passed the time with other matters; so that a day was assigned to bringe in their records to my lord. At which day they resorted unto him with their register and booke of records, wherein were written their constitutions and rules, which all the ministers of their churche were chearely bounde to observe on their behalfe, and to

[6] *Doctor of the churche.*] So the MSS., excepting that the York copy, over the word doctor, in another hand, has *dean*, which perhaps is the true reading. Dr. Brian Higden at that time bore the office.

see them kept inviolable. And when my lorde had seene and reade those recordes, and debated the same substauntially with them that brought these bookes, he determined to be stalled there at Yorke Minster, the next Monday after Allhallowne day. Against which time due preparation was made for the same, but not in so sumptuous a wise, as were his predecessors before him; ne yet in such sorte as the fame and common reporte was afterwardes made of him, to his great slaunder, and to the reporters no small dishonesty, to reporte such lies as I am persuaded they did, to the which I was made privy. I was sent by my lorde to Yorke to foresee things there, that should be ordered and provided for the solempnyty, which should have bin as meane as could be, considering the former decent honors of the worthy Minister of Yorke.

It came so to passe, that upon Allhallowne day, one of the head officers of the church, which should have the most doing in all this stallation, was with my lorde at dinner, at his house at Cawood; and sitting at dinner they fell in communication of this matter, and of the order thereof, saying that my lorde should goe on foote from a chappell (which standeth without the gates of the city called St. James's chappell) unto the Minster upon clothe, the which should be distributed to the pore after his passage. My Lord hearing this made aunswer to the same in this wise. "Although that our predicessors did goe upon clothe, soe we intend to goe on foote from thence without any such glory[7], in the vaumpes of our hosen. For I take God to my judge, I doe not intend to goe thither for any triumphe or glorye, but only to perform the rules of the churche, to the which I am bounde. And therefore I will desire you all, and will commaund other of my servants, to goe as humbly thither, without any sumptuous or gorgious apparell, otherwise then in decent manner. For I doe,

[7] *Without any such glory.*] The cardinal perhaps remembered the credit which was gained by his successful rival, cardinal Adrian, who being elected to the papacy by the conclave, through the influence of the emperor Charles V. "before his entry into the citie of Rome" (as we are told by one of Sir Thomas More's biographers), "putting off his hose and shoes, (and as I have credibly heard it reported) bare-footed and bare-legged, passed through the streets towards his palace, with such humbleness, that all the people had him in great reverence."—Harpsfield's *Life of Sir Thomas More.* Lambeth MSS. No. 827, fol. 12.

purpose to come unto Yorke upon Sonday next against nighte, and to lodge in the deanes house, and upon Monday to be stalled; and there to make but one dinner for you all of the close, and for other worshipful gentlemen that shall chance to come thither to the same; and to sup with some of the Residences; and the next day to dine with the mayor, and then to repaire home hither againe; and so to finish the same, whereby I may at all times resorte to Yorke."

The day being once knowne unto all the country, which could not be hid, the worshipful gentlemen and other, as abbots and priors, having notice of the day of my lord his stallation, sent in such provision of victuall, that it is almost incredible; wherefore I omit to declare unto you the certainety thereof. But there wanted no store of great and fat beastes and muttons, wildfowle, and venison, bothe red and fallowe, and other dainty things such as would have plentifully furnished his feaste, all which things were unknowne to my lorde: forasmuche as he being prevented and disappointed of his purpose, by the reason that he was arrested of highe-treason, as ye shall hereafter hear; so that most parte of this sommer provision, that I spake of before, was sent unto Yorke the same day of his arrest, and the next day following; for his arrest was kept as close and secrete from the country as might be, because they doubted the common people, which had him in great estimation and love, for his great charity and liberality, which he used dayly among them, with familiar gesture and behaviour, which be the very meanes to attaine the love of the people of the northe partes.

Sir, or ever I wade any further in this matter, I doe intend to declare unto you what chaunced before his last trouble at Cawood, as a signe or token given by God what should followe; which, at the doing of the very thing, no suche sequell was of any man premeditate or imagined. Therefore, for as much as it is a notable thing to be considered, I will (God willing) declare it as truely as my memory can recorde; the which thing I sawe myselfe being then present.

My lord's enemies being then in the courte about the king in good estimation and honnorable dignity, having now my lord in more feare and doubte, than they had before his fall, considering the perfect zeale and secrett favor that the king bare allwaies towards him, thought at lengthe, the king might call him home againe; and then if he so did, they supposed, that he would

rather imagine vengaunce, than to remit and forget their cruelty, which they wrought against him. Wherefore they compassed in their heades, either by some meanes to dispatch him by accusation of sinister treason, or to bringe him in the king's highe indignation by some other meanes. This was dayly their study, and consultation, having for their espialls as many vigilant eyes attendant upon him, as the poet feigned Argus to have; soe that he could neither worke or doe any thing, but that his enemies had knowledge thereof shortely after. Nowe at the last, they espied a time wherein they caught an occasion to bring their purpose to passe, thinking thereby to have of him a great advantage; for the matter being once disclosed unto the king, in such vehemency as they purposed, they thought the king would be against him. And that done, and by them executed, the king, upon other complaints moved with great displeasure, thoughte it good that he should come up, and stand to his trial; which they liked nothing at all; notwithstanding, hereupon he was sent for after this sorte. First, they devised that Sir Walter Walche, knighte, one of the king's privy chamber, should be sent downe with a commission into the northe, unto the earle of Northumberland[9] (who was sometime brought up in house with my lord cardinall), and they twaine being jointly in commision, to arrest my lord of high treason. This conclusion fully resolved, they caused Mr. Walche to prepare him to his journey with this commision, and certaine instructions annexed to the same; who made him ready to ride, and toke his horse at the courte gate about noone of All-hallowne day, towards my lord of Northumberland. Nowe I am come to the place where I will declare that which I promised in the latter ende of the last chapiter, of a certaine signe or token of this my lord his trouble; which thing was this.

My lord sitting at dinner upon All-hallowne day, having at his borde end[1] diverse of his worshipful chapleines, sitting at

[9] *The earle of Northumberland.*] In the notes to the Northumberland Household Book, p. 428—431, Dr. Percy has produced, from the letters of this nobleman, some curious particulars illustrative of the harsh and unworthy treatment which he had formerly received from the cardinal; and which, in the doctor's mind, are "a full vindication of the earl from the charge of ingratitude, in being the person employed to arrest the cardinal at his castle of Cawood."

[1] *At his borde end.*] "In the houses of our ancient nobility, they dined at

dinner to keep him company, for lacke of strangers, ye shall understande, that accustomably my lord his great crosse stoode in a corner, at the table's ende, leaning against the tappet or hanging. And when the borde's ende was taken up, and a convenient time for the chapleines to arise, they forsed themselves to arise from the table; and even as they rose one doctor Augustine[2], a Venetian and physitian to my lorde, rising from the table with the other, having upon him a greate gowne of boysterous velvet, overthrew my lorde's great crosse, which stode in the way at the borde's ende; and trayling downe along the tappet[3], it fell upon doctor Bonner's head, who stood by the tappet; and the point brake his head a little, that the blode ran downe. The company there standing according to their duty ready to give thanks to my lord for their dinner, were greatly astonied with the chaunce. My lord sitting in his chaire, and perceiving the same, demaunded of them being next him, what the matter meant of their sodaine amase. I shewed him of the fall of his crosse upon doctor Bonner's head. "Hathe it," quoth he, "drawne any bloud?" "Yea forsothe my lord," quoth I. With that he cast his heade aside, loking soberly upon me a certaine space and sayd unto me (shaking his heade), "*malum omen*[4];" and therewith said grace, and rose up from the table,

long tables. The lord and his principal guests sate at the upper end of the first-table, in the great chamber, which was therefore called the Lord's Board-end. The officers of his houshold, and inferior guests, at long tables below in the hall. In the middle of each table stood a great salt cellar; and as particular care was taken to place the guests according to their rank, it became a mark of distinction, whether a person sate above or below the salt." Notes on the *Northumberland Household Book*, p. 419.

[2] *Doctor Augustine.*] Agostino degli Agostini, or in *Latin*, Augustinus de Augustinis. It was he who had written to Cromwell from Esher, earnestly pressing for Dr. Butts and others to be sent to Wolsey's assistance. (See p. 582.) His letter is in the Cottonian Collection, Titus B. I. fol. 365. He was accused, as we shall presently see, of high treason, and arrested at the same time with his master the cardinal, but he did not remain long in custody, nor out of favor, for in 1531 and 1532 he was employed on a mission in Italy, apparently to obtain information. See his letters to the duke of Norfolk and Cromwell, in the Cottonian MSS. Galba, B. x. fol. 8; Nero, B. xi. fol. 308; and Vitellius, B. xiii. fols. 217. 225. 236.

[3] *Tappet.*] Tapestry; *Lat.* Tapetum.

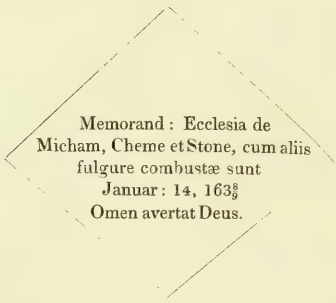
[4] *Malum omen.*] The enemies of archbishop Laud, particularly in the time of his troubles, were fond of comparing him with cardinal Wolsey: and there is reason to think, that this life was first printed in the year 1641, for the

and went into his bed-chamber; but what he did there I knowe not.

Nowe marke the signification, how my lorde expounded this matter unto me at Pomfret, after his fall. Firste ye shall understande, that the crosse, which he bare as archebishope of Yorke, signified himselfe; and Augustine, the physitian, who overthrewe the crosse, was only he that accused my lord[5], whereby his enemies caught an occasion to overthrowe him. It fell upon master doctor Bonner's heade, who was master of my lord's Faculties and Spirituall Jurisdictions, and was then damnified by the overthrowe of the crosse; yea, and moreover, drawing of the bloud of him betokened deathe, which shortly after did ensue; about which time of this mischaunce, the same very day and

purpose of prejudicing that great prelate in the minds of the people, by insinuating a parallel between him and the cardinal. However this may have been, the expression in the text recals to memory an affecting anecdote respecting Laud, which the reader will not be displeased to find in this place.

The year 1639, we all know, was big with events calamitous to Laud, and to the church and monarchy. In the Lambeth library is preserved a small pane of glass, in which are written with a diamond pencil the following words:



On a piece of paper of the same size with the glass, and kept in the same case with it, is written (and by the hand of abp. Wake, as my friend, Mr. Todd, MS. Librarian to his Grace, the present archbishop, informs me) as follows: "This glasse was taken out of the west-window of the gallery at Croydon before I new built it; and is, as I take it, the writing of abp. Laud's own hand."

[5] *He that accused my lord.*] If this be true, it may account for Augustine's speedy release and favor.

season, Mr. Walche tooke his horse at the courte gate, as nighe as it could be judged. And so it must needes be taken for a signe or token of that which after followed, if the circumstaunce be equally weighed and considered; wherein, as I suppose, God shewed him some more secrette knowledge of his latter daies and ende of his troubles: wherein it was thought that he had further inspiration, than all men did knowe; which appeared righte well by diverse speciall communications that he had with me at diverse times of his last ende. And nowe that I have made manifest to you the effect of this prodigie and signe, I will retourne againe to my matter.

Nowe the appointed time drewe neare of his stallation; and sitting at dinner, upon the Friday next[6] before the Monday on the which he intended to be stalled at Yorke, the earle of Northumberlande and Mr. Walche, with a great company of gentlemen of the earle's house, and of the country, whom he gathered together in the king's name, to accompany them, not knowing to what intent, came into the hall at Cawood, the officers being at dinner, and my lord not fully dined, being then in his fruites, nor knowing of the earle's being in the hall. The first thing that the earle did, after he had set order in the hall, he commaunded the porter of the gates to deliver him the keies thereof; who would in no wise obey his commaundement, althoughe he were roughely threatened, and streightly commaunded in the king's name to make delivery of them to one of the earle's servants, but perceiving that, saide then unto the earle, "Sir, seeing that you doe but intend to set one of your servants in my place, to kepe the gates for your pleasure; I knowe no servant that ye have, but that I am as able as he to doe it, and keepe the gates to your purpose whatsoever it be. And also, the keies were delivered to me by my lorde my master, who charged me with them, bothe by othe and other precept and commaundement. Therefore I pray you, my goode lorde, to pardon me, though I doe not obey your commaundement. For whatsoever ye shall commaunde me to doe in the ministration of mine office, I shall doe it with as good a will and as justly, as any other of your servants, whatsoever he be." With that quoth the gentlemen, being there with the earle, who hearde him speake so stoutely, "Sir, he is a goode fellowe, and a faithfull servaunte to his master; and speaketh like an honest

[6] *The Friday next.*] Nov. 4, 1530. Lord Herbert, p. 340.

man ; therefore give him your charge, and let him keepe still the gates ; whome we doubte not but he will be obedient to your commaundement." " Well then," quoth the earle, " holde him a boke, and commaund him to lay his hand thereon." " Thou shalt sweare," quoth the earle, " that thou shalt well and truly keepe the gates, by our commaundement, to the king our soveraigne lorde's use, being his graces commisioners ; and to doe all suche things as we shall commaunde, and as to us shall seeme good, for the time of our abode here ; and that ye shall let passe neither in nor out at these gates, but such as you shall be commaunded by us, from time to time," and with this othe he received the keies at the earle's and Mr. Walche's hands.

Of all these doings knewe my lord nothing ; for they stopped the staire, so that none went up to my lorde his chamber, and they that came downe could no more goe up againe. At the last one escaped, who came up, and shewed my lorde that the earle of Northumberland was in the hall ; whereat my lord marvailed, and would not beleve him at the first ; but commaunded a gentleman, being his gentleman usher, to loke and bringe him the truthe, whether it were he or no. Who going downe the staires, where was a loop with a lattise, where through he looked into the hall, he sawe my lord of Northumberlande ; and went no further, but returned, and shewed my lorde it was very he. " Then," quoth my lorde, " I am sorry that we have dined ; for I feare that our officers be not provided of any store of good fishe, to make him some honnorable cheere, according to his estate ; notwithstanding he shall have suche as we have, with a righte good will. Let the table stande," quoth he, " and we will goe downe, and mete him, and bring him up ; and then shall he see how farre forthe we be at our dinner." With that he put the table from him, and rose up ; and going downe the staires he encountered the earle, whome he met upon the middest of the staires, comming up, with all his men at his taile. And assone as my lorde espied the earle, he put off his cappe, and saide, " My lorde, ye are most heartely welcome ;" (and so embraced eche other.) My lord cardinall saide, " Although that I have often desired, and wished in my harte to see you in my house, yet if ye had loved me well, ye would have sent me word before of your comming, to the intente I might have received you according to your honnor. Notwithstanding ye shall have suche cheere as I can make you, with a righte good will ; trusting that ye will accept the same of me as

of your very loving friend, hoping hereafter to see you oftner, when I shall be more able to entertaine you with better fare." And this saide, my lorde toke the earle by the hande, and had him up into the chamber; whome followed all the number of the earle's servants. And when my lorde came into the chamber, he led the earle to the fire, and sayd, Sir, my lord, ye shall goe into my bed chamber, where ye shall have a good fire, untill your chamber be made ready for you; and let my lorde's male be brought up: and or ever I goe, I pray you give me leave to take these gentlemen, your servants, by the hands." And when he had taken them all by the hands, he returned to the earle, saying, "I perceive well, my lorde, that ye have not altogether forgot my olde precepts, and counsell, which I gave you, when you were with me in your youthe, to cherishe my lorde your father's olde servants, which I see here present with you. Surely, my lorde, ye doe therein very well and nobly, like a wise gentleman. For these be they who will not only love you, but also live and die with you, and be true to you, and glad to see you prosper in honnor; the whiche I beseeche God to send you, with long life." This saide, he toke the earle by the hand, and led him into his bed chamber.

And they beinge there all alone, save only I, who kept the dore, according to my duty, being gentleman usher; these two lordes standing at a windowe by the chimney, the earle trembling saide unto my lorde, with a soft voice (laying his hand upon his arme), "My lorde, I arrest you of highe treason." With which wordes my lorde was marvailously astonied, standing bothe still without any more wordes a good space. But at the last, quoth my lord, "What authority have you to arrest me?" "Forsothe, my lorde," quoth the earle, "I have a commision so to doe." "Where is your commision," quoth my lord, "that I may see it?" "Nay, sir, that you may not," saide the earle. "Well then," quoth my lord, "hold you contented; then I will not obey your arrest: for there hath bine between your auncestors and my predicessors great contentions and debate of an auncient grudge, which may succede in you, and growe unto the like inconvenience, as it hath done betwene your auncestors and my predicessors. Therefore, without I see your authority from above, I will not obey you." Even as they were debating this matter betwene them in the chamber, so busy was Mr. Walche in arresting of doctor Augustine, at the dore in the pallace, saying unto him,

"Go in traitor, or I shall make thee." And with that, I opened the portall dore, perceiving them both there. Mr. Walche thrust doctor Augustine in before him with violence. These matters on bothe sides astonied me very much, musing what all this should meane; untill at the last, Mr. Walche, being entered my lorde his chamber, began to plucke off his hoode, which he had made him of the same clothe, whereof his coate was, which was of Shrewesbury cotton, to the intent he would not be knowne. And after he had plucked off his hoode, he kneled downe to my lorde, to whome my lord sayd, "Come hether, gentleman, and let me speake with you," commanding him to stand up, saying thus, "Sir, here my lorde of Northumberland hathe arrested me, but by whose authority or commision he sheweth me not; but saith, he hath one. If ye be privy thereto, or be joined with him therein, I pray you shewe me." "Indeede my lorde, if it please your Grace," quoth Mr. Walche, "he sheweth you the truthe." "Well then," quoth my lord, "I pray you let me see it." "Sir, I beseeche you," quoth Mr. Walche, "hold us excused. There is annexed to our commision certaine instructions which ye may not see, ne yet be privy to the same." "Why," quoth my lorde, "be your instructions suche that I may not see them? peradventure, if I mighte be privy to them, I could helpe you the better to perform them. It is not unknowne, but I have been privy and of counsell in as weighty matters as these be: and I doubte not for my parte, but I shall prove myselfe a true man, against the expectation of all my cruell enemies. I see the matter whereupon it groweth. Well, there is no more to doe. I trowe ye are one of the king's privy chamber; your name is Walche. I am content to yelde to you, but not to my lord of Northumberland, without I see his commision. And also you are a sufficient commisioner in that behalfe, in as much as ye be one of the king's privy chamber; for the worst there is a sufficient warrant[7] to arrest the greatest pere in this realme, by the king's only commaundement, without any commision. Therefore I am at your will to order and to dispose: put therefore your commision and authority in execution: spare not, and I will obey the king's will. I feare more the malice and cruelty of my mortall enemies, than I doe the untruthe of my allegiance; wherein, I take God to my

[7] *A sufficient warrant.*] See Nicolas Carlile's *Inquiry into the place and quality of the Gentlemen of the Privy Chamber.* Lond. 1829. 8vo. p. 288.

judge, I never offended the king in worde ne dede ; and therein I dare stand face to face with any man alive, having indifferency, without partiality."

Then came my lord of Northumberland unto me, standinge at the portall dore, and commaunded me to avoide the chamber: and being lothe to departe from my master, I stode still, and would not remove; to whome he spake againe, and said unto mee, " There is no remedy, ye must departe." With that I loked upon my lord (as whoe would say, shall I goe?), upon whome my lorde loked very heavily, and shoke at mee his heade. And perceiving by his countenaunce it boted me not to abide, I departed the chamber, and went into the next chamber, where abode many gentlemen of my fellowes, and other, to learne of me some newes; to whome I made reporte what I sawe and hearde; which was great heaviness unto them all.

Then the earle called into the chamber diverse gentlemen of his owne servants; and after that he and Mr. Walche had taken my lorde's keies from him, they gave the charge and custody of my lorde unto five gentlemen. And then they went aboute the house to set all things in order, intending to departe from thence the next day (being Saturday) with my lord; howbeyt it was Sonday towards nighte or ever they coulde bringe all things to passe to departe. Then went they busily about to convey doctor Augustine away to London, with as much speede as they could, sending with him diverse persones to conducte him, which was bounde unto his horse like a traitor. And this done, when it came to nighte, the commisioners assigned two gromes of my lordes to attend upon him in the chamber where he lay that nighte; and all the rest of my lord of Northumberland's gentlemen watched in the next chamber; and so was all the house watched, and the gates verie surely kepte, that no man could either passe or repasse, in or out, untill the next morning. At which time my lorde rose up about eighte of the clocke, and made him ready to ride; where he was kept still close in his chamber, expecting his departing from thence.

Then the earle sent for me into his chamber, and being there he commaunded me to goe to my lord, and give attendaunce upon him, and charged me with an oathe upon certaine articles to observe aboute him. And going my way toward my lorde, I met with Mr. Walche in the courte, who called me unto him,

and led me into his chamber, and there shewed me how the king's majestie bare towards me his princely favor, for my dilligent and true service that I ministered daily to my lorde and master. "Wherefore," quoth he, "the king's pleasure is, that ye shall be aboute him, as most chiefe in whome his highness putteth great confidence and trust; and whose pleasure is therefore, that ye shall be sworne unto him to observe certaine articles, which you shall have delivered you in writinge." "Sir," quoth I, "my lorde of Northumberlande hath already sworne me to diverse articles." "Yea," quoth he, "but he could not deliver you the articles in writinge, as I am commaunded specially to doe. Therefore, I deliver here unto you this bill with articles in writinge; loke upon them, whether ye can observe them or no; for ye shall not receive them of me without an oathe, for the fulfilling of them." And when I had perused them, and sawe them but reasonable and tollerable, I aunswered, that I was contented to obey the king's pleasure, and to be sworne to the performaunce of them. And so he gave me a new othe: and then I resorted unto my lorde, where he was sitting in a chaire, the tables being spred for him to goe to dinner. But as soone as he perceived me to come in, he fell out into suche a wofull lamentation, with such ruthefull teares and watery eies, that it would have caused a flinty harte to mourne with him. And as I could, I with others comforted him; but it would not be. "For," quoth he, "Nowe I lament, that I see this gentleman" (meaning me) "how faithefull, how dilligent, and how painefull he hath served me, abandonning his owne country, wife, and children; his house and family, his rest and quietnesse, only to serve me, and I have nothinge to rewarde him for his highe meritte. And also the sighte of him causeth me to call to my remembrance the nomber of faithfull servauntes, that I have here with me; whome I did intend to preferre and advaunce, to the best of my powre, from time to time, as occasion should serve. But now, alas! I am prevented, and have nothing here to rewarde them; all is deprived me, and I am left here their miserable and wretched master. Howbeyt," quoth he to me (calling me by my name), "I am a true man, and ye shall never have shame of me for your servise." "Sir," quoth I unto him (perceiving his heaviness), "I doe nothinge mistruste your truthe: and for the same will I depose bothe before the king, and his honnorable counsell. Where-

fore, sir," (kneeling upon my knee) "comforte yourselfe, and be of good cheere. The malice of your ungodly enemies can, ne shall not prevaile. I doubt not but comming to your aunswer, my hearte is suche, that ye shall clearly acquit yourselfe, so to your commendation and truthe, as that, I trust, it shall be much to your great honnour, and restitution unto your former estate." "Yea," quoth he, "if I may come to my aunswer, I feare no man alive; for he liveth not that shall look upon this face" (pointing to his owne face), "that shall be able to accuse me of any untruthe; and that knowe well mine enemies, which will be an occasion that they will not suffer me to have indifferent justice, but seeke some sinister meanes to dispatch me." "Sir," quoth I, "ye neede not therein to doubte, the king being so muche your good lorde, as he hath alwaies shewed himselfe to be, in all your troubles." With that came up my lorde his meate; and so we lefte our former communication, and I gave my lorde water, and set him downe to dinner; who did eate very little meate, but very many times sodainely he would burste out in teares, with the most sorrowfull words that have bine hearde of any woefull creature. And at the laste he fetched a great sighe, and saide this texte of scripture[8] in this wise, "*O constantia Martirum laudabilis! O charitas inextinguibilis! O pacientia invincibilis, quæ licet inter pressuras persequentium visa sit despicabilis, invenietur in laudem et gloriam ac honorem in tempore tribulationis!*" And thus passed he forthe his dinner in great lamentation and heaviness, who was fed more with weping teares, than with any delicate meates that were set before him. I suppose that there was not a drie eie among all the gentlemen, that were there attending upon him. And when the table was taken up, we expected continually our removing, untill it drewe to nighte; and then it was shewed my lorde, that he could not goe away that nighte; but on the morrow, by God's grace, he should departe. "Even then," quoth he, "when my lord of

[8] *Texte of scripture.*] The words which follow, I apprehend, are part of some ecclesiastical hymn. It was not unusual to attribute the name of *Scripture* to all such compositions; and to whatever was read in churches. "Also I said and affirmed" (the words are part of the recantation of a Wickliffite) "that I held *no Scripture* catholike nor holy, but onely that is contained in the Bible. For the legends and lives of saints I held hem nought; and the miracles written of hem, I held untrue."—Fox's *Acts*, p. 591.

Northumberland shall be pleased." Wherefore it was concluded, that he should tarry untill the next day, being Sonday.

On which day my lord rose in the morning, and prepared him ready to ride, after he had hearde masse; and by that time he had saide all his divine service, it was dinner time; and after dinner the earle appointed all things, how it should be ordered; and by that time it was nere nighte. There were appointed to waite upon him diverse persons, among whom I myselfe, and foure more of his owne servaunts were assigned unto him. First his chaplen, two groomes and his barber: and as we were going downe out of the great chamber, my lorde demaunded where his servaunts were become; the which the earle and Mr. Walche had inclosed within the chappel there, because they should not trouble his passage. Notwithstanding my lord would not goe downe untill he had a sighte of his servauntes; to whom it was aunswered that he might not see them. "Why so?" then quoth my lord. "I will not out of this house, but I will see my servaunts, and take my leave of them before I will goe any further." And his servauntes, being in the chappell, having understanding that my lord was going away, and that they should not see him before his departure, they began to grudge, and to make suche a rutheful noise, that the commisioners were in doubte of a tumulte, to tarry among them; wherefore they were let out, and suffered to repaire to my lord, in the great chamber; where they kneled downe before him; among whome was no one drie eie, but earnestly lamented their master's fall and trouble. To whome my lord gave comfortable wordes, and worthy praises for their diligence, honesty, and truthe done to him heretofore, assuring them, that what chaunce soever shall happen him, he was a very true and a just man to his sovereigne lord. And thus with a lamentable manner, shaked every of them by the hand.

Then was he constrained to departe, the nighte drewe so faste on. And so my lord his horse, and ours were ready brought into the inner courte; where we mounted, and comming to the gate to ride out, which was shut, the porter opening the same to let us passe, there was ready attending a great nomber of gentlemen with their servauntes, such as the earle had appointed for that purpose, to attend and conducte my lord to Pomfret that nighte, and so forthe, as ye shall hereafter heare. But to tell you of the nomber of the people of the country that were assembled at the gate to lament

his departing, I suppose they were in nomber above three thousand people; which at the opening of the gates, after they had a sighte of him, cried with a loude voice, "God save your Grace, God save your Grace! The foul evill take them that have thus taken you from us! We pray God that a very vengeaunce may light upon them!" Thus they ran after him, crying through the towne of Cawood, they loved him so well.—Surely they had a great losse of him, bothe riche and poore: for the poore had by him great reliefe; and the riche lacked not his counsell and helpe in all their troubles; which caused him to have such love among the people of the country.

Then rode he with his conductors towards Pomfret; and by the way as he rode, called me unto him, asking me if I had any gentleman of mine acquaintance among the nomber that rode with him. "Yea, sir," sayd I, "what is your pleasure?" "Mary," quoth he, "I have lefte a thinge behinde that I would faine have; the whiche I would most gladly send for." "If I knewe," quoth I, "what it were I should send one incontinent backe againe for it." "Then," saide he, "let the messenger goe to my lorde of Northumberlande, and desire him to send me the red buckram bagge, lying in my almery in my chamber, sealed with my seale." With that I departed from him, and went streight unto one sir Roger Lassels, knighte, and stewarde with the earle (being one among the route), and desired him to cause some of his servaunts to return to my lord of Northumberland for that purpose; who graunted my requeste most gently, and thereupon sent incontinent one of his trusty servaunts with all spede back againe to Cawood for the said bagge; who did so honestly his message, that he brought the same unto my lord shortly after he was in his chamber at the abbey of Pomfret; where he laye all nighte. In which bagge was no other thing inclosed but three sheartes of heare, the which he delivered unto his chaplen and ghostly father secretly.

Furthermore, as he rode towarde Pomfret, he demaunded of me, whither they would leade him that nighte. "Mary, sir," quoth I, "to Pomfret." "Alas!" quoth he, "shall I goe to the castle[9], and lie there, and dye like a beaste?" "Sir, I can tell you no more," quoth I, "what they intend to doe; but sir, I will

[9] *To the castle.*] Where so many executions for treason had taken place that Wolsey might well hold it in dread.

enquire of a secret friend of mine in this company, who is chiefe of all their counsells."

With that I repaired unto the saide Roger Lassels, and desired him as earnestly as I could, that he would vouchsafe to shewe me, whither my lord should go to be lodged that nighte; who aunswered me againe that my lord should be lodged in the abbey of Pomfret, and in none other place; the which I reported to my lord, who was glad thereof; so that within nighte we came to Pomfret, and there lodged within the abbey as is aforesaide.

And my lord of Northumberland continued all that nighte at Cawood, to see the dispatche of the household, and to establishe all the stuffe within the same in security.

The next day my lord removed towards Doncaster, and came into the towne by torche lighte, the which was his desire, because of the people. Yet notwithstanding, the people were assembled, and cried out upon him, "God save your Grace, God save your Grace, my good lord cardinall;" running before him with candles in their hands; who caused me to ride by his side to shadowe him from the people; and yet they perceived him, and lamented his misfortune, cursing his accusers. And thus they brought him to the Black-friars, within the which he was lodged.

And the next day we removed and rode to Sheffilde parke, where my lord of Shrewsbury lay within the lodge, the people all the way thitherwarde still lamenting him, crying as they did before. And when we came into the parke of Sheffild nighe to the lodge, my lord of Shrewesbury, with my lady and a traine of gentlewomen, and all other his gentlemen and servaunts, stode without the gates, to attend my lordes comming, to receive him; at whose alighting the earle received him with much honnour, and embraced my lord saying these wordes, "My lord," quoth he, "your Grace is most hartely welcome unto me, and I am glad to see you here in my pore lodge, where I have long desired to see you, and should have been much more gladder, if you had come after an other sorte." "Ay, my gentle lord of Shrewesbury," quoth my lord, "I hartely thank you: and although I have cause to lament, yet, as a faithfull harte may, I doe rejoice, that my chaunce is to come unto the custody of so noble a person, whose approved honnour and wisedome hath allwaies bin right well knowne to all noble estates. And, sir, howsoever my accusers have used their accusations against me, this I knowe

and soe before your lordship, and all the world, I doe protest, that my demeanour and procedinges have allwaies bin both just and loyall towardes my sovereigne and leige lord; of whose usage in his grace's affaires your lordship hath had right good experience; and even accordinge to my truthe, so I beseeche God to helpe me!" "I doubt not," quoth my lord of Shrewesbury, "of your truthe. Therefore, my lord, be of good cheere, and feare not; for I am nothing sorry, but that I have not wherewith to entertaine you, according to my good will and your honnour; but such as I have, ye shall be wellcome to it; for I will not receive you as a prisonner, but as my good lord, and the king's true and loving subject; and sir, here is my wife[1] come to salute you." Whome my lord kissed, with his cappe in his hand bareheaded, and all the other gentlemen; and tooke all the earle's servants by the hands, as well gentlemen as yeomen. This done, these two lordes went into the lodge arme in arme, and so conducted my lord into a faire gallery, where was in the further end thereof a goodly towre with lodgings, where my lord was lodged. There was also in the middest of the same gallery a traverse of sarsenet drawne; so that the one end thereof was preserved for my lord, and the other for the earle.

Then departed from my lord all the great nomber of gentlemen and other that conducted him thither. And my lord, being thus with my lord of Shrewsbury, continued there eighteen daies after; upon whome my lord of Shrewsbury appointed diverse worthy gentlemen to attend continually, to foresee that he should lacke nothing that he would desire, being served in his owne chamber at dinner, and supper, as honnorably, and with as many dainty dishes, as he had in his owne house commonly being at liberty. And once every day my lord of Shrewsbury would repaire unto him, and common with him, sitting upon a bench in a great windowe in the gallery. And allthoughe that my said lord of Shrewsbury would right hartely comforte him, yet would he lament so piteously, that it would make my lord of Shrewsbury to be very heavy, for his griefe. "Sir," said he, "I have and doe daily receive letters from the king, commanding me to entertaine you, as one that he highly favoureth and loveth; whereby I doe perceive ye doe lament more than ye have cause

[1] *My wife.*] His second wife, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Thomas Walden. The earl of Northumberland had married Mary, a daughter of the earl of Shrewsbury by his first wife.

to doe. And although ye be accused (as I trust wrongfully), yet the king can do no lesse but to put you to your trial, the which is more for the satisfying of some persons, than for any mistrust that he hath of your traiterous doings." "Alas! my lord," quoth my lord cardinall, "is it not a pitteous case, that any man should so wrongfully accuse me unto the king, and not to come to the king to my aunswer before his grace? For I am well assured my lord, that there is no man alive that loketh in this face of mine, who is able to accuse me. It grieveth me very much that the king should have any such opinion in me, to thinke that I would be false or conspire any evill to his person; who may well consider, that I have no assured friends in all the world, but only his grace; soe that if I should go about to betray my sovereign lord and prince, in whom is all my trust and confidence before all other, all men mighte justly thinke and say, that I lacked bothe grace, wit, and discretion. Nay, nay my lord, I would rather adventure to sheade my harte bloud in his defence, as I am bound, bothe for my allegiance and for my safeguard; for he is my staffe that supporteth me, and the wall that defendeth me against all these my corrupt enemies, and all other; who knoweth me, and my true dilligent proceedings in all his affaires and doings, much better than any of them. Therefore to conclude, it is not to be thought that ever I would maliciously or traiterously travaill or wishe any hurte or damage to his royall person or imperiall dignity, but, as I saide before, defend it with the very sheading of my harte bloud, and if it were but only for mine owne defense, to preserve mine estate and simple life, that which mine enemies thinke I doe so much esteeme; having no other refuge to fly unto for protection and defense, but only under the shadowe of his wings. Alas! my lord, I was in a good estate now, and lived quietly, being right well contented with the same. But mine enemies who never slepe, but continually study both sleping and waking to rid me out of the way, perceiving the contentation of my mind, douted that if I lived, their mallicious and cruell dealings would growe at lengthe to their shame, rebuke and open slaunder; and therefore would prevent the same with the shedding of my bloud. But from God, that knoweth the secret of their hartes, and of all others, it cannot be hid, ne yet unrewarded, when he shall see opportunity. And, my good lord, if you would shewe yourself so much my good friend, as to require the king's majestie that mine accusers may come before my face

in his presence, and there that I may make aunswer, I doubte not but ye shall see me acquite myselfe of all their malicious accusations, and utterly confound them; for they shall never be able to prove by any due probation, that ever I offended the king either in thought, worde, or dede. Therefore I desire you, and most hartely require your good lordship, to be a meane for me, that I may aunswer unto my accusations before the king's majestie. The case is his, and if their accusations were true, then should it touche him more earnestly; wherefore it were convenient that he should heare it himselfe. But I feare me, that they intend to dispatche me rather then I should come before his presence; for they be well assured, and very certaine, that my truthe should vanquishe all their accusations and untrue surmises; which is the especiall cause that maketh me so earnestly desire to make mine aunswer before the king's majestie. The losse of goods, the slaunder of my name, ne yet all my trouble grieveth me any thing so much, as the losse of the king's favor, and that he should have in me such an opinion, without deserte, of untruthe, that have with such travaill and paines served the king so justly, so paynfully, and with so good an harte, to his profit and honnor at all times. And against the truthe of my doings, their accusations proved by me to be unjust, should doe me more pleasure and good, than the obteining much treasure; as I doubt not to doe, if the case might be indifferently heard. Nowe my good lord, weighe my reasonable request, and let charity and truthe move your harte with pitty, to helpe me in all this my truthe, wherein you shall take no manner of rebuke or slaunder, by the grace of God." "Well then," saide my lord of Shrewsbury, "I will write to the king in your behalfe, declaring to him by my letters howe ye lament his indignation and displeasure; and also what request ye make for the triall of your truthe towardes his highness." And after diverse other communications as they were accustomed daily to have, they departed asunder.

Remayning there thus with my lord the space of a fortnight, having goodly enterteinement, and often desired by the earle to kill a doe or harte in his parke there, who allwaies refused to take any pleasure either in hunting or otherwise, but applied his praiers continually with great devotion; so that it came to passe at a certaine time as he sat at dinner in his owne chamber, having at his bordes ende the same day, as he accustomably had every day,

a messe of gentlemen and chaplens to kepe his company, towardes the ende of his dinner, when he came to the eating of his fruites, I perceived his colour often to change, whereby I judged him not to be in good health. With that I leaned over the table, and speaking softly unto him, saide, "Sir, me seemeth your Grace is not well at ease." To whom he aunswered and saide, with a loude voice, "Forsothe, no more I am; for I am, quoth he, taken sodenly with a thing about my stomake, that lieth there along, as could as a whetstone; whiche is no more but winde; therefore I pray you take up the table, and make a short dinner, and that done, resorte shortly againe." And after the meate was carried out of the chamber, into the gallery, where all the waiters dined, and every man set, I rose up and forsoke my dinner, and came into the chamber unto my lord, where I found him still sitting very ill at ease; nothwithstanding he was commoning with them at the borde's end, whome he had commaunded to sit still. And as soone as I was entered the chamber, he desired me to go to the poticary, and enquire of him if he had any thinge that would make him breake winde upwarde. Then went I to the earle, and shewed him what estate my lord was in, and what he desired. With that my lord of Shrewsbury caused incontinent the poticary to be called before him; and at his comming he demaunded of him, if he had any thinge that would break winde upwarde in a man's body; and he aunswered that he had such geare. "Then," quoth the earle, "fetche me some." Then departed the poticary, and brought with him a white confection in a faire paper, and shewed it unto my lord, who commaunded me to give the saye[2] thereof before him, and so I did. And I toke the same and brought it to my lord, whereof also I tooke the saye myself, and then delivered it to my lord, who received it up all at once into his mouthe. But immediately after he had received the same, surely he avoided much winde exceedingely, upwarde. "Lo," quoth he, "you may see it was but winde; and nowe am I well eased, I thanke God:" and so rose from the table, and went to his praiers, as he used every day after dinner. And that done, there came upon him such a laske[3], that it caused him to go to the stole; and being there, my lord of Shrewsbury sent for me, and at my repaire to him he saide:

[2] *Saye.*] Assay, trial by sample or tasting.

[3] *Laske.*] Laxe, looseness.

"For as much as I have alwaies perceived you to be a man, in whome my lord your master hath great affiaunce; and also knowing you to be an honest man" (with many more wordes of commendation and praise, than becometh me here to recite), "it is so, that my lord your master hath often desired me to write to the king, that he mighte come before his presence, to aunswer to his accusations; and even so have I done; and this day have I received letters from the king's grace, by Sir William Kingstone, whereby I perceive that the king hath in him a good opinion: and by my request, he hath sent for him, by the same Sir William, to come unto him; who is in his chamber. Wherefore nowe is the time come that my lord hath often desired to try himselfe, I truste, muche to his honnor; and it shall be the best journey that ever he made in his life. Therefore nowe would I have you to play the parte of a wise man, to break this matter wittily unto him, in suche sorte, that he may take it quietly, and in good parte: for he is ever so full of sorrowe and heaviness, at my being with him, that I feare me he will take it in evill parte, and then doeth he not well: for I assure you, and so shewe him, that the king is his good lord, and hath given me most worthy thanks for his enterteinement, desiring and commanding me so to continue, not doubting but that he will right nobly acquite himself towards his highness. Therefore, go your waies to him, and perswade with him that I may finde him in good quiet at my comming, for I will not tarry long after you." "Sir," quoth I, "if it please your lordship, I shall endevour me to the best of my powre, to accomplishe your lordship's commaundement. But Sir, I doubte, that when I shall name Sir William Kingstone to him, he will mistrust that all is not well; because Mr. Kingstone is constable of the towre, and capitaine of the guarde, having with him, as I understande, twenty foure of the guarde to attend upon him." "Mary it is truthe;" quoth the earle, "what thereof, although he be constable of the towre? he is the most meetest man for his wisdom and discretion to be sent about any such message. And for the guarde, it is for none other purpose but only to defend him against them that would intend him any evill, either in worde or deede; and they be all, or for the most parte, such of his olde servants as the king toke of late into his service, to the intent that they should attend upon him most justly, knowing beste how to serve him." "Well

Sir," saide I, "I shall doe what I can," and so departed from him towards my lord.

And as I repaired unto him, I found him sitting at the upper ende of the gallery, upon a cheste, with his staffe and his beades in his hands. And espying me comming from the earle, demaunded of me what newes. "Forsoothe Sir," quoth I, "the best newes that ever came to you; if your Grace can take it well." "I pray God it be," quoth he, "what is it?" "Forsoothe Sir," saide I, "my lord of Shrewsbury, perceiving by your often communication with him, that ye were allwaies desirous to come before the king's majestie, he as your most assured friend hath travailed so with his letters unto the king, that he hath sent for you, by Mr. Kingstone and twenty four of the guarde, to conduct you to his highness." "Mr. Kingstone," quoth he, rehersing his name[4] once or twise; and with that clapped his hand on his thighe, and gave a great sighe. "Sir," quoth I, "if it please your Grace if you would or could take all things in good parte, it should be much better for you. Content yourself for God's sake, and thinke that God and your friends have wrought for you, according to your owne desire. Did ye not allwaies wishe, that ye might cleare yourselfe before the king; and now that God and your friends have brought your desire to passe, ye will not take it thankfully? If ye consider your truthe and loyalty to our sovereign lorde, against the which your enemies cannot prevaile, the king being your good lord as he is, ye know well, the king can doe no lesse than he doeth to you, being to his highness accused of some heinous crime, but cause you to be brought to your tryall, and there to receave according to your meritts; the which his highness trusteth, and saithe no lesse, but that you shall prove yourselfe a just man to his majestie, wherein ye have more

[4] *Rehersing his name.*] "I know not whether or no it be worth the mentioning here (however we will put it on the adventure), but cardinal Wolsey, in his lifetime, was informed by some fortune-tellers, *that he should have his end at Kingston.* This, his credulity interpreted of Kingston-on-Thames; which made him alwayes to avoid the riding through that town, though the nearest way from his house to the court. Afterwards, understanding that he was to be committed by the king's express order to the charge of Sir Anthony Kingston (see Lord Henry Howard [Earl of Northampton], in his Book against Prophecies, chap. xxviii. fol. 130), it struck to his heart; too late perceiving himself deceived by that father of lies in his homonymous prediction."—Fuller's *Church History,* book v. p. 178.

cause to rejoice, than thus to lament, or to mistrust the favourable ministration of due justice. For I assure you, your enemies be more afraide of you, than you of them; and doubting you so much, they wishe the thinge, that they shall never I truste bring to passe with all their wittes, the king (as I sayd before) being your indifferent judge, and your earnest friend. And to prove that he so is, see you not how he hathe sent gentle Mr. Kingstone, to honnour you with as much honnour, as was due to you in your high estate; and to convey you by such easy journies, as you will commaund him to doe; and that ye shall have all your desires and requests by the way in every place, to your Grace's contentation and honnour. Wherefore Sir, I humbly beseeche your Grace, to imprinte all these persuasions and many other like, in your highe discretion, and be of good cheere; wherewith ye shall comforte yourselfe, and give all your friends and servants good hope of your good spede." "Well, well, then," quoth he, "I perceive more than ye can imagine, or doe knowe. Experience of olde hath taught me." And therewith he rose up, and went into his chamber, and went to the stoole, the laske troubled him so sore; and when he had done, he came out againe; and immediately after my lord of Shrewsbury came into the gallery unto him, with whome my lord met, and then sitting downe there upon a benche in a great bay windowe, the earle asked him how he did, and he most lamentably, as he was accustomed to do, aunswered him, and thanked him for his gentle entertainment. "Sir," quoth the earle, "if ye remember ye have often wished to come before the king, to make your aunswer: and I perceiving your often desire and earnest request, as one that beareth you good will, have written especially unto the king in that behalfe; making him privy also of your lamentable sorrowe, that ye inwardly have received of his displeasure; who accepteth all your doings therein, as friends be accustomed to do in such cases. Wherefore I would advise you to pluck up your harte, and be not agast of your enemies, who I assure you be more in doubt of you, than you would thinke, perceiving that the king is minded to have the hearing of your case before his own person. Nowe, Sir, if you can be of good cheere, I doubt not but this journey which you shall take up unto his highness, shall be much to your advauncement, and an overthrowe to your enemies. The king hath sent for you by the worshipfull knight Mr. Kingstone, and with him twenty four of your old servantes, nowe of the guarde, to

defend you against your enemies to the intent that ye may safely come unto his majestie." "Sir," quoth my lord, "I trowe that Mr. Kingstone is constable of the tower." "Yea, what of that?" quoth the earle, "I assure you he is elected of the king for one of your friends, and for a discreete gentleman, most worthy to take upon him the safeguarde and conduct of your person; which without faile the king much esteemeth, and secretly beareth you speciall favor, far otherwise than ye doe take it." "Well Sir," quoth my lord, "as God will, so be it. I am subjecte to fortune, and to fortune I submit myselfe, being a true man ready to accept such chaunces as shall followe, and there an ende; Sir I pray you, where is Mr. Kingstone?" "Mary," quoth the earle, "if you will, I will send for him, who would most gladly see you." "I pray you then," quoth my lord, "send for him." At whose message he came; and as soon as my lord espied him comming at the gallery ende, he made haste to encounter him. Mr. Kingstone came towards him with much reverence; and at his coming he kneeled downe unto him, and saluted him in the king's behalfe; whome my lorde bare-headed offered to take up, but he still refused. Then quoth my lord, "Mr. Kingstone, I pray you to stand up, and leave your kneeling unto me; for I am but a wretch replete with misery, not esteeming myselfe, but as a vile abject utterly cast away, without deserte, as God knoweth. And therefore, good Mr. Kingstone, stand up, or I will kneele downe by you;" whom he would not leave untill he stode up. Then spake Mr. Kingstone and saide, with humble reverence, "Sir, the king's majestie hath him commended unto you." "I thank his highness," quoth my lord, "I trust he is in health, and merry." "Yea, without doubt," quoth Mr. Kingstone: "and he commaunded me to say unto you, that you should assure yourselfe, that he beareth unto you as much good will and favour as ever he did; and willeth you to be of good cheere. And where reporte hath bin made unto him, that you should commit against his royal majestie certain heinous crimes, which he thinketh perfectly to be untrue, yet for the ministration of justice, in such cases requisite, he can doe no lesse than send for you to your triall, mistrusting nothing your truthe nor wisdome, but that ye shall be hable to requite yourselfe of all complaints and accusations exhibited against you; and to take your journey to him at your owne pleasure, commaunding me to attend upon you with ministration of due reverence, and to see your person preserved

against all inconveniences that may ensue; and to elect all such your olde servauntes, nowe his, to serve you by the way, who have most experience of your diet. Therefore, Sir, I beseeche you be of good cheere; and when it shall be your owne pleasure to take your journey, I shall be ready to give attendaunce upon you." "Mr. Kingstone," quoth my lord, "I thanke you for your good newes: and Sir, hereof assure yourselfe, that if I were as able and lusty as I have bin but of late, I would not fail to ride with you in post: but Sir, I am diseased with a fluxe[5] that maketh me very weake. But Mr. Kingstone, all the comfortable wordes which ye have spoken unto me, be spoken but for a purpose to bring me into a fooles paradise: I knowe what is provided for me. Notwithstanding, I thank you for your good will, and paines taken about me; and I shall with all spede make me ready to ride with you to morrowe." And thus they fell into other communication, bothe the earle and Mr. Kingstone with my lorde; who commaunded me to foresee and provide that all things mighte be made ready to departe the morrowe after. Then caused I all things to be trussed up, and made in readiness as fast as they could conveniently.

When night came that we should goe to bed, my lorde waxed very sicke with the laske, the which caused him still continually from time to time to go to the stoole, all that night; in somuch that from the time that it tooke him, until the next morning he

[5] *Diseased with a fluxe.*] In the printed editions the passage stands thus: "But, alas! I am a diseased man, having a flux: (at which time it was apparent that *he had poysoned himself*) it hath made me very weak." p. 190, edit. 1706. "It is highly probable (says Dr. Fiddes, in his *Life of Wolsey*, p. 499), this expression ought to be taken in a softer sense than the words strictly import, and that Cavendish only intended by it, that he was poisoned by taking something prepared for him, by other hands." Dr. F. then proceeds to invalidate by reasoning the story of the cardinal having hastened his own death. But, I apprehend, it cannot be thought that there is much force in the doctor's arguments. It is more important to observe, that it admits of great question, whether the words in the parentheses are not altogether an interpolation. They do not occur in any MS. which I have seen. Still it is certain that the charge of his having poisoned himself was repeated by contemporary writers, without scruple.—See Tindall's *Works*, p. 404; *Supplication to the Queen's Majesty*, fol. 7. A.D. 1555; Fox's *Acts*, p. 959.

"When good men die suddenly" (says David Lloyd, *State Worthies*, p. 23), "it is said they are poisoned; and when the bad fall unexpectedly, as Wolsey did, it is said they poison themselves. He died unpitied, because he had lived feared; being the great Bias of the Christian world!"

had fifty stooles, so that he was that day very weake. His matter that he voided was wondrous blacke, the which the physition called coller adustine; and when he perceived it, he saide to me, that if he had not some helpe shortly he shall die. With that I caused one doctor Nicholas a doctor of phisicke, being with my lord of Shrewesbury, to looke upon the grosse matter that he avoided; upon sight whereof he determined he should not live four or five daies; yet notwithstanding he would have ridden with Mr. Kingstone that same daie, if my lord of Shrewesbury had not beene. Therefore, in consideration of his infirmity they caused him to tarry all that day.

And the next day he tooke his journey, with Mr. Kingstone and them of the guarde. And as sone as they espied him, considering that he was their olde master, and in such estate, they lamented his misfortune, with weping eyes. Whome my lorde toke by the hand, and many times, as he rode by the way, he would talke, nowe with one, then with an other, until he came to an house of my lord of Shrewesburys, called Hardwicke Hall[6], where he lay all that nighte very evill at ease. The next day he rode to Nottingham, and there lodged that nighte, more sicke, and the next day he rode to Leicester abbey; and by the way he waxed so sicke, that he was almost fallen from his mule; so that it was nighte before we came to the abbey of Leicester, where at his comming in at the gate the abbot with all his convent met him with diverse torches lighte; whom they right honorably received and welcomed with great reverence. To whome my lord saide, "Father Abbot, I am come hither to leave my bones among you," riding so still until he came to the staires of his chamber, where he alighted from his mule, and then master Kingstone tooke him by the arme, and led him up the stairs; who tould me afterwardes, he never felt so heavy a burden in all his life. And as sone as he was in his chamber, he went incontinent to his bed, very sicke. This was upon Satterday at nighte; and then continued he, sicker and sicker.

Upon Monday in the morning, as I stoode by his bed side, about eighte of the clocke, the windowes being close shut, and having waxe lightes burning upon the cupborde, I beheld him, as

[6] *Hardwicke Hall.*] Not Hardwicke Hall, in Derbyshire, the seat of the duke of Devonshire, which then belonged to a family of the name of Hardwicke, but Hardwicke-upon-Line, about four miles from Newstead, in Nottinghamshire. See "*Who wrote Cavendish's Life of Wolsey?*"

me seemed, drawing faste towardes deathe. He perceiving my shadowe upon the wall by the bed side, asked who was there? "Sir," quoth I, "I am here." "How doe you?" quoth he to me. "Very well, Sir," quoth I, "if I mighte see your grace well." "What is it of the clocke?" saide he to me. "Sir," said I, "it is past eight in the morning." "Eight of the clocke?" quoth he, "that cannot be," rehearsing diverse times, "eighte of the clocke," "eighte of the clocke," "nay, nay," quoth he at last, "it cannot be eighte of the clocke: for by eighte of the clocke shall you lose your master: for my time draweth neare, that I must departe this world." With that one doctor Palmes[7], a worshipful gentleman, being his chapleine and ghostly father, standing by, bad me secretly demand of him if he would be shriven, and so be in a readiness towardes God, whatsoever should chaunce. At whose desire I asked him that question. "What have ye to doe to aske me any suche question?" quoth he, and began to be very angry with me for my presumption; untill at the laste master Doctor tooke my parte, and talked with him in Lattine, and so pacified him.

At afternoone master Kingstone sent for me into his chamber, and at my comming there saide to me, "So it is, that the king hath sent me letters by master Vincent[8], one of your old companions, who hath bin in trouble in the towre for money that my lord should have at his last departing from him, which cannot nowe be found. Wherefore the king, at this Vincents request, for the declaration of his truthe, hath sent him hither with his grace's letters, that I should examine my lord in that behalfe, and to have your counsell herein, to the intente my lorde may take it well and in good parte. This is the cause of my sending for you; therefore I pray you of your counsell, what way is beste to be taken therein, for the true acquittall of this pore gentleman, master Vincent." "Sir," quoth I, "as touching that matter, after mine advice, ye shall in your owne person resorte unto him to visite him, and in communication breake the matter unto him. And if he will not tell the truthe, there be that can satisfy the kings minde therein. But in any wise, mention not, nor speake of my fellowe Vincent. And also I would advise you not to

[7] *Palmes.*] John Palmes? Dean of Alton, of which he was afterwards deprived when blind. See Cotton MS. Titus, B. i. fol. 75.

[8] *Vincent.*] David Vincent, see p. 641.

tracte the time with him; for he is very sicke, and I feare me he will not live past a day." Then went master Kingstone to visit him; and asked him first howe he did, and so forthe proceeded in conversation, wherein master Kingstone demaunded of him of the sayd money saying, "that my lord of Northumberlande hath founde a booke at Cawood that reporteth, that you had but late fifteen hundred poundes; and it will not be founde, not so much as one penny thereof: who hath made the king privy of the same. Wherefore the king hath written unto me, to demaund of you where it is become; for it were pitty that it should be imbeseled from you bothe. Therefore I shall require you, in the kings name, to tell me the truthe; to the intent that I may make just reporte unto his majestie of your aunswer therein." With that my lord paused a little and saide, "Oh, good Lorde! how much doth it grieve me that the king should think in me any such deceite, wherein I should deceive him of any one penny that I have. Rather than I would, master Kingstone, imbeazle, or deceive him of one penny, I would it were moulten, and put into my mouthe;" which wordes he spake twise or thrice very vehemently. "I have nothing, ne never had (God be my judge), that I esteemed so much my owne, but that I tooke it ever to be the king's goods, having but the bare use thereof during my life; and after my death to leave it wholly to him; where he hath but prevented my intent and purpose. And for this money that ye demaund of me, I assure you that it is none of mine; for I borrowed it of diverse of my friends to burye me, and to bestowe among my servantes, who have taken great paines about me, like true and faithful servantes. Notwithstanding if it be his pleasure to have this money from me, I must hold me contente. Yet I would most humbly beseeche his majestie, to see that satisfied, for the discharge of my conscience unto them that I owe it." "Who be they?" quoth Mr. Kingstone. "That shall I shewe you," saide my lorde. "I borowed two hundred poundes thereof of sir John Allen of London; and an other two hundred poundes of sir Richard Gresham of London; also other two hundred poundes of the master of the Savoie, also two hundred poundes of doctor Hickden, deane of my colledge in Oxenforde; and two hundred poundes of the treasurer of the churche of Yorke; and also two hundred poundes of parson Ellis my chaplen; and another one hundred poundes of a priest, that was then his stewarde, whose name I

have forgotten; to whome I trust the king will restore the same againe, for as much as it is none of mine." "Sir," quoth Mr. Kingstone, "there is no doubte in the king; whom ye need not to mistrust in that, but when the king shall be advertised hereof, as I shall reporte, at my retourne, of your earnest request therein, his grace will doe as shall become him. But sir, I pray you, where is this money?" "Mr. Kingstone," quoth my lord, "I will not conceale it from the king; but will declare it unto you, or I dye, by the grace of God. Take a little patience with me I beseeche you." "Well sir, then will I trouble you no more at this time, trusting that ye will tell me to morrowe." "Yea, that I will, Mr. Kingstone, for the money is safe enoughe, and in an honest man's keeping; who will not kepe one penny thereof from the king." And then the abbot of Leicester sent for Mr. Kingstone to supper; who then departed for that nighte.

Howbeyt my lord waxed very sicke, most likely to die that nighte, and often swooned, and as me thought drewe on faste to his ende, until it was foure of the clocke of the morning: at which time I spake to him, and asked him how he did. "Well," quoth he, "if I had any meate; I pray you give me some." "Sir, there is none redy," saide I, "I wis," quoth he, "ye be the more to blame: for you should have alwaies meate for me in a readiness, to eate when my stomache serveth me; therefore I pray you get me some; for I intend this day to make me strong, to the intent that I may occupy myselfe in confession, and make me ready to God." "Then sir," quoth I, "I will call up the cookes to provide some meate for you; and will also, if it be your pleasure, call for Mr. Palmes, that ye may common with him, untill your meate be ready." "With a good will," quoth he. And therewith I went fast, and called up the cookes, bidding them to prepare some meate for my lorde. Then went I to Mr. Palmes, and tould him what case my lorde was in; willing him to rise, and resorte to him with spede. And then I went to Mr. Kingstone, and gave him warning, that, as I thought, my lord would not live; advising him that if he had any thing to say to him, he should make haste, for he was in great daunger. "In good faith," quoth Mr. Kingstone, "ye be to blame: for ye make him believe that he is sicker and in more daunger, than he is indeed." "Well sir," quoth I, "ye shall not say another day but I have given you warning, as I am bound to doe, and discharge myself therein. Therefore I pray you, whatsoever shall chaunce, let no

negligence be ascribed to me herein; for I assure you his life is very shorte. Do therefore as ye thinke beste." Yet nevertheless he rose, and made him ready, and came to him. After he had eaten of a cullace [9] made of chicken a spoonfull or two, at the laste quoth he, "Whereof was this cullace made?" "Forsothe sir," quoth I, "of a chicken." "Why," quoth he, "it is fasting day," (being St. Andrews even). "What though it be," quoth Dr. Palmes, "ye be excused by reason of your sickness?" "Yea," quoth he, "what though? I will eate no more."

Then was he in confession the space of an houre. And when he had ended his confession, master Kingstone came to him, and bad him good morrowe; for it was about six of the clocke, and asked him how he did. "Sir," quoth he, "I tarry but the pleasure of God, to render up my poore soule into his handes." "Not so sir," quoth master Kingstone, "with the grace of God, ye shall live, and do very well; if ye will be of good cheere." "Nay in good soothe, master Kingstone, my disease is suche that I cannot live; for I have had some experience in phisicke. Thus it is: I have a fluxe with a continuall feaver; the nature whereof is, that if there be no alteration of the same within eight daies, either must ensue excorrition of the entrailes, or frensy, or else present deathe; and the best of these three, is deathe. And as I suppose, this is the eight day: and if ye see no alteration in me, there is no remedy, save that I may live a day or two after, but deathe which is the beste of these three, must followe." "Sir," saide master Kingstone, "you be in such pensiveness, doubting that thing that in good faithe ye need not." "Well, well, master Kingstone," quoth my lord, "I see the matter maketh you much worse than you should be against me; howe it is framed I knowe not. But if I had served God, as diligently as I have done the king, he would not have given me over in my grey heares. But this is the just rewarde that I must receive, for my diligent paines and study, that I have had, to do him service; not regarding my service to God, but only to satisfye his pleasure. I pray you have me most humbly commended unto his royall majestie; and beseech him in my behalfe, to call to his princely remembrance all matters proceeding betweene him and me from the beginning of the world, and the progresse of the same; and most especially in his waighty matter;" (meaning the matter betweene good

[9] *Cullace.*] A strong broth or gravy; from the *French,* coulis.

queen Katherine and him,) "and then shall his graces conscience knowe, whether I have offended him, or no. He is a prince of royall courage, and hath a princely harte; and rather then he will miss or want any parte of his will or pleasure, he will endanger the losse of the one halfe of his realme. For I assure you, I have often kneeled before him, the space sometimes of three houres, to persuade him from his will and appetite: but I could never dissuade him therefrom. Therefore Mr. Kingstone, I warne you, if it chaunce you hereafter to be of his privy counsell, as for your wisdome, ye are very mete, be well assured and advised, what ye put in his head, for ye shall never put it out againe.

"And say furthermore, that I request his Grace, on God's name, that he have a vigilant eye to depresse this newe sorte of Lutherans[1], that it doe not encrease, through his negligence, in suche a sorte, as he be at length compelled to put on harnies upon his backe to subdue them; as the king of Boheme did, who had good game, to see his commons, infected with Wickliffes heresies, to spoile the spirituall men of his realme; who at the last were constrained to call to the king and his nobles for succour against their frantic rage; of whom they could get no helpe ne refuge, but they laughed and had good game, not regarding their duty. But when these erroneous heretics had subdued all the clerge, bothe churches, and monasteries, and all other spirituall things, then having nothing more to spoile, they caught such a courage of their former spoile, that then they disdained their prince with his nobles, and the heades and governours of the country, and began to spoile and slay them. Insomuch as the king and other noblemen were constrained to put harnies upon them, to resist the power of those traiterous heretickes, and to defend their lives; who pitched a field against them; in which field the conflict was so vehement and cruell on the rebells parte,

[1] *Newe sorte of Lutherans.*] In the yeare 1521, the cardinal, by virtue of his legatine authority, issued a mandate to all the bishops in the realme, to take the necessary means for calling in and destroying all books, printed or written, containing any of the errors of Martin Luther: and further directing processes to be instituted against all the possessors and favourers of such books, heresies, &c. The mandate contained also a list of forty-two errors of Luther. See Wilkins's *Concilia*, vol. iii. p. 690—693; and Strype's *Ecclesiastical Memorials*, vol. i. p. 36—40. For further proceedings of the same description in 1526, and again in 1529, see Strype's *Eccles. Mem.* vol. i. p. 165.

that in fine they slewe the kinge, the nobles, and all the gentlemen of the realme, leaving not one person that bare the name of a nobleman or gentleman, or any person that bare rule in the common wealthe alive; by meanes of which slaughter they have lived ever since without an heade; being brought into such poverty and misery that they be abhorred of all Christian nations. Let this be to him an example to avoide the like daunger, I pray you. There is no trust to routes or to unlawfull assemblies in the common people; for when they be up, there is no mercy with them. Let him consider the story of king Richard the second, one of his progenitors, who lived in that same time also of Wickliffe's seditions and erroneous opinions. Did not the commons, I pray you, in his time arise against the nobles and head governors of this realme of Englande; whereof some they apprehended, whom without mercy or misery they put to deathe? and did they not fall to spoiling and robbery, which was their onlie pretence to have all things in common; and at the last, tooke the kings person perforce out of the tower of London, and carried him about the city presumptuously, making him obedient to their lewd proclamations? Did not also the traiterous hereticke, Sir John Oldcastle, lord of Cobham, pitche a field with hereticks against king Henry the fifth, where the king himselfe was personally, and fought against them, to whom God gave the victory? Alas! if these be not plaine presidents, and sufficient persuasions to admonish a prince to be circumspect against the semblable mischiefe, then will God strike, and take from us our prudent rulers, and leave us in the hands of our enemies; and then shall ensue mischiefe upon mischiefe, inconvenience upon inconvenience, and barrenness and scarcity for lacke of good order in the common weale, to the utter ruine and desolation of this realme, from the which God of his tendre mercy defend us!

"Master Kingstone farewell! I can no more saye, but I wish, ere I dye, all things to have good successe. My time draweth on faste. I may not tarry with you. And forget not what I have saide and charged you withall: for when I am dead, ye shall peradventure remembre my words better." And even with those wordes he began to draw his speche at lengthe, and his tongue to faile; his eyes being presently set in his head, whose sight failed him. Then began we to put him in remembrance of Christ's passion; and caused the yeomen of the guarde to stand bye secretly, to see him dye, and to be witnesses of his wordes at his

departure ; who heard all his saide communication : and incontinent the clock struck eight, and then gave he up the ghost, and thus he departed this present life[2]. And calling to remembrance, howe he saide the day before, that at eight of the clocke we should lose our master, as it is before rehearsed, one of us looking upon another, supposing that either he knewe or prophesied of his departure, yet before his departure, we sent for the abbot of the house, to annoyle him[3], whoe made all the spede he could, and came to his departure, and so sayd certaine praiers, before the breath was fully out of his body.

Here is the ende and fall of pride and arrogancy of men, exalted by fortune to dignities : for I assure you, in his time, he was the haughtiest man in all his proceedings alive ; having more respect to the honor of his person than he had to his spirituall profession ; wherein should be shewed all meekness, humility, and charity ; the discussing whereof any further I leave to divines.

After that he was thus departed, Mr. Kingstone sent a post to the king, advertising him of the departure of the cardinall by one of the guarde, that sawe and hearde him die. And then Mr. Kingstone and the abbot calling me unto them went to consultation of the order of his buriall.

After diverse opinions, it was thought good that he should be buried the next day following ; for Mr. Kingstone would not tarry the returne of the poste. And it was further thought good that the mayor of Leicester and his brethren should be sent for, to see him personally dead, to avoide false rumours that might happen, to say that he was still alive. Then was the mayor and his brethren sent for ; and in the meane time, the body was taken out of the bed where he lay deade ; who had upon him, next his body, a shirte of heare, besides his other shirte, which was of very fine holland ; which was not known to any of his servaunts being continually about him in his chambre, saving to his ghostly father ; which shirtes were laide in a coffin made for him of bordes,

[2] *He departed this present life.*] He died Nov. 29, 1530. Le Neve's *Fasti*, p. 310.

[3] *To annoyle him.*] To administer the *extreme unction.* "The *fyfth sacrament* is *anoyntynge* of seke men, the whiche *oyle* is halowed of the bysshop, and mynystred by preestes to them that ben of lawfull age, in grete peryll of dethe : in lyghtnes and abatynge of theyr sikenes, yf God wyll that they lyve ; and in forgyvynge of theyr venyal synnes, and releasynge of theyr payne, yf they shal deye."—*Festival*, fol. 171.

having upon his dead corpse all such ornaments as he was professed in, when he was made bishop and archbishop, as miter, crosse, ring, and palle, with all other things due to his order and dignity. And lying thus all day in his coffin open and barefaced, every man that would might see him there deade without fayning, even as the mayor, his brethren, and other did.

Lying thus untill foure or five of the clocke at nighte, he was carried downe into the churche with great solemnity by the abbot, and conducted with much torche lighte, and service songe, due for such funeralls. And being in the churche the corpse was set in our Lady Chappell, with diverse tapers of waxe, and diverse poore men sitting about the same, holding torches in their handes, who watched about the corps all night, while the canons sang *Dirige*, and other devout oraisons. And about foure of the clocke in the morning Mr. Kingstone and we his servants came into the churche, and there tarried the executing of diverse ceremonies in such cases used, about the corpse of a bishop. Then went they to masse, at which masse the abbot and diverse other did offer. And that done, they went about to bury the corps in the middest of the sayd chappell, where was made for him a grave. And by that time he was buried, and all ceremonies ended, it was six of the clocke in the morning.

Then went we and prepared ourselves to horseback, being Saint Andrews day the apostle, and so toke our journey to the courte; riding that same day, being Wednesday, to Northampton; and the next day to Dunstable; and the next day to London; where we tarried untill saint Nicholas even, and then we rode to Hampton courte, where the king and counsel lay, giving all our attendance upon them for our dispatche.

And the next day, being Saint Nicholas day, I was sent for, being in Mr. Kingstone's chamber there in the courte, to come to the king; whom I found shooting at the roundes in the parcke, on the backside of the garden. And perceiving him occupied in shoting, thought it not good to trouble him: but leaning to a tree, attending there until he had made an ende of his disporte. And leaning there, being in a great study, what the matter should be that his grace should send for me, at the laste the king came sodenly behind me, and clapped me upon the shoulder; and when I perceived him, I fell upon my knee. And he, calling me by name, sayd unto me, "I will," quoth he, "make an ende of my game, and then will I talk with you:" and so departed to the

marke where he had shot his arrowe. And when he came there they were meeting of the shott that lay upon the game, which was ended that shote.

Then delivered the king his bowe unto the yeoman of his bowes, and went his waies inwarde; whom I followed; howbeit he called for Sir John Gage, then his vice chamberlaine, with whome he talked, untill he came to the posterne gate of his garden; the which being open against his comying, he entered; and then was the gate shute after him, which caused me to goe my waies.

And ere ever I was past halfe a paire of butt lengths, the gate opened againe, and Mr. Norris called me againe, commanding me to come unto the kinge, who stoode behinde the doore in a night gowne of russet velvet, furred with sables; before whome I kneled downe, being there with him all alone the space of an houre or more, during which season he examined me of diverse weighty matters, concerning my lord cardinall, wishing rather than twenty thousand pounds that he had lived. He examined me of the fifteen hundred poundes, which Mr. Kingstone moved to my lord before his deathe, as I have before rehersed. "Sir," sayd I, "I thinke that I can tell your Grace partly where it is, and who hathe it." "Yea, can you?" quoth the king; "then I pray you tell me, and you shall doe much pleasure, and it shall not be unrewarded." "Sir," sayd I, "if it please your highness, after the departure of David Vincent from my lord at Scroby, who had the custody thereof, leaving the same with my lord in diverse baggs, he delivered the same unto a certaine priest safely to kepe to his use." "Is this true?" quoth the king. "Yea, sir," quoth I, "without all doubt. The priest shall not be able to deny it in my presence, for I was at the delivery thereof; who hath gotten diverse other rich ornaments into his hands, the which be not rehersed or registered in any of my lords books of inventory, or other writings, whereby any man is able to charge him therewith, but only I." "Well then," quoth the king, "let me alone, and kepe this geare secrete betweene yourselfe and me, and let no man knowe thereof; for if I heare any more of it, then I knowe by whom it came out. Howbeit," quoth he, "three may kepe counsell, if two be awaye; and if I knewe that my cap were privy of my counsell, I would cast it in the fire and burne it. And for your truthe and honesty ye shall be our servant, and be in the same rome with us, wherein you

were with your old master. Therefore goe your waies unto Sir John Gage our vice chamberlain, to whom I have spoken already to give you your oathe, and to admit you our servaunt in the sayd roome; and then goe to my lord of Norfolke, and he shall pay you your whole yeares wages, which is ten poundes, is it not so?" quoth the king, "Yea, forsoothe," quoth I, "and I am behinde for three quarters of a yeare of the same wages." "That is true," quoth the king, "therefore ye shall have your whole yeares wages, with our rewarde delivered you by the duke of Norfolke;" promising me furthermore, to be my singular good lord, whensoever occasion should serve. And thus I departed from the kinge.

And as I went to Mr. Gage to receive mine othe, I happened to meete with Mr. Kingstone comming from the counsell, who commaunded me in their name to goe straighte unto them, for by him they had sent for me, "And in any wise take good hede," quoth he, "what ye say: for ye shall be examined of certaine wordes spoken by my lord your master at his departure, the which I knowe well enoughe; and if I tell them the truthe," quoth he, "what he said, I shall undoe myselfe; for in any wise they may not heare of it: therefore be circumspect what aunswer ye make to their demaundes." "Why," quoth I, "how have you done therein yourselfe?" "Mary," quoth I, "I have utterly denied that I heard any such wordes; and he that opened the same first is fled for feare;" which was the yeoman of the guarde that rode in post to the king from Leycester. "Therefore goe your waies," quoth he, "God send you good spede; and when you have done, come to me into the chamber of presence, where I will tarry to see howe you speede, and to knowe how ye have done with the king."

Thus I departed and went directly to the counsell chamber doore; and as sone as I was come I was called in amongst them. And being there, my lord of Norfolke first spake, and bad me welcome to the courte, and saide, "My lordes, this gentleman hath served the cardinall his master like an honest man; therefore I doubt not but of such questions as ye shall demaund of him, he will make a just and a true aunswer, I dare be his surety. Howe say you sir?" quoth he to me, "it is reported, that your master spake such wordes and such even at his departure from his life; the truthe whereof I doubt not but you knowe; and as you knowe, I pray you reporte; and feare for no man It shall

not neede to sweare you, therefore go to, how say you, is this true that is reported?" "Forsoothe my lord," quoth I, "I was so diligent about him, attending the preservation of his life, that I marked not every worde that he spake; and as for my parte, I have heard him talke many idle wordes, as men do in such extremities, the which I do not nowe remember. If it please you to call Mr. Kingstone before your lordshippes, he will not let to tell you the truthe." "Mary so have we done already," quoth they, "who hath bin here before us, and hath denied that ever your master spake any such wordes, at the time of his deathe, or at any time before." "Forsoothe my lordes," quoth I, "then I can say no more; for if he heard them not, I could not heare them: for he heard as much as I, and I as much as he. Therefore my lordes, it were folly to say a thing of untruthe, which I am not able to justify." "Loe!" quoth my lord of Norfolke. "I tould you before, that he was a true man, and would tell the truthe. Goe your waies: ye be discharged," quoth he, "and come to my chambre sone, for I must talke with you."

I most humbly thanked them, and so departed; and went into the chamber of presence to mete with Mr. Kingstone, whom I found standing in communication with an auncient gentleman, one Mr. Radcliffe, gentleman usher of the kings privy chamber. And at my comming, Mr. Kingstone demaunded of me, if I had bin with the counsell; and what aunswer I made them. I aunswered, that I had satisfied their lordshippes mindes with mine aunswers; and tould him even as I have rehersed before. And then he asked me, how I sped with the king; and I tould him all our communications; and of his Graces benevolence and princely liberality towards me; and howe he commaunded me to goe to my lord of Norfolke. And even as we were speaking of my lord of Norfolke, he came out from the counsell chamber, into the chamber of presence; and as sone as he espied me, he came unto the windowe, where I stoode with Mr. Kingstone and Mr. Radcliffe; to whome I declared the kings pleasure. And then these two gentlemen made intercession unto him to be good lord unto me. "Nay," quoth my lord of Norfolke, "I will be better to him than he weneth; for if I could have spoken to him, or ever he came to the king, I would have had him to my service; and (the king excepted) he should have done no man service in all Englande but me. And loke," quoth he "what I may doe for you, I will doe it with all my

harte." "Sir then my desire is, that it would please your grace," quoth I, "to move the kinge to be so much good lord as to give me one of the cartes and horses that brought up my stuffe with my lordes, (which is nowe in the Towre) to carry it home into my country." "Yea mary will I," quoth he, and retourned into the kinge; for whom I tarried still with Mr. Kingstone. "And," quoth Mr. Ratcliffe, "I will goe in, and helpe my lord of Norfolke in your suite to the king." And incontinent my lord came forthe, and tould me, that the king was my singular good and gracious lord; and had given me six of the beste horses I could chose among all my lordes carte horses, and a carte to carry my stuffe, and five markes for the costes homewardes; and hath commanded me," quoth he, "to deliver you ten poundes for your wages, being behinde; and twenty poundes for a rewarde;" and commaunded me to call Mr. Secretary unto him, to make a warrant for all these things. Then was it tould him, that Mr. Secretary was gone to Hamworthe for that nighte. Then commaunded he one of the messengers of the chambre to ride to him in all haste for those warrants; and also willed me to mete with him the next day at London; and there I should receive both my money and my stuffe, with the horses and carte, that the king promised me: and so I did; of whom I received all those things, and then I retourned home into the country with the same. And thus ended [4] the life of the right triumphant cardinall of England, on whose soule Jesus have mercy! Amen.

[4] *And thus ended.*] I subjoin the cardinal's character, as given by Lord Herbert, in his *Life and Reign of King Henry VIII.* p. 342.

"And thus concluded that great cardinal: a man in whom ability of parts and industry were equally eminent; though, for being employed wholly in ambitious ways, they became dangerous instruments of power, in active and mutable times. By these arts yet he found means to govern not onely the chief affairs of this kingdom, but of Europe; there being no potentate, which, in his turn, did not seek to him: And as this procured him divers pensions, so, when he acquainted the king therewith, his manner was so cunningly to disoblige that prince who did see him last, as he made way thereby oftentimes to receive as much on the other side. But not of secular princes alone, but even of the pope and clergy of Rome, he was no little courted; of which therefore he made especial use, while he drew them to second him on most occasions. His birth being otherwise so obscure and mean, as no man had ever stood so single: for which reason also his chief endeavour was not to displease any great person; which yet could not secure him. For as all things passed through his hands, so they who failed in their suits generally hated him: all which, though it did but exasperate his ill nature, yet this good

Who liste to reade and consider with a cleare eye this history, may behold the mutability of vaine honors, and brittle assurance

resultance followed, that it made him take the more care to be just; whereof also he obtained the reputation in his publick hearing of causes: for as he loved no body, so his reason carried him. And thus he was an useful minister of his king, in all points, where there was no question of deserting the Roman church; of which (at what price soever) I finde he was a zealous servant; as hoping thereby to aspire to the papacy, whereof (as the factious times then were) he seemed more capable than any, had he not so immoderately affected it. Whereby also it was not hard to judge of his inclinations; that prince, who was ablest to help him to this dignity, being ever preferred by him; which therefore was the ordinary baite, by which the emperour and the French king, one after the other, did catch him. And, upon these terms, he doubted not to convey vast treasures out of this kingdome, especially unto Rome, where he had not a few cardinals at his devotion; by whose help, though he could not attain that supreme dignity he so passionately desired, yet he prevailed himself so much of their favour, as he got a kinde of absolute power in spiritual matters at Rome: wherewith again he so served the king's turn, as it made him think the less of using his own authority. One error seemed common to both, which was, that such a multiplicity of offices and places were invested in him. For as it drew much envy upon the cardinal in particular, so it derogated no little from the regal authority, while one man alone seemed to exhaust all: since it becometh princes to do like good husbandmen, when they sow their grounds; which is, to scatter, and not to throw all in one place. He was no great dissembler for so qualified a person; as ordering his businesses (for the most part) so cautiously, as he got more by keeping his word than by breaking it. As for his learning (which was far from exact), it consisted chiefly in the subtilties of the Thomists, wherewith the king and himself did more often weary than satisfie each other. His stile, in missives, was rather copious than eloquent, yet ever tending to the point. Briefly, if it be true (as Polydore observes) that no man ever did rise with fewer virtues, it is true that few that ever fell from so high a place had lesser crimes objected against him: though yet Polydore (for being at his first coming into England committed to prison by him, as we have said) may be suspected as a partial author. So that in all probability he might have subsisted longer, if either his pride and immense wealth had not made him obnoxious, and suspected to the king, or that other than women had opposed him: who, as they are vigilant and close enemies, so for the most part they carry their businesses in that manner, as they leave fewer advantages against themselves than men do. In conclusion, as I cannot assent to those who thought him happy for enjoying the untimely compassion of the people a little before his end, so I cannot but account it a principal felicity, that during his favour with the king, all things succeeded better than afterwards: though yet it may be doubted whether the impressions he gave did not occasion divers irregularities which were observed to follow. He died Nov. 29, 1529."

We may add here a few additional particulars from Lloyd's *State Worthies*.

"He

of aboundaunce; the uncertainety of dignities, the flattering of feigned friends, and the fickle favor of worldly princes. Whereof this lord cardinall hath felt and tasted bothe of the sweete and soure in each degree; as fleeting from honnors, losing of riches, deposed from dignities, forsaken of friends, and the mutability of princes favour; of all which things, he had in this world the full felicity, as long as fortune smiled upon him: but when she began to frowne, how sone was he deprived of all these mundane joyes, and vaine pleasures! That which in twenty yeares with great travaile and study he obtained, was in one yeare and lesse, with great care and sorrowe lost and consumed.—O, madness! O, fond desire! O, foolish hope! O, greedy desire of vaine honnors, dignities, and riches! Oh what unconstant hope and trust is it in the false fayned countenaunce and promise of fortune! Wherefore the prophet saith full well, *Thesaurizat, et ignorat cui congregabit ea.* Who is certaine that he shall leave his riches which he hath gathered in this world, unto them whom he hath purposed? The wise man saith, *That an other, whom peradventure he hated in his life, shall spende it out, and consume it.*

"He had petty projects; namely, that children should follow their fathers' profession, saying that he observed, that the father's eminency in any act begat in the child a propension to the same; and where two or three successive generations happily insist in the steps one of another, they raise an art to great perfection. He also liked well the prudence of our parliaments, in permitting the eldest sons of barons to be present at their consultations, to fit them by degrees for the person they are to sustain." P. 14. edit. 1670.

"One thing he advised young men to take care of in their public deliveries; namely, that they should rather proceed, though more inaccurately, than stop sensibly: few being able to discern the failure of a continued speech, when all understand the mischance of a gross silence." P. 22.

END OF VOL. I.

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Cardinal Wolsey's address to Lord Percy in Low
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